MS Research

ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PML-N (2013) AND PTI (2018) GOVERNMENTS

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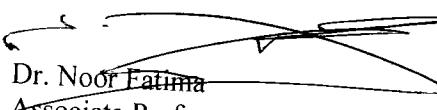
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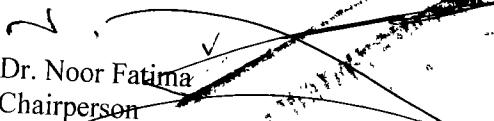
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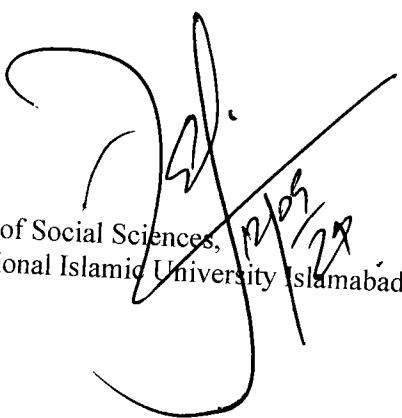
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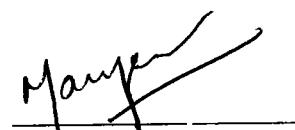
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis titled "**Role of Political Leadership in the Governance System of Pakistan: A Comparative Analysis of PML-N (2013) and PTI (2018) Governments**" is my work and that data has been collected from authentic sources and according to the rule provided by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS degree. This work had not been presented for any assessment.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved husband, Abdul Haseeb, my siblings special thanks to Laiba Shinwari, my parents, and the woman who is a shining example of what it means to work hard, push boundaries, and achieve greatness., I affectionately dedicate this work, in deepest gratitude for your unwavering support and love, which have made this journey possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BISP	Benazir Income Support Programme
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CT	Counter Terrorism
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ECP	Electoral Commission of Pakistan
EVM	Electronic Voting Machines
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISPR	Inter-Services Public Relations
MBA	Metro Bus Authority
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
NAO	National Accountability Ordinance
NPM	New Public Management
NRO	National Reconciliation Ordinance
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PITB	Punjab Information Technology Board
PKMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PPP	Pakistan People Party
PTM	Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement
PWEP	Punjab Women Empowerment Package
RTI	Right to Information
SSP	Sehat Sahulat Programme
TLP	Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan
TTP	Tehreek Taliban Pakistan
WGIs	Worldwide Governance Indicators

ABSTRACT

Good governance lies at the heart of a nation's progress, shaping the destiny of its people and fostering an environment of transparency, accountability, and justice. Pakistan's governance struggles cause systemic disruption, encourage corruption, and jeopardize the welfare of the common people. It is critical to fight corruption, address abuses of power, and bolster the rule of law, equity, accountability, and transparency procedures to solve these concerns and guarantee stability, transparency, and effective public service delivery. This study uses contingency theory to examine how leadership tactics adjust to specific situations as it examines the role of leadership within Pakistan's governance system from 2013 to 2023. Utilizing a qualitative methodology, the research centers on Pakistan's executive leaders, such as Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan, assessing their impact on key governance attributes. To improve governance practices and benefit the country. This study is unique in that it concentrates on how leadership affects decision-making processes that include corruption, openness, and the rule of law. Examining the function of political leadership, investigating how it affects decisions, and analyzing the difficulties in improving governance while accounting for the variables that affect leadership efficacy are all part of the research.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Good governance lies at the heart of a nation's progress, shaping the destiny of its people and fostering an environment of transparency, accountability, and justice. The term "governance" refers to the rules and procedures for leading and controlling bodies, such as organizations, institutions, and governments. It entails making decisions, exercising authority, and enforcing policies following the goals, ethical standards, and legal requirements. To ensure that choices are taken for the greater good and that resources are allocated fairly and effectively, effective governance strongly emphasizes openness, accountability, and stakeholder involvement. The foundation for effective and moral management and decision-making is governance, whether it is used in governmental, business, nonprofit, or international contexts (Faur, 2011).

As a result, the fundamental components of effective political governance namely, accountability, the rule of law, public involvement, human rights, and democratization were frequently ignored. The word was primarily used by donors to help recipients assess how well developing nations receiving financial aid were performing. Because the World Bank was required by its terms of agreement to ignore non-economic political factors while evaluating loan applications, the emphasis remained mostly on the economy until the 1980s. Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that there are other primary causes of human deprivation besides economic ones. The causes of bad governance also lie in social and political issues (Johnston, 2006)

According to Michael Johnston, Good governance is: "A competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs." (Ali, 2015).

In Pakistan, the problem of effective governance or its lack thereof has always been a major and controversial one. The population's well-being depends on effective governance, but it is hampered by issues like accountability, institutional failures, corruption, constitutional crises, and a lack of checks and balances. (Imran & Nordin, 2018). Political instability throughout Pakistan's history has been typified by changes in both military and civilian regimes. Several

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historical occurrences, including military takeovers and martial law, have exacerbated the current problems with the government. The centralization movement, the necessity theory, and the function of bureaucracy have all had a long-lasting effect on Pakistani governance. The nation continues to struggle with establishing effective government even in the face of changing leadership (Khan & Alam , 2020). Compared to poor governance, which is frequently associated with corruption, good governance is characterized by effective, responsible, and inclusive public institutions. Institutions often display a high level of independence in states with effective administration and support long-term growth. Pakistan, in contrast, struggles with a weak institutional structure that is impacted by self-interests motivated by politics (Ghani & Qureshi, 2019).

Pakistan's political history has been marked by ongoing crises, irregular application of the law, conflicts between the center and provinces, and political instability (Ahmad & Akbar, 2019). No leader has been as effective as the country's founder, Quaid-i-Azam. Governments have become estranged from the public due to elite class involvement in politics, supported by civil and military bureaucracies (Afzal & Yongmei, 2023). The parliamentary legislative authority was strengthened by the 18th Amendment. Economic outcomes have varied under successive governments, with some improving the economy and international relations, while others prioritized Islamization or were marred by corruption (Rashid et al, 2023). Recent governments have made efforts to increase transparency and good governance, including the passage of the Right to Information Act, investments in e-governance, and the formation of the National Accountability Bureau (Republic Policy, 2023). However, political instability and corruption remain significant challenges, with Pakistan ranking 140th out of 180 countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index (Trading Economics, 2022). Despite some efforts to improve governance, the country's political leadership has been criticized for lacking effective leadership and relying on the status quo (Cheema, 2023).

To examine Pakistan's governance structure, this study has concentrated on the function of political leadership between 2013 to 2023. Examining accountability, transparency, the rule of law and the influence of political leadership on governance throughout this time are among the explicit goals. We have used a multifaceted approach that combines data analysis and an examination of

important policy initiatives to do this.Based on definitions of governance from different sources several attributes of governance are outlined:
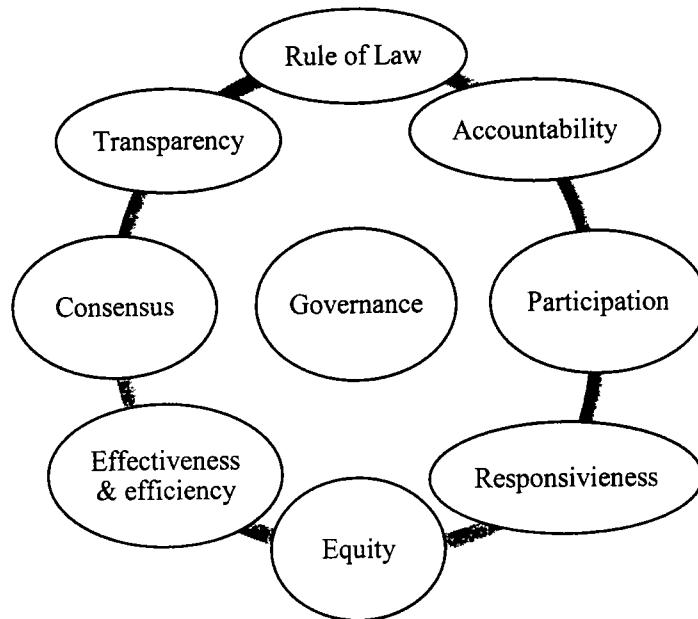
Fig: I. Source: (Artaza, et al., 2017).

This study has focused on four essential components: accountability, transparency, rule of law & equity to analyze the role of political leadership specifically Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan in the governance system of Pakistan from 2013 to 2023.

Accountability encompasses the processes and norms that render decision-makers answerable to their respective constituents, including the beneficiaries, citizens, and affected parties. This accountability applies to decision-makers across various spheres, including public and private organizations, as well as those responsible for maintaining social order and upholding public trust. The extent of accountability varies depending on the organization and the nature of the decision, whether internal or external. In Pakistan, Article 19A of the 1973 Constitution explicitly guarantees the right to information on matters of public concern, subject to reasonable restrictions and legal regulations. The Right to Information (RTI) Act 2013 was enacted on August 28, 2013, by the Senate Committee on Information and Broadcasting (Khuhro & Soomro, 2017). Notably, Pakistan improved its global RTI rating from 91 to 33 in December 2018 (Sultan & Anwar, 2023). To ensure citizens' rights to prompt and secure information access, robust

systems and technology are essential (Yousaf & Mahmood, 2020). However, it is reasonable that government policy, guided by national security and interest, is founded on the principle of confidentiality. Nevertheless, this should not compromise the concept of information disclosure. Regulations restricting information freedom are unacceptable, as they violate the state-guaranteed freedom to access information about government operations and policies. Such limitations have been exploited by unscrupulous officials, hindering the country's progress and undermining the public's trust (Mumtaz & Tariq, 2021).

Equity is a crucial variable in governance, ensuring that all individuals and groups have fair access to resources, opportunities, and services. In a governance context, equity means that the distribution of resources, benefits, and services is fair, just, and unbiased, without discrimination based on race, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. Equity in governance promotes social justice, reduces inequality, and fosters inclusive growth and development. Regarding Pakistan's governance, equity has been a significant challenge. Despite some efforts to promote equity, the country's governance landscape has been marred by unequal distribution of resources, opportunities, and services (Scholz & Wood, 1999). The wealthy elite and powerful interest groups have maintained their dominance, while marginalized communities, including religious minorities, women, and the poor, have been largely excluded from decision-making processes and access to resources.

Transparency is a paramount component of efficacious governance, ensuring that information is readily accessible, comprehensible, and transparent to all stakeholders. In a governance context, transparency denotes that decision-making processes, policies, and actions are openly visible, easily accessible, and amenable to public scrutiny. The promotion of transparency in governance fosters trust, accountability, and participatory engagement, while precluding corruption, secrecy, and abuse of power.However, Pakistan's governance landscape has been beset by significant transparency challenges. Despite erstwhile efforts to promote transparency, the country's governance has been characterized by opacity, secrecy, and limited access to information (Niloy et al., 2024). The decision-making processes have often been opaque, leading to widespread mistrust, corruption, and abuse of power.

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The rule of law is a cornerstone of good governance, ensuring that all individuals and institutions are subject to and accountable to the law. In a governance context, the rule of law means that legal frameworks are fair, impartial, and enforced equally for all, without bias or discrimination. The rule of law promotes justice, stability, and security, and helps to prevent arbitrary decision-making, corruption, and abuse of power. Regarding Pakistan's governance, the rule of law has been a significant challenge. Despite some efforts to strengthen legal institutions and frameworks, the country's governance landscape has been marked by a weak and biased judicial system, unequal application of the law, and widespread impunity. The rule of law has often been undermined by political interference, corruption, and violence, leading to a lack of trust in the legal system and widespread human rights violations (Artaza, et al., 2017).

Pakistan's political U-turn dilemma must be resolved if it is to experience stability and advancement. The country's decision-makers and governing bodies carry out policies like bolstering democratic institutions, respecting the rule of law, and adopting a broad strategic perspective. It is feasible to lessen the effects of political reversals if certain conditions are met. Pakistan's economic and security problems must be resolved before the country can achieve stability and prosperity (Zaman, 2023).To examine Pakistan's governance structure, this study has concentrated on the function of political leadership between 2013 to 2023. Examining accountability, transparency, the rule of law, equity and the influence of political leadership on governance throughout this time are among the explicit goals. The data was gathered from government official websites and authentic sources to ensure its unbiased nature. The study has used a multifaceted approach that combines data analysis, case studies, and an examination of important policy initiatives to do this.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Pakistan is currently facing a range of governance issues that are causing disruptions, in its system promoting corruption, and hindering the well-being of its citizens. However, to tackle these challenges and promote stability, transparency, and efficient public service delivery it is crucial to combat corruption address abuses of power, and strengthen mechanisms for transparency, rule of law, and accountability. This research aims to delve into the role of Imran Khan & Nawaz Sharif's

leadership within the governance system examine how it has influenced decision-making between 2013 and 2018 and analyze the obstacles that political leaders face in their efforts to enhance Pakistan's governance. By gaining an understanding of these dynamics this study seeks to provide insights and recommendations, for improving governance practices and ultimately benefiting the nation as a whole.

1.2 Significance of Study

The study, which explores the function of leadership in Pakistan's governance structure from 2013 to 2023, is significant. By examining how it influences decision-making and the challenges faced by leaders this study focuses on aspects such as corruption, transparency, equity, accountability and the rule of law. The. Recommendations from this research aim to provide a roadmap for policy reform to improve governance enhance the well-being of citizens and strengthen Pakistan's stability and governance framework. Scholars and policymakers have found this study valuable, for addressing the governance challenges facing Pakistan both academically and practically.

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To examine the role of political leadership in the governance system of Pakistan.
2. To explore the impact of political leadership on the governance system in Pakistan (2013-2023).
3. To analyze the challenges that political leadership has faced in strengthening the governance system of Pakistan.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the role of political leadership in the governance system of Pakistan?
2. How has political leadership impacted the governance system of Pakistan from 2013 to 2023?
3. What challenges have political leadership encountered in their efforts to strengthen the governance system of Pakistan?

1.5 Delimitation of Study

The research limits its focus to examining the impact of Pakistan's Executive leaders (Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan) on the country's administration between 2013 to 2023 . Using a qualitative methodology, it mainly looks at characteristics of national governance such as accountability, transparency, Equity, and the rule of law.

1.6 Research Gap

This research aims to fill the research gap in understanding the role of leadership in enhancing governance in Pakistan. The study looks at how leadership in the governance system has affected decision-making by examining the years 2013 to 2023. It also aims to pinpoint the challenges political leaders have when trying to enhance governance. By bolstering accountability and transparency frameworks, and preserving the rule of law. .

1.7 Research Methodology

The study used a qualitative research design to examine the Role of Political Leadership in the Governance System of Pakistan (2013-2023). The qualitative research approach is appropriate because it allows an in-depth analysis of the factors discussed in the thesis and provides a more detailed understanding of the dynamics of the Political leadership Policy approaches. For this research, the exploratory method was used.

1.8 Research Design

The Qualitative design be the best methodology to explain this phenomenon. For this study, data has been collected over a sustained period. This particular study is investigating the interests and objectives of The Role of Political Leadership in the Governance System of Pakistan. Therefore, detailed information on this phenomenon has been collected through a variety of data collection tools which include primary and secondary resources.

1.9 Population

A research population is like a target group for a study. It helps make the research more focused and clearer. When the population is too large, the research can be more complicated and take more time (Shukla, 2020). We selected political analysts and politicians as a key population for our study to maintain clarity and concentration.

1.10 Operational Definition

Political Leadership

A political leader in governance is an authoritative figure responsible for making decisions and setting policies to effectively manage and represent a government and its constituents. This study considers the period of Nawaz Sharif & Imran Khan in the Governance System of Pakistan (2013-2018). Their role has been studied based on four parameters out of all mentioned on page number 3.

Governance System

Governance refers to the system of processes and institutions for exercising political authority, making decisions, and implementing policies within a political entity.

Government

The system of elected or appointed officials and institutions responsible for making and implementing policies and maintaining order within a political entity.

Transparency

Transparency is the act of making political leadership's decisions publicly available and easily accessible to inform the public about government activities and the utilization of power within the governance system.

Rule of Law

The rule of law signifies that all individuals, including those in power, are equally bound by and accountable to the law, ensuring fairness and transparency in governance.

Accountability

Accountability refers to the process as well as norms that make decision-makers answerable to ones for whom decisions are taken i.e., the decision-maker and the beneficiary.

1.11 Data Collection

For the data collection, both primary and secondary sources have been used. For primary sources, the interviews, and official documents from the government, were utilized for content analysis. For secondary sources, books, journals, newspapers, and other internet sources have been used for the accumulation of data and a better understanding of the title. To avoid biases the researcher has relied on government reports, and renowned think tanks. The data were analyzed through the triangulation method.

1.12 Data Analysis Method

Data analysis is a critical step in the research process, as it involves refining and structuring collected data. It helps to explore relevant information and reach meaningful conclusions (Leedy, 2015). In the context of governance research, data analysis can help explore the role of political leadership in shaping governance systems.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the general concept of governance as well as further explains how political leaders shape the functioning of the Pakistani government. This study begins by examining the evolution of political leadership over time, highlighting significant individuals and their contributions to the functioning of government. Next, look over the current government structure, focusing on the functions of important political positions and the influences of the various political parties on it. This study also explores the qualities of political leaders, focusing on their attitudes, convictions, and decision-making processes that influence the functioning of the government. This study can uncover the specifics that link political leaders' activities to the government's operation as a whole, thereby understanding how transparent and accountable their actions are. This study's investigation revealed the various facets of Pakistani political leadership and how vital a part it plays in determining the government's course.

2.1 Governance

However, the term "governance," which was chosen to be distinct from the word "government," did not gain widespread usage until the early 1990s. In modern times, the term "governance" is used in a broad sense to refer to a range of actions about directing or controlling social behavior. Some claim that because of its ambiguity and frequent usage, it has turned into an "empty signifier". The Greek verb "kubernan," which means to steer a ship and is used in Plato's Republic, is the source of the English word governance. Notes that this resulted in the Latin verb "gubernare," which later evolved into the French word "gouverner" and the English words "government" and "governance." (Fukuyama, 2016).For most of the 20th century, corporate governance was understood to mean exactly what it meant in legal and business contexts.

The deliberate use of the term "governance" instead of "government" emerged in the early 1990s, along with the growing popularity of the globalization literature. Numerous observers observed that sovereign governments were becoming less able to regulate behavior inside their boundaries. Changes in technology and the increasing flow of ideas, wealth, and people across international borders were blamed for this loss of leadership. Krasner & Stephen (1999), however,

noted that conventional notions of sovereignty were never entirely accurate. In their 1992 book "Governance without Government," Rosenau & Czempiel explained how non-traditional nations operated international cooperation through a variety of organizations. Despite these more recent forms being frequently driven by private entities, they nevertheless take place under the direct control of state regulators or the sway of state authorities. Furthermore, international players frequently assume governance responsibilities in societies emerging from conflict or in regions with fragile statehood (Rosenau & Czempiel 1992). This vast body of work on international governance contributes significantly to the study of international organizations and intersects with research on non-hierarchical domestic governance.

Conventional international cooperation used to be centralized, involving formal institutions such as international law to ease interactions between hierarchical governments. Newer research, however, highlights various forms of interpersonal collaboration. One stream focuses on supranational governance, particularly in the context of the European Union, where a transnational organization has substantial authority. Intergovernmentalism, in which governments collaborate via unofficial, horizontal links, is the focus of another stream. Furthermore, the more flexible "soft" law has replaced "hard" international law. The majority of research examines transnational non-governmental players, such as labor unions, NGOs, multinational businesses, and other organizations that function outside of traditional nation-states (Abbott & Snidal, 2000). Sector-specific cooperation is also covered in this literature; examples include corporate social responsibility, product standards, health, labor standards, and regulation of the environment.

2.2 Good Governance: Governing without Government

To boost public sector efficiency, experts like Hood and Pollitt created New Public Management (NPM) in the late 1980s and early 1990s. NPM incorporated corporate methods like pay for performance, benchmarking, outsourcing, and treating citizens like consumers. The main concept was to increase the autonomy of public servants in return for increased accountability. NPM faced opposition in continental Europe as a result of a tendency for traditional state-centered strategies. Initially, NPM was adopted in nations such as Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. NPM's link with privatization and government reduction in the 1990s sparked worries about the state's ability to function more effectively (Nielse & Andersen 2024). Research

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revealed that the efficiency of NPM differed between nations and relied on the state institutions in place.

NPM's performance measurement has come under fire for being vague and perhaps distorting behavior ("teaching to the test"), and outsourcing has produced unforeseen problems. NPM issues also resulted from the public sector's distinct incentives and several principals with competing objectives, as well as from the principal-agent paradigm, in which authority frequently flowed from agents to principals rather than the other way around (Renckens, 2020). NPM aimed to maintain adherence to the rule of law by working within established legal frameworks, improve accountability by making public agents liable for their actions, and improve transparency by making processes and results available to the public.

The Transparent Government Initiative and the Extractive Industries are two examples of recent studies that have placed a strong emphasis on the use of participation and transparency to enhance government performance. The idea is based on the principal-agent theory, which holds that only when voters have access to trustworthy information about the acts of legislators and bureaucrats (agents), can they be held accountable to them (principals). According to this view, voters especially the impoverished disapprove of corruption and favor unbiased service delivery, which leads them to demand accountability when they learn of wrongdoing. The effect of information availability on outcomes including election accountability, service performance, and corruption has been investigated empirically (Terbogt, 2024). More accurate data has been linked in some studies to lower levels of corruption, better service delivery, and stronger economic growth.

However, other studies have demonstrated weaker or negative associations, indicating the necessity for other processes like enforcement, an effective civil society, or outside pressure to produce favorable results. In addition to traditional electoral accountability, the World Bank has supported the use of local participatory methods like participatory budgeting, which lets residents and civil society organizations participate in the budgeting process. The demise of New Public Management brought to light a crisis in the field of public administration, especially in the US where programs in public administration have been combined or demoted (Drechsler, 2005). Even if NPM was the final significant theory to come out of public administration, research on

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governance today is more focused on micro-level analysis by political scientists and economists utilizing randomized trials and econometric techniques.

With an emphasis on the function of non-state actors in delivering services customarily overseen by the state, the idea of "governing without government" has become a prominent area of study in domestic governance. Rhodes' 1996 article "The New Governance: Governing Without Government," which explained how the British government's privatization and downsizing during the Thatcher era led to the development of self-organizing, inter-organizational networks that filled the void, was a notable example of this strategy. These networks could effectively organize and provide services and may even displace conventional hierarchical structures. They are informed by the economic theory of the company and transaction cost economics (Abbott & Snidal, 2010). The development of information and communication technologies, which were seen to lower transaction costs and enable horizontal, network-based organization, coincided with the rise in popularity of this concept.

The idea of a "network society" and the initial excitement apart from established states and businesses did not disappear. Networks, which are distinguished from market and hierarchical interactions by their informal commitments and peer-to-peer relationships, have gained widespread recognition as an organizational model (Bello et al., 2010). Simultaneously with this evolution was a resurgence of interest in civil society, which is strongly associated with the idea of social capital and is regarded as necessary for modern democracy. A key component of democracy, civil society is made up of organized citizens who can keep an eye on and hold the government responsible. It promotes political involvement and public participation (Steurer, 2013). Nonetheless, civil society continued to function as a check on authority rather than as a direct ruling body in traditional democratic thought.

The recent of literature on governance examines how the delivery of public services has changed as a result of non-state participants, including networks, civil society, and private companies, progressively assuming roles that were previously filled by governments. This change resulted from realistic demands for more effective and locally responsive governance, as well as from left and right ideological beliefs. Opponents highlight serious concerns about accountability,

transparency, and the rule of law, while supporters claim that these non-state players can increase efficiency and democratic participation (Teets, 2008). It is common to believe that outsourcing and privatization weaken public interest and reduce state capabilities.Furthermore, it becomes more challenging to hold private or quasi-public corporations accountable when public functions are transferred to them, blurring the boundaries of democratic accountability. Comprehensive quantitative data on the phenomena of "governance without government" is lacking, which makes evaluating the actual scope and efficacy of various governance models more difficult. The lack of data and the possibility of non-state actors using lobbying to sway public objectives draw attention to how difficult it will be to make sure that these modern forms of governance encourage greater accountability, openness, and respect for the law (Everatt, 2019).

Over the last twenty years, assessing the quality of governance has drawn a lot of scholarly attention, mostly because of the requirement for policy organizations like the World Bank to evaluate the effectiveness of its programs. The publicly available Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGIs), which measure governance throughout six categories: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption, ultimately supplemented the World Bank's internal use of its Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) index (Haber & Kononykhina, 2018). These indicators are derived from current measurements and a variety of expert perception polls. Other organizations that specialize in issues like democracy, human rights, and corruption including Global Integrity, the University of Maryland's Polity IV, and Freedom House also offer governance quality measurements. Even though the WGIs are widely used, they have drawn criticism for their theoretical nature and practical flaws, namely their reliance on highly biased expert polls (Dahlberg & Holmberg, 2014). Critics contend that to overcome these constraints, more significant and targeted governance efforts are needed.

The notion of "governance" is an ever-changing goal, with different people understanding it to mean different things from traditional government functions to non-governmental actors' acts. There is disagreement about whether governance reflects the goals these individuals want to accomplish or the procedures they follow. Although a great deal of discussion and research has been conducted on governance, its conceptual limits are yet unknown. First, a more precise

definition of the link between human rights, democracy, and state quality is required. While some contend that democracy by its very nature guarantees good governance, other cases, such as Singapore and China, indicate that democratic structures are not necessary for efficient governance (Howlett & Ramesh, 2014). This raises the question of whether democratic involvement improves or hinders bureaucratic effectiveness. To comprehend the scope and consequences of non-state actors' governance, particularly on a global scale, additional empirical evidence is required.

Executive political leadership confronts opportunities as well as challenges in the modern governance environment, which is defined by the combination of traditional state institutions and the participation of non-state actors, about accountability, transparency, and the rule of law. To maintain open and transparent decision-making processes for all stakeholders, a reassessment of transparency methods is important given the growing participation of networks, civil society, and private enterprises in governance. Furthermore, preserving accountability becomes critical as governance grows more intricate and multi-actor, necessitating leaders to set up clear lines of accountability and oversight procedures across all sectors. Furthermore, maintaining the rule of law becomes crucial in situations where a variety of players may function under several legal systems, demanding that leaders guarantee uniformity, equity, and obedience to the law in all governance endeavors. Therefore, to preserve public confidence and the legitimacy of governance processes, effective executive political leadership in this setting requires promoting openness, strengthening accountability mechanisms, and maintaining the rule of law.

2.3 Literature Review

The governance of Pakistan has been a subject of analysis by various scholars, who have examined it from different perspectives. Some have focused on the country's political instability and corruption, while others have explored its modern governance structures and institutional modifications. Scholars have offered insightful analyses of Pakistan's governance, shedding light on its challenges and opportunities. The following discussion draws on their research to provide a comprehensive understanding of Pakistan's governance from multiple angles.

Ahmad and Akbar (2019) examined the challenges faced by Pakistan, including low socioeconomic status, ineffective political leadership, absence of law and order, issues with accountability, political unpredictability, economic crises, and lack of political involvement.

Pakistan was established to provide people with an unrestricted environment in which to engage in their social, economic, political, and religious pursuits. However, the nation also had to deal with issues like low socioeconomic status and ineffective political leadership. The absence of law and order, issues with accountability, political unpredictability, economic crises, and a lack of political involvement were some factors contributing to the collapse of good governance.

Muhammad Imran and Syed Fakharuddin Shah examined how corruption is a pervasive issue in Pakistan, with the politicization of government agencies, such as the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), to further the goals of the ruling coalition. Patronage, nepotism, and bribery exacerbate the erosion of confidence, undermining social norms and creating a climate of shaky governance. Muhammad Imran and Syed Fakharuddin Shah emphasized the importance of accountability in addressing Pakistan's challenges, with a need for comprehensive accountability that goes beyond financial misconduct and promotes a well-defined national accountability plan. Muhammad Imran and Syed Fakharuddin Shah discussed how political instability is a recurring theme in Pakistan, with conflict between federal and provincial governments over control leading to an ineffectual political system characterized by failed legislative attempts. Political inconsistencies, including influence on the legitimacy of the ruling class, the inability of parties to agree on changes to the law governing accountability, and tension between party interests and governance, further exacerbate the issue.

Muhammad Imran and Hamid Iqbal explored the critical need for effective governance in Pakistan, with the erosion of checks and balances in government systems leading to absolutism. Fundamental problems with the Pakistani administration and law enforcement, which often favor the elite over the populace and create inequalities, need to be addressed. Hamid Iqbal has examined how economic growth is impacted by political developments, including the effects of the 2018 election and the emergence of the PTI administration. Muhammad Ramzan Sheikh, Muhammad Imran, and Syed Fakharuddin Shah analyzed the significant role of political parties in Pakistan's political landscape, with their manifestos highlighting unique visions for accountability, governance, and institutional transformation. However, their role in perpetuating the cycle of instability and hindering effective governance is also notable. Intraparty accountability and reform are essential to address the underlying issues of social trust and governance.

Ahmad and Akbar (2019) examined the challenges faced by Pakistan, including low socioeconomic status, ineffective political leadership, absence of law and order, issues with accountability, political unpredictability, economic crises, and lack of political involvement. Dutt (2000) explored the nation's struggles with the legacy of British rule, the growth of the armed forces and civil service, and the need for effective governance during the early years of Pakistan's history. Kiran (2013) and Nazeer et al. (2023) discussed the authoritarian rule in Pakistan, including Ayub Khan's martial law, the dismissal of politicians, and the consolidation of power, as well as Zia-ul-Haq's regime and its pseudo-Islamic ideology.

Hashmi (2022) and Imran et al. (2023) discussed Pakistan's modern governance, highlighting efforts to establish new friendships, particularly with China, and initiate the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). However, despite these strides, social trust remains low in Pakistan due to a lack of collaboration and social integration, making it challenging for citizens to trust strangers and adhere to government laws. To restore democratic norms, it is crucial to address the underlying issues of social trust and governance, which can be achieved by implementing institutional modifications, such as reorganizing local bodies, updating criminal and civil codes, and refining the Anti-Terrorism Act, as seen in the PTI government's efforts. By doing so, Pakistan can improve governance and foster a more trusting society.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

In this study, the application of contingency theory is employed to investigate how leadership strategies adapt to the dynamic landscape of Pakistan's governance system from 2013-2017 & 2018-2022 (Fleenor, 2006). This theory posits that leadership effectiveness hinges on the alignment of a leader's style with the specific contextual challenges they face, suggesting that what makes a leader successful in one situation may not guarantee success in another. The research focuses on prominent executive leaders such as Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan, aiming to evaluate their impact on critical governance aspects, including decision-making processes concerning issues like corruption, transparency, and the rule of law.

The Fiedler Model, used in this study and consisting of two essential steps, guides our exploration. Firstly, leaders must assess their leadership style. Subsequently, they must consider

three pivotal elements, each contributing to what Fiedler terms "situational favorableness" (Verkerk, 1990). This research, strives to contribute to the enhancement of governance practices in Pakistan, recognizing that leadership effectiveness is a dynamic concept that requires adaptability to a complex interplay of variables. This study aims to shed light on how leadership styles impact decision-making and governance in the ever-evolving context of Pakistan, with the ultimate aim of fostering positive change and betterment for the nation.

Fiedler's Contingency Theory in governance offers leaders two vital stages to address complicated political and administrative challenges (Sakinah & Anshori, 2024)

Self-Assessment

Effective leaders are aware of their unique communication styles, areas of strength, and possible areas for development. Their ability to recognize themselves aids in adapting their strategy to the circumstances.

Leader-Member Relations

Executives must assess the governing environment, taking into account social, political, and economic aspects. This knowledge enables them to adapt their leadership style to take advantage of particular opportunities and difficulties.

2.5 Three Essential Elements

2.5.1 Relationships with Others

This refers to a leader's ability to interact with citizens and stakeholders. Together, they make decisions and complete tasks by fostering collaboration and confidence among their followers.

2.5.2 Task Structure

This refers to how distinct and intricate the activities involved in governance, such as budgetary management or policymaking, are. According to the complexity of the assignment is, leaders must modify their methods.

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2.5.3 Leader's Position Power

This signifies the extent of the leader's ability to influence events. To accomplish their objectives without harming others, leaders must use caution and recognize the boundaries of their power. Fiedler's approach helps leaders better understand their roles, adjust to changing circumstances, collaborate with others, manage challenging duties, and effectively use their influence to bring about constructive change.

2.6 Key Concepts

The key variables are associated with Fiedler's Contingency Theory of Leadership. These variables are used to assess the favorableness of a leadership situation: Leader-Member Relations, Task Structure & Leader's Position Power

1. **Leader-Member Relations:** Following Fiedler's Contingency Theory, the quality of leader-member relations is a critical variable. In the case of Pakistan, this variable assesses how well leaders like Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif have built relationships with their teams and followers. The strength of leader-member relations can impact cooperation and support for governance initiatives. Strong relations may facilitate smoother implementation of governance policies and tackling issues like corruption and transparency.

2. **Task Structure:** Task structure evaluates how well-defined and organized governance tasks are. Governance tasks and objectives were clear and structured under the leadership of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif from 2013 to 2022. This variable has a direct connection to decision-making and the effectiveness of governance strategies.

3. **Leader's Position Power:** The leader's position power examines the authority and power of leaders within their roles. Evaluating the position of power of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif is essential. This variable influences their capacity to enact policies, address corruption, and promote transparency and accountability. Leaders with greater position power may have more leverage in driving governance changes.

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Leadership Strategies in Pakistan's Governance System	
Nawaz Sharif's Governance (2013-2017)	**Imran Khan's Governance (2018-2022)**
Decision-making processes — Family-centered, centralized decision-making prioritized infrastructures over the welfare of the community.	Imran Khan, along with a select group of consultants, decided to address corruption and cut costs above enhancing social services.
Policy effectiveness — GDP increased, but the energy issues and inequalities were not addressed.	Despite some success, detractors claim his anti-corruption initiatives were biased. His cost-cutting measures ultimately hurt the economy and social services.
Institutional performance — Appointed loyalists undermined democratic institutions, and interfered in politics.	Many were concerned about his questionable nominations and believed he had too much influence over important institutions such as the judiciary. Moreover, his administration silenced critics.
Political stability — Overcame protests and resistance, using force to suppress dissent.	Khan had to deal with criticisms from PDM and retaliated violently against demonstrators and opponents.
Economic Development — Neglected reforms to taxes and privatization in favor of infrastructure.	He concentrated on well-known initiatives including Naya Pakistan Housing for affordable housing and Ehsaas for welfare. But he avoided taking on more significant problems, such as tax reform, which hindered growth.

Table: I. Source (Sidra & Muhammad , 2023), (Safi,2023).

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This study examines the complexities of Pakistan's governance by delving into the vast array of scholarly analyses that have examined the country's governance from diverse perspectives. This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the governance of Pakistan, synthesizing the works of various scholars who have explored its historical trajectory, political instability, corruption, modern governance structures, and institutional modifications. The following literature review, spanning several decades, sheds light on the country's governance challenges and opportunities, as discussed in subsequent sections, including the legacy of British rule, authoritarian regimes, political party dynamics, social trust, and modern governance initiatives, among others.

Pakistan was established to provide people with an unrestricted environment in which to engage in their social, economic, political, and religious pursuits. In his remarks, Quaid e Azam asserted that effective government was essential to resolving issues (Ahmad & Akbar, 2019). However, the nation also had to deal with issues like low socioeconomic status and ineffective political leadership. The absence of law and order, issues with accountability, political unpredictability, economic crises, and a lack of political involvement were some factors contributing to the collapse of good governance.

3.1 Governance from 1947-1999

Whether the administration is good or bad has always been a hot debate in Pakistan, particularly from 1947 to 1969. Kiran (2013) analyzes that the people's right to effective governance is the state's primary responsibility. Nonetheless, the armed forces and civil service grew significantly in authority and began to participate in national affairs. As a result, the democratic process was upset and the state's legislative branch was diminished. According to Dutt (2000), Pakistan acquired institutions during British rule, but these institutions were ill-equipped to deal with the new difficulties of growth. The process of drafting Pakistan's constitution lasted

nine years. With 300 MPs representing both East and West Pakistan in the national parliament, the nation was proclaimed an Islamic Republic. The parliament's wishes were expected to be followed by the prime minister and his cabinet. But after two years, Iskander Mirza made a shift. He dismissed the prime minister of the nation, disbanded the legislatures, and outlawed political parties altogether. This exacerbated the sociopolitical climate and sparked a power struggle. Ayub Khan was selected to serve as the main martial law administrator when martial law was proclaimed.

During the 44 months of Ayub Khan's martial law, many politicians lost their jobs, and army personnel took up posts in the public service. Ayub Khan instituted the Basic Democracies system, in which the people elected both rural and urban councils to foster local development. He gave certain people the authority to make decisions for the government. During this time, the political elite was increasingly influenced by the bureaucratic elite, and the role of the civil-military bureaucracy in politics grew. Baqai and Brecher (1973) note that the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 raised the age of marriage and increased the amount of paperwork needed for a divorce to defend the rights of women. Men had to obtain their present wife's consent before getting married again. Religious organizations denounced these amendments as being anti-Islamic. In 1959, significant land reforms altered socioeconomic production relations and doubled the rates of growth in both industry and agriculture. Economic advancement was facilitated by US financing for infrastructure projects like roads and dams, but it also widened regional disparities.

During this period, there was an authoritarian government in power. Political parties were banned, political leaders were imprisoned, and rebellion of any kind was forbidden. Newspapers were censored and as the political party expanded, it came to represent corruption. Khan and Zafar (1999) explain that the second constitution, which came into effect in 1962, combined the head of state and head of government positions and instituted a presidential form of governance. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was renamed the Republic of Pakistan, and all mentions of the Quran and Sunnah were eliminated. In an election largely disputed by fundamental Democrats, Ayub Khan was re-elected for his final term as president in 1965. However, when the conflict with India broke out in 1965, everything changed, and Ayub Khan became the target of numerous strikes and

rallies. The basic democratic system and the 1962 constitution were terminated in 1969 with the imposition of another martial law.

In addition to serving as President, Yahya Khan combined the roles of chief martial law administrator and president from 1969 to 1971. During his administration, political power was still vested in the military and bureaucracy, and there were no constitutional limitations on their use. There was no attempt by Yahya Khan to draft a new constitution. Dutt (2000) notes that he declared free and fair elections, reinstated the original four provinces, and eliminated the one-unit system in West Pakistan. However, there was an issue with the assembly, where seats were allotted according to population. East Pakistan was given more seats than all of the provinces in West Pakistan combined because of its larger population.

As Brine (1968) examines, the 1970 Pakistani general election marked a pivotal moment in the country's history, with the Pakistan People's Party emerging victorious in West Pakistan and the Awami League securing more seats in East Pakistan. However, the election results were met with resistance, and proposals for separate political parties for each region were floated but ultimately rejected. The idea of having two prime ministers, one for each wing, was also discussed but failed to gain traction (Brine, 1968).

As tensions escalated, Bhutto's threat to break the legs of any national legislators who dared to attend Yahya Khan's scheduled session in Dhaka (Mahmood, 2000) marked a turning point in the political standoff. In response, Yahya Khan adjourned the session, which sparked a chain reaction of events, including Mujib's rallies, a mutiny, a government shutdown, and escalating violence that eventually led to the India-Pakistan war (Mahmood, 2000). This sequence of events ultimately resulted in the declaration of Bangladesh's independence and the establishment of its government in Calcutta in 1971, with Mujib at the helm (Mahmood, 2000).

As Burki (1986) observes, Yahya Khan's regime is widely regarded as the most tumultuous period in Pakistan's history. His inability to effectively govern and address political challenges led to his resignation and the ascension of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to the presidency (Burki, 1986). Bhutto's rise to power was largely attributed to Pakistan's wartime defeat and the loss of East Pakistan (Choudhry, 1974). A provisional constitution was hastily enacted within three days, and a new

constitution was ratified in 1973 with the support of all provinces and religious cities (Khan, 1976). This constitution reinstated the parliamentary system of government and aimed to address the country's political and economic woes (Bhutto, 1973). Bhutto implemented various political, social, and economic reforms, including the nationalization of 32 major industrial units across ten categories (Niazi, 1975). He also attempted to ban non-Islamic customs such as dowries (Bhutto, 1974). However, criticism emerged, particularly after the death of Ahmed Raza Kasuri's father (Kasuri, 1976). Furthermore, Bhutto's policies led to a budget deficit due to bank nationalization and credit expansion (Iqbal, 1977). The opposition parties formed the Pakistan National Alliance and announced fresh elections, which they claimed were rigged (PNA, 1977). The opposition denounced the results, labeling the government illegitimate, and called for Bhutto's resignation, leading to political unrest, civil unrest, and widespread protests (The New York Times, 1977).

Zia-ul-Haq proclaimed martial law in 1977 following Bhutto's overthrow, suspending the constitution and designating himself as the supreme martial law administrator. Nazeer et al. (2023) note that Zia later broke his promise to hold elections in ninety days. He announced the establishment of a Federal Sharia Court, where matters would be resolved by the Quran and Sunnah, and stressed the significance of creating an Islamic state for the growth of the nation. Zia founded Majlis-e-Shoora, a federal council with nominated members. To promote a pseudo-Islamic ideology, he introduced initiatives like "Chadar Aur Chaar Devari," "Nizam e Salaat," a profit-and-loss sharing plan, and others. Pakistan saw increases in GDP and per capita income of 34% and 76%, respectively, with $25 billion in payments strengthening Pakistan's economy. Little political activity was resurgent, and in 1985, there were general elections without party affiliation. Supporters of Zia's Islamization strategy were tallied in a 1984 referendum, which served as a vote for Zia to be re-elected as president for an additional five years. However, in 1988, Zia fled and overthrew Junejo's administration on the grounds of incapacity and economic stagnation. Faiz et al. (2022) highlight that Zia was the longest-serving head of state in Pakistan, even though he did not finish his term.

Following Zia's passing, Ghulam Ishaq, the Senate chairman, took over as acting president. He promised that the elections would be held on time. According to Khan (2020), Benazir Bhutto's PPP won these elections, securing 92 out of 207 seats in the national house. Forming a government

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required additional support from political parties. With the backing of smaller parties, Benazir became Pakistan's first female prime minister. The PPP formed governments in Sindh and the erstwhile NWFP, while Nawaz Sharif's Islamic Democratic Alliance did the same in Punjab. Zia had amended the constitution to mandate power-sharing between the president and prime minister. The president could dissolve the national assembly at his discretion.

Begum et al. (2024) state that while in government, Benazir Bhutto committed to realizing Quaid-e-Azam's vision of a progressive, democratic Pakistan based on Islamic values of equality, tolerance, and fraternity. She pledged to strengthen ties with China, the US, and the USSR, protect minority rights, enhance provincial autonomy, improve education standards, implement a comprehensive national health plan, and advance women's rights. However, many of these promises remained unfulfilled. Despite liberalizing Pakistani politics and improving relations with the US and briefly with India during her tenure, Bhutto faced challenges in implementing her policies.Azeem (2020) highlights that the lack of a two-thirds majority posed political challenges for Benazir Bhutto's administration. Criticism mounted against her for corruption and inefficiency. Public outcry led to a motion of no confidence in the national assembly, demanding her dismissal. Capitalizing on the situation, Ghulam Ishaq declared that the PPP had lost the people's trust, resulting in the government's dissolution. After 20 months in power, the PPP government was compelled to resign.

Khan et al. (2023) recount that Pakistan conducted elections at the beginning of the 1990s, leading to PML(N)'s victory and Nawaz Sharif assuming office as prime minister. Upon assuming power, Sharif focused on initiatives in the private sector to bolster the nation's manufacturing sector. During his tenure, he implemented economic reforms and established special tribunals for major offenses in 1991. However, his rapid privatization efforts drew discontent from entrenched interests, leading to heightened tensions within the government. According to Khan et al. (2023), tensions escalated further when General Asif Nawaz replaced COAS Mirza Aslam Baig under Sharif's administration. Additionally, Ghulam Ishaq installed Lt. General Abdul Waheed Kakar as COAS without consulting the prime minister following changes in the constitution. Sharif had advocated for reducing the president's authority, but before he could act, the president utilized constitutional powers to charge corruption and nepotism in Sharif's government. This led to the

dissolution of the national assembly and the dismissal of Sharif's administration. Following Sharif's appeal, the Supreme Court ruled in his favor, ordering his reinstatement as prime minister, as noted by Khan et al. (2023). However, the military establishment intervened, pressuring both the president and prime minister to resign. Subsequently, a provisional caretaker administration was installed by the military.

3.2 Governance from 1993-2023

According to Bukhari et al. (2020), Benazir Bhutto formed a government after the PPP won the 1993 elections, despite lacking a sizable majority in the national legislature. Not long after assuming office, a devastating flood struck, severely harming crops such as rice, cotton, and sugarcane, resulting in large-scale financial losses in the agricultural sector. Benazir's administration was perceived as having feudalistic tendencies, yet it was unable to prevent the country's economic problems. Many pointed to her inexperience and inefficient manner of governance as reasons for criticizing her administration. Allegations were made against her government for extrajudicial killings, currency inflation, bad economic management, and disobedience to instructions from the Supreme Court.

According to Sajid (2024), throughout her brief tenure, Pakistan's foreign reserves stayed at 600 million dollars. Nawaz Sharif formed his second government in 1997 after his PML (N) won a two-thirds majority in the polls. Speaking to the national assembly, he vowed to avoid making the same mistakes as his former administration and to advance democratic principles. Sharif made it clear that the construction of strong institutional frameworks and the economic growth of Pakistan will be his top priorities. By successfully amending the constitution, Nawaz Sharif eliminated the president's power to dissolve the government whenever he pleased. Rather, the prime minister's suggestion now governed the president's authority to name military chiefs and province governors. Sharif encountered difficulties overseeing the $1.2 billion repayment of Pakistan's debt to the IMF, even with a 2/3 majority. To solve this, he sought popular support when he introduced the "Qarz Utaro, Mulk Sanvaro" (pay off debt, develop the nation) program (Sultana & Jeffery, 2011). Despite a few successful results, his appeal ultimately proved to be a huge failure.

According to Kennedy (2005), Nawaz Sharif cemented his family's power within his political party, naming his brother as Punjab's chief minister, the largest province. Additionally, he appointed Muhammad Rafiq Tatar instead of Leghari. Chief Justice Sajad Ali Shah and Army Chief General Jahangir Karamat's relationship underwent significant changes, and Sharif forced both of them to quit. Nawaz Sharif faced increasing difficulties following his conflicts with General Pervez Musharraf. Their tensions escalated during the Kargil conflict, with each blaming the other for the incident. In September 1999, all opposition parties formed the Grand Democratic Alliance to unseat Nawaz Sharif. Sharif attempted to remove Musharraf, leading to the military's intervention, which resulted in his imprisonment (Chawla, 2017).

According to Wolf (2013), though they didn't always agree, the PPP and PML (N) worked together in 2008 to unseat Gen. Musharraf. As a result, Asif Ali Zardari became Pakistan's eleventh president, and Musharraf resigned in August 2008. The government also enacted the 18th Amendment, which removed a provision equalizing the powers of the president and prime minister, thereby enhancing democracy and granting greater authority to regional administrations. This amendment reinstated the previously diminished authority of the parliament. The PPP prioritized seeing out their tenure in office and maintaining power over implementing significant reforms. As such, the amendment represented more of a transition than a complete overhaul of the nation's political system.

According to Almeida (2016), the growing trend of judicial activism posed a challenge to the authority of parliament in Pakistan. The legislative process has become increasingly influenced by the courts and judges, despite the constitution's emphasis on the judiciary's credibility. The Pakistani courts have played a significant role in shaping the country's political landscape. The 14th National Assembly was elected in 2013 and completed its five-year tenure on May 31, 2018. The PML-N party secured 163 seats and formed the government, with Nawaz Sharif as prime minister, Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah as opposition leader, Ayaz Sadiq as speaker, and Nisar Ali Khan as deputy speaker. This marked Pakistan's first peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another. During its tenure, the 14th National Assembly achieved several milestones, including the passage of significant laws.

As per Hashmi (2022), 2013 marked a historic turning point in Pakistan's democratic history as the country saw its first election-based civilian transfer of power. Following the polls on May 11, the PML (N) won, and Nawaz's administration promised to deal with urgent problems like the budget imbalance and the lack of energy. During this period, Pakistan made strides, establishing new friendships, especially with China, and initiating the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). But in 2014, political unrest broke out in response to protests spearheaded by Imran Khan and Tahir-ul-Qadri denouncing the 2013 election fraud. Tahir-ul-Qadri called for the resignation of Nawaz Sharif, while Khan called for a revolution to change the constitution. The army was called in to handle security issues and civil disturbances as tensions increased. The military was active in this dispute; Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif intervened to mediate. He talked to everyone and made an effort to allay their worries.

According to Begum (2022), the 2018 general election saw the PTI emerge victorious, capitalizing on economic woes and corruption allegations against the previous administration. Upon assuming power, PTI faced numerous socioeconomic challenges. However, they implemented various institutional reforms, including local body reorganization (Imran et al., 2023). Notably, PTI enjoyed a cordial relationship with the establishment, unlike previous governments. They introduced Chinese agriculture-based technologies, boosting productivity in the agricultural sector. Legislative changes were made to the court system, criminal and civil codes, and the Anti-Terrorism Act, enhancing organizational efficiency.

Direction Of Country
Question: Do you think that our country is on the right direction or on the wrong direction?

DK/NR
12%

Wrong direction
45%

Right direction
43%

■ DK/NR   ■ Right direction   ⚹ Wrong direction
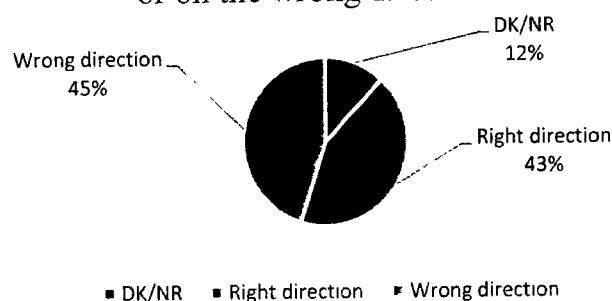
Source: Powered by Gallup Pakistan, 2020

Despite these efforts, a survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan in 2020 revealed a divided opinion among the populace regarding the country's direction. When asked if Pakistan was heading in the right direction or the wrong direction, 43% believed it was on the right path, while 45% thought it was on the wrong track. The remaining 12% were unsure or chose not to respond. This skepticism raises questions about the government's progress and future trajectory.

Direction Of Country
Party Wise Breakdown
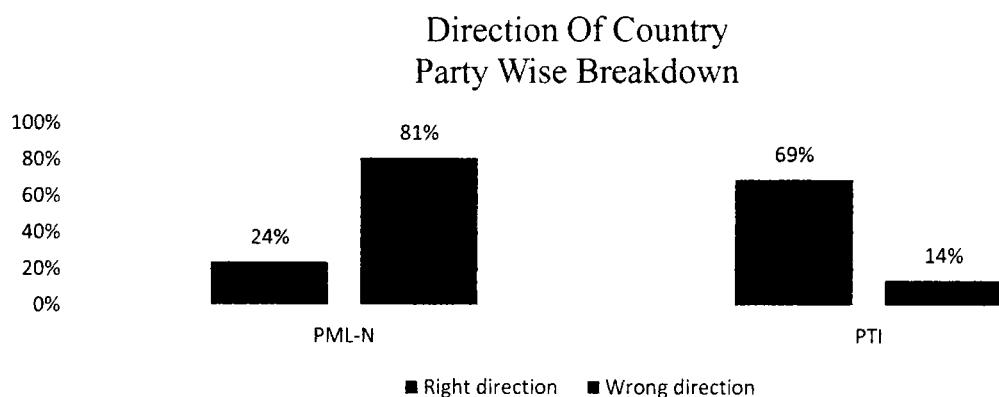
Source: Powered by Gallup Pakistan, Feb 08 – Feb 15, 2020

The direction of the country is viewed differently by various political parties. A survey revealed that 24% of PML-N supporters and 81% of PTI supporters are satisfied with the country's direction. This diversity in opinions reflects the complex political landscape of Pakistan. Pakistan's political landscape has its unique characteristics. While all political parties and individuals emphasize democratic values like accountability, transparency, socioeconomic justice, and the rule of law, their implementation can be inconsistent. Political strategies and leadership styles vary across parties and individuals. The country's institutional framework also plays a significant role. State institutions like the military, bureaucracy, and intelligence services have a distinct professional culture and hierarchical structure. In contrast, civil society organizations like political parties and elected assemblies face specific challenges. This contrast can impact the country's democratic development. Consequently, Pakistan's parliament has a limited role in decision-making. Legislators' priorities and actions can influence the country's democratic progress. Understanding these factors is essential for addressing the challenges and opportunities in Pakistan's political landscape.

CHAPTER 4

ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN FROM 2013 TO 2018

This chapter examines the influence of political leaders on Pakistani governance from 2013 to 2018, with a specific focus on Nawaz Sharif's governance and its impact on the parameters of good governance, including the rule of law, transparency, accountability, and equity. The study concentrates on this specific time, looking closely at major political individuals who guided the nation, particularly Nawaz Sharif's leadership and its effects on the country's governance system. The policies, decisions, and modifications made by Nawaz Sharif are thoroughly examined in this text, with a particular focus on how they altered the structure of government and influenced the public's perception and trust. This study examines public opinion-influencing factors about people's perceptions and levels of trust in Nawaz Sharif's leadership and analyzes his governance from different dimensions, including its impact on the rule of law, transparency, accountability, and equity. Furthermore, this study explores how Nawaz Sharif's leadership style, as viewed through the lens of contingency theory and Fiedler's model, aligned with or diverged from the situational demands of the country, shedding light on the effectiveness of his leadership in promoting good governance. This study also examines the role of the media in shaping public opinion about Nawaz Sharif's governance and the long-term consequences of his decisions, providing a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between his political leadership and the operation of the government.

During Nawaz Sharif's tenure, the government made efforts to promote equity through various initiatives. The PML-N government launched programs aimed at providing economic opportunities to the marginalized segments of society, such as the Yellow Taxi Scheme and the Laptop Distribution Program. The government also continued the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) and introduced higher education scholarship programs. Furthermore, the government took steps to strengthen law and order across the country, with a particular focus on Karachi. The operation against terrorists in North Waziristan, Zarb-e-Azb, was a significant milestone in this regard. Nawaz Sharif's leadership style, as per the contingency theory and Fiedler's model, was task-oriented and focused on achieving specific goals, which aligned with the

situational demands of the country at the time. His government's efforts to strengthen the rule of law, transparency, and accountability also reflect a leader-match situation, where his style aligned with the needs of the situation. Ultimately, Nawaz Sharif's leadership demonstrated a mix of effective task-oriented leadership and areas for improvement in addressing corruption and promoting transparency.

4.1 Political Leadership in the Governance System of Pakistan

There were three distinct eras of leadership within the PML (N) from 2013 to 2018: Nawaz-Zardari, Nawaz-Mamnoon, and Abbasi-Mamnoon. From June 2013 to September 9, 2013, when Asif Ali Zardari's presidency came to an end, politicians from Punjab and Sindh collaborated without displaying any preference for their respective provinces. This was the case during Nawaz Sharif's third term. Together, they fostered inclusivity and unity (Hashmi, 2022). Nonetheless, a few unique events took place during the Nawaz- and Abbasi-Mamnoon periods.

4.2 Nawaz Sharif Tenure

Nawaz Sharif's first government was formed in 1990 after he won the elections as the head of the right-wing political parties, Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA/IJI). He became the chief minister of Punjab and later the prime minister of Pakistan with 153 votes in the Parliament. His government's program focused on maintaining good relations with neighboring countries, supporting Muslim rights worldwide, and resolving the Kashmir conflict according to UN resolutions. Additionally, he aimed to initiate wide-ranging national reconstruction plans, decentralize failing industries, and develop a nuclear energy program for large-scale businesses. However, his government faced challenges, including a power crisis due to rising oil prices, which affected the country's peaceful nuclear program. Nawaz Sharif's leadership was marked by a desire to strengthen the economy and improve Pakistan's international relations (Syed, 1998). He sought to decentralize industries, promote nuclear energy, and support Kashmiris' right to self-determination. Despite these efforts, his government faced significant challenges, including a power crisis and economic struggles. Nevertheless, his tenure marked an important period in Pakistan's political history, shaping the country's development and international relations.

In 1997, the PML-N won a significant majority in the National Assembly elections, leading to Nawaz Sharif's appointment as Prime Minister. He emphasized the importance of accountability in his speech. On February 18, 1997, Parliament gave him a vote of confidence. The PML-N formed a coalition government with other parties, including the ANP and MQM. Nawaz Sharif selected his brother Shahbaz Sharif as the Chief Minister of Punjab, while Pervaiz Elahi was appointed speaker. The PML-N also formed coalition governments in other provinces, with various leaders at the helm. Nawaz Sharif's second term was marked by a focus on governance and power dynamics. His appointment of family members and allies to key positions reflected his leadership style and priorities. This period in Pakistan's political history was shaped by a complex web of alliances, loyalties, and power struggles. Pakistan's governance system has a troubled history, marked by political instability, financial struggles, and social issues. Despite efforts to transition to democratic democracy, the country faces internal strife, political gridlock, and flawed institutions (Wolf, 2017). The 2013 elections saw PML (N) win a majority, but their government's successes were marred by corruption allegations, poor management, and ineffective policies.

The Nawaz-Mamnoon administration's politics became divisive, rekindling provincialism, with PPP, PML (N), and PTI ruling Sindh, Punjab, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, respectively. While the civilian government and establishment appeared to have a good working relationship, some PML (N) leaders questioned the National Action Plan, which allowed the military to conduct Operation Zarbe-Azb, and implied a lack of confidence in the army by supporting PTI's sit-in against the Nawaz Government (Sidra & Muhammad , 2023). This highlights the complex and often contentious nature of Pakistan's political landscape.

Dynastic politics were prevalent during this time in Pakistan, especially in the PPP and PML (N). Local government elections were tainted by the provincial chief ministers' sway over district administrations, even after the provinces passed new local government statutes, making them mere extensions of their authority. The public's confidence in their elected representatives was damaged by the absence of direct democracy and politico-economic autonomy, leaving residents dependent on provincial government located in regional capitals. The 2015 Protection of Women Against Violence Bill was introduced by this government, which prided itself on being

socially centrist (Javed, 2021). Across the nation, this measure received broad acknowledgment and support.

Pakistan's political landscape during this period was characterized by dynastic politics, with the PPP and PML (N) being prominent examples. The influence of provincial chief ministers over district administrations raised concerns about the integrity of local government elections, despite efforts to decentralize power. This led to a disconnect between citizens and their elected representatives, with residents relying heavily on provincial governments (Mohammad & Yasmin , 2023). On a positive note, the government introduced the 2015 Protection of Women Against Violence Bill, which received widespread support and recognition. Pakistan's economic reforms and initiatives like CPEC increased global connectivity and interconnectedness. However, the political system continued to be dominated by a small elite, making it challenging to establish a fully liberal democratic culture. Prime Minister Abbasi's tenure saw limited changes to the status quo, and public support for the PTI grew as Nawaz Sharif and his allies questioned the establishment's role in his removal. Nevertheless, the passage of the FATA reforms bill was a significant achievement, receiving praise from all political parties (Amin et al, 2018).

4.3 The PML-N's Performance from 2013 to 2018

During Nawaz Sharif's Prime minister, numerous obstacles had to be overcome to improve Pakistan's legal system, including political unpredictability, security issues, widespread corruption, ineffective bureaucracy, backlogs in the court system, and resistance from political parties. The reform environment was further complicated by international pressures, cultural norms, criminal networks' influence, economic limits, and divisions based on race and religion. Significant challenges were also presented by political patronage networks, institutional resistance, and a lack of legal knowledge. To overcome these obstacles and preserve the rule of law in a complicated and dynamic environment, it was necessary to have strong political will, strategic planning, popular backing, and slow, consistent approaches to legal and administrative reforms.

Accountability was essential for good governance, and its lack remained a significant challenge in Pakistan's political landscape. Some PML (N) party leaders took issue with the National Action Plan, especially a section describing "economic terrorism" as political or

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administrative corruption or misbehavior, implying a lack of confidence in state institutions by endorsing the PTI's 126-day sit-in against the Nawaz Government in Islamabad (Ashfaq & Roofi, 2023). Support for the PTI increased as a result of Nawaz Sharif and his allies holding the establishment and the Supreme Court accountable for his removal. Abbasi consistently conferred with Nawaz Sharif before making decisions, reflecting an elite political mindset (Amin et al., 2018).

Pakistan and China have maintained cordial ties since 1951. They started the CPEC, which was beneficial to both countries as well as other people in the area. They signed 51 agreements in April 2015 with China contributing $46 billion to the CPEC's advancement. This project, which was vital to Pakistan's economy, was supposed to take ten or fifteen years to finish. In addition to giving Chinese products a safe path, CPEC assisted Pakistan in addressing its energy and joblessness problems. It was also considered a way to lessen India's sway over the area. Part of China's "One Belt, One Road" program, the CPEC was hailed by the media and government as an important milestone for Pakistan's economy. However, because it could change Pakistan's future, it was criticized by rivals like India (Malik et al, 2023). In general, China and Pakistan gained from the Partnership, Growth, and Peace (CPEC) initiative in the region as a whole. Pakistan may now start a new stage of its economic growth thanks to CPEC. The IMF President indicated in 2016 that CPEC was crucial in assisting Pakistan's economy in emerging from its crisis (Hussain, 2019).

Among the major CPEC projects are:

- Energy initiatives designed to meet Pakistan's energy requirements.
- initiatives for infrastructure, with an emphasis on improving the rail and road systems.
- Gawadar projects comprise the construction of a hospital, fresh water treatment and supply facilities, Gawadar International Airport, and port-related infrastructure for free zones and Export Processing Zone (EPZs.
- Additional CPEC-related advancements include the Cross-Border Optical Fibre Cable and Digital Terrestrial Multimedia Broadcast projects.

The CPEC project falls under several categories of good governance, including equity, rule of law, transparency, and accountability. By promoting economic growth and social development in

Pakistan, CPEC aims to reduce economic and social inequalities (equity). The project is governed by a robust legal framework, ensuring that it is implemented in accordance with international standards and norms (rule of law). The project's agreements, financing, and implementation plans are transparent, with regular updates provided to stakeholders (transparency). The governments of Pakistan and China, as well as the project's implementing agencies, are accountable for the project's outcomes and impacts (accountability).
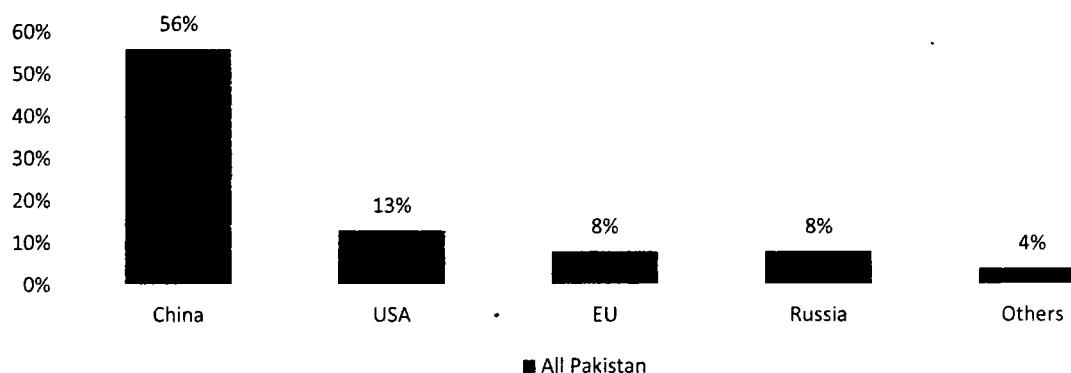
Source: GIA 75 Survey 2022

Question: "Which of the following would you prefer your country to partner with economically – the US, China, Russia, or The EU? If there is another preference, please state it?" According to a Gallup & Gilani Pakistan survey, 56% of Pakistanis prefer an economic partnership with China, followed by 13% with the US, 8% with Russia, and 4% with the EU. This preference reflects the positive impact of CPEC on Pakistan's economy and the strong ties between the two countries.

Pakistanis' lifestyles were greatly enhanced by the PML-N administration's Metro Bus service, which offered an easy and reasonably priced way to get about Lahore, Islamabad, and Multan. The objective of the initiative was to reduce the high cost of transport for workers and students to and from work and school. With over 150,000 people traveling daily in Rawalpindi and Islamabad alone, the Metro Bus Authority (MBA) claims that the service has succeeded in surpassing the milestone of one billion passengers since its start. This project falls under the category of equity. Captain (r) Zahid Saeed, the chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission of Pakistan (FPSC), praised the achievements and underlined Shahbaz Sharif's

outstanding efforts in developing the Metro Bus service, particularly on Murree Road (Iqbal, 2022).

As stated by Chinese President Xi Jinping and the PML-N leadership ease traffic jams as well as improve the city's transportation infrastructure, the Orange Line Metro Train project was a public transportation system in Lahore, Pakistan. The project was first proposed in 2014 and underwent several difficulties and problems during its execution, such as legal battles over environmental issues and the relocation of locals along the route. Despite the obstacles and disputes, the Orange Line Metro Train project's completion got underway. An elevated rail line with 26 stops spread over a distance of around 27 km had to be built (Khan et al, 2022). Despite early obstacles, the project was finished and opened in 2017.

On June 15, 2014, Pakistan launched Operation Zarb-e-Azb to combat terrorism. FATA and the North Waziristan Agency were the starting points. The administration attempted to negotiate peace with terrorists before this operation. To tackle terrorism more effectively, Pakistan, however, altered its strategy following the horrific APS tragedy and launched Zarb-e-Azb. However, 2013 was an especially challenging one for Karachi, as numerous people lost their lives in deliberate attacks (Gohar et al,2022). It gained prominence for its violence, particularly when prominent people were among the victims. The PML-N leadership took steps to strengthen law and order across the country and strongly supported the Rangers' efforts to bring back calm to Karachi.

To foster self-employment, the PML-N government introduced programs like laptop distribution and a yellow taxi service. This initiative falls under the category of equity, and its successful implementation can be attributed to effective leadership and contingency planning strategies employed, as explained by contingency theory and Fiedler's model. The government also continued the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) for the less fortunate and launched higher education scholarship programs, promoting access to education and social mobility. Additionally, they revived international sports relations and launched the Pakistan Super League (PSL) T20 league in the UAE. Under Nawaz Sharif's leadership, Pakistan strengthened ties with Muslim-majority nations and engaged in Middle East diplomacy, hosting the 13th Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) conference in Islamabad in March 2017 (Bengali, 2019).

Building on these successes, the government continued to implement initiatives promoting social equity and economic growth.

Building on their successes, the PML-N triumphed as the single-largest party in politics with an overwhelming victory in the recent elections held in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). This achievement falls under the category of equity, demonstrating the government's effective leadership and contingency planning strategies. The PML-N secured an incredible 32 seats out of the 41 seats that were contested, enabling it to create its government independently of other political parties (Dawn, 2016). With this overwhelming majority, the KP Assembly passed the KP-FATA Merger Bill, which was then forwarded to the National Assembly and Senate for assessment. Although the bill was challenged by the PML-N government's allies, the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) and JUI (F), its passage marked a significant milestone in the country's political history (Begum, 2018). The merger resulted in a more equitable distribution of power, as FATA was integrated into KP, and Baluchistan's and KP's Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATAs) were also combined. This move promoted regional harmony and reduced political disparities, further solidifying the government's commitment to social equity and economic growth.

Under the PML-N's leadership, the government continued to promote social equity and protect the rights of marginalized communities. The Transgender Person Bill was enacted in 2018, which was a major step towards protecting the rights of transgender people. It became a law after acting President Sadiq Sanjrani gave his approval. This achievement falls under the category of equity, demonstrating the government's effective leadership and commitment to social justice. The Protection of Women against Violence Bill, enacted by the Punjab government in 2015 and signed into law by Governor Malik Rafiq Rajwana in 2016, is another notable aspect of the legislation (Malik et al, 2023). This rule targets several types of abuse against women, including physical, verbal, cyber, and emotional abuse, and it represents a major victory for women's rights, even though some members have opposed it. The government also set up a toll-free hotline for grievances. Furthermore, the Prevention and Combating of Electronic Crimes Bill was approved by President Mamnoon Hussain, which aims to prevent online terrorist operations and reduce

cybercrime (Abbasi et al, 2021). These legislative achievements demonstrate the government's commitment to promoting social equity, protecting human rights, and ensuring national security.

Building on their commitment to social equity and human rights, the government introduced several legislative measures to protect vulnerable segments of society. After Pervez Rashid's bill came forward in 2015, the National Assembly adopted the National Commission on the Rights of the Child Act in 2017, aiming to scrutinize existing legislation and ensure the safeguarding of children's rights. This initiative falls under the category of social justice and human rights, demonstrating the government's effective leadership and dedication to the well-being of all citizens. Marvi Memon presented the Acid and Burn Crime Act of 2018, another significant piece of legislation in the National Assembly, which accelerated the criminal justice system's trial procedure and mandated free medical care for victims of acid attacks. This legislation received widespread support from human rights advocates across the country and opposition parties (Asif & Mahmood, 2023), showcasing the government's commitment to upholding human rights and ensuring justice for all.

4.4 Interstate Institution Relations

The PML-N Federal Government's decision to prosecute Gen. (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf for treason marked a significant development in Pakistan's civil-military relations between May 2013 and May 2018. This move led to his indictment on May 31, 2014, and strained relationships between the military and civilian populations. Musharraf's medical treatment at the Armed Forces Institute of Cardiology for three months in early 2014 sparked speculation about military involvement. The trial's tension eased slightly when General Raheel Sharif, then-COAS, intervened, enabling Musharraf to leave the country for medical treatment. This development highlights the complexities of balancing accountability and institutional considerations in Pakistan's civil-military relations (Dawn, 2016). This episode illustrates the application of legal principles, accountability, transparency, and equity in Pakistan's justice system.

Justice Mazhar Alam Miankhel assumed leadership of the Special Court following Justice Faisal Arab's appointment to the Supreme Court. In 2016, preceding President Pervez Musharraf gave an excuse for his absence from court, claiming he had medical reasons. Later, he requested

authorization to receive medical treatment overseas, and his request was approved but only if he could return for court appearances. Musharraf, however, was deemed an absconder despite his repeated absences from sessions. In 2018 the Special Court ordered his assets to be seized and his Interpol arrest warrant issued. The chief justice criticized Musharraf's absence (The News International, 2018). The civil-military relationship deteriorated when former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that investigations against him were a reprisal for the treason prosecution against Musharraf.

PTI and PAT rallies in August 2014 sparked worries about the stability of the elected government. Many thought that the establishment was behind these protests in an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of the government, particularly in light of Musharraf's trial. The military's call for conversation raised questions about its neutrality and its possible involvement. The debate over who started the conflict was ignited by COAS's role in mediating it. PM Nawaz Sharif asserted that although PTI and PAT leaders denied it, they had urged mediation. Imran Khan was accused by Javed Hashmi of obeying establishment orders. There were questions about possible establishment participation when the ISI chief was replaced amid a political crisis. The former head of ISI was charged with helping Imran Khan remove Nawaz Sharif from office (Dawn, 2014).

On October 6, 2016, a news article sparked a controversy, leading to an investigation known as "Dawn Leaks." The situation escalated when a letter from the Prime Minister's Office was leaked on April 29, 2017, which led to a disagreement between the government and state institutions. The issue was later addressed through official channels, reaffirming the commitment to constitutional and democratic processes. The Interior Ministry notification supported the recommendations in the inquiry report (Gohar, 2022).This incident, which occurred during the tenure of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, led to a strain in relations between the government and state institutions, resulting in his removal from office within a year.

The Election Initiative of 2017, sponsored by former law minister Zahid Hamid and approved by the National Assembly, is another important initiative that aims at ensuring free and fair elections across the nation. In July 2017, the Supreme Court disqualified Nawaz Sharif from

office due to his involvement in the Panama case. This decision was based on his failure to disclose financial information and provide necessary documentation. The disqualification led to questions about the independence of the Supreme Court and potential influence from external factors. Some analysts noted that the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), which is overseen by the Supreme Court, had initiated cases against Sharif and his family, raising concerns about the separation of powers (Gohar, 2022; Zahid, 2023). The decision highlighted debates about the relationship between elected officials and national security matters (The Wire, 2017).

The introduction of Military Courts in Pakistan via the 21st Amendment to the Constitution in 2014, following the Peshawar Tragedy, has been controversial. While the ruling PML-N supported the amendment, other political groups like JUI-F and JI raised concerns about the potential misconnection between religion and terrorism. Critics argued that military courts did not address the underlying issues with the police and prosecution systems, leading to questions about the effectiveness of substituting military courts for civilian judiciaries. Despite the two-year sunset provision, the PML-N leadership did not implement measures to enhance the civilian judicial system. The Supreme Court halted executions by the Military Court in 2015 due to concerns over secrecy and lack of transparency. According to the International Commission of Jurists, during the two years of Military Courts' existence, 274 convictions were reported, including 161 death sentences. However, the establishment of Military Courts raises concerns about the erosion of civilian courts' legitimacy and the blurring of the division of powers, highlighting the need for reforms in the current system rather than a separate military justice system (International Commission of Jurists, 2017).

In January 2018, protests against SSP's extrajudicial execution of Mr. Naqeeb Mehsud brought the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) to light. The campaign, spearheaded by Mr. Manzoor Pashteen, opposes the elimination of landmines from FATA, extrajudicial killings, and missing persons. The PTM is making requests because FATA's development has been neglected and because of the pain people have gone through as a result of counterterrorism measures, such as forced disappearances and insufficient assistance for returning citizens. COAS and cooperate officers acknowledged some demands and agreed that some complaints were legitimate, but they also advised against protests that could impede the advancement of counterterrorism efforts. Even

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so, the PTM gained popularity among Pashtuns all over the country, sparking allegations of foreign involvement and the rise of competing movements such as the "Pakistan Zindabad MovementMr. Ali Wazir branded the PTM's leaders and supporters as hired goons and charged that the state was financing a disinformation operation against the organization.

In January 2018, the Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) emerged as a prominent force through protests against the extrajudicial killing of Naqeeb Mehsud by the SSP. The PTM, led by Manzoor Pashteen, advocates for addressing issues related to extrajudicial killings, landmines in FATA, and missing persons cases. The movement seeks to address the neglect of FATA's development and the impact of counterterrorism measures on the local population. Officials acknowledged some legitimate complaints and agreed to address certain demands, while also cautioning against protests that could hinder counterterrorism efforts. The PTM gained significant support among Pashtuns nationwide, leading to allegations of foreign interference and the emergence of rival movements (The Express Tribune, 2018). However, some individuals have criticized the PTM, questioning its legitimacy and accusing the state of orchestrating a disinformation campaign against the organization.

The Pashtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM) achieved a significant milestone in May 2018 when the National Security Committee approved the merger of FATA and KP. This led to the passage of the 31st Amendment to the Constitution, which was a key demand of the PTM. However, despite this success, the movement's concerns regarding the FATA people's rights and grievances remained unaddressed by the elected civilian governments (Dawn, 2018). Furthermore, the FATA Reforms, approved by the Federal Cabinet in 2017, were not implemented due to political disagreements among allies. Additionally, the change of administration in Balochistan in January 2018 raised concerns about democratic manipulation. In the Senate elections, the PML-N secured 15 seats, and the joint opposition candidate, Sen. Muhammad Sadiq Sanjrani, won the Senate Chairman election, defeating Sen. Raja Zafarul Haq (Dawn, 2018). These events highlighted concerns about the democratic process and potential manipulation.

4.5 The Increasing Influence of Pakistan's Judiciary on Political Policy.

The judiciary's role in Pakistan's political landscape has been a subject of contentious debate, with some arguing that it has transcended its constitutional parameters. The former chairman of the Supreme Court was criticized for his perceived partiality and frequent public pronouncements on parliamentary matters, which were seen as infringing upon the separation of powers (Faqir, 2013). During the 2008 interim government, the judiciary was in a state of recovery following a period of isolation and authoritarianism, after the Lawyers' movement. Some scholars argue that the judicial branch should delegate more authority to the legislative branch, to maintain a delicate balance of power. In 2012, Prime Minister Gilani was charged with contempt of court for declining to pursue corruption allegations against President Asif Ali Zardari, leading to his resignation. Later, in 2017, the judiciary's focus on corruption culminated in the conviction and sentencing of Nawaz Sharif, who was also barred from holding public office (Pasha et al, 2023).

The judiciary in Pakistan has played a significant role in shaping the country's political landscape. Through its judicial activism, the judiciary has, at times, limited the power of the legislative branch. It has done so by exercising judicial review over public appointments, monitoring their operations, and even setting prices for essential goods. Moreover, the judiciary has initiated development projects and scrutinized the distribution of development funds by politicians. Notably, the court of Chief Justice Saqib Nisar announced plans to construct dams and established a dam fund. These actions have contributed to the evolution of Pakistan's political system (Amir et al, 2022).

4.6 Security Challenges

Pakistan encountered significant security challenges following the 9/11 attacks, with the emergence of modern terrorism. The government, under General Musharraf's leadership, supported the US-led War on Terror against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. This led to retaliatory terrorist attacks by these groups against Pakistan's security forces, civilians, and infrastructure, resulting in substantial human and material losses. Despite efforts to combat terrorism, the threat persisted, with groups like the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) continuing to pose a challenge to the country's security and minority communities However, a decline in casualties after 2014

suggests that the government's security measures and accountability efforts had some success (Ali & Tassawar, 2024). This situation underscores the complex security challenges that Pakistan faces and the need for sustained efforts to address the root causes of terrorism and ensure the safety and security of all citizens.

Pakistan's counterterrorism policies, implemented in response to the 9/11 attacks, have had significant consequences for the country's governance. President Musharraf's decision to support the US-led War on Terror resulted in financial aid, but also led to internal strife, economic strain, and human losses. The mid-2000s saw an increase in internal security threats, with US drone strikes in FATA and KP causing civilian casualties, displacement, and economic strain on local economies. This exacerbated existing socio-economic issues, heightened tensions, and sectarian violence, leading to a decline in public trust and weakening governance structures (Jones & Smith, 2024). From 2011 to 2018, sectarian and ethnic conflicts intensified, further destabilizing the political environment, while continued drone attacks resulted in ongoing civilian casualties and unrest. The long-term economic repercussions included significant financial losses and social fabric disruption, fueling further unrest and economic disparities. Consequently, the government's response to internal and external threats has weakened governance, contributing to political instability and a growing disconnect between the government and the populace (Djedei & Kerboua, 2024). Pakistan's counterterrorism policies have thus led to enduring challenges in maintaining order and public trust, significantly impacting the country's governance.

The conflict in Pakistan's KP and Tribal Districts has significantly impacted civilian lives and governance. The socio-political, economic, and psychological effects have been severe, leading to widespread displacement (Hussain & Alam, 2024). Displaced individuals have faced challenges in host cities, including limited support from provincial governments and law enforcement harassment. Certain communities, such as the Pashtun ethnic group, have experienced harassment, raising concerns about discrimination and unequal treatment. This situation bears similarities to the experiences of Muslim communities in the UK, who have faced challenges due to counterterrorism policies. The primary governance issue revealed by these events is the lack of preparedness and coordination by the Pakistani government in addressing the consequences of its counterterrorism policies (Imran et al, 2024). The displacement and resettlement issues highlight

deficiencies in policy implementation and inter-provincial cooperation. Law enforcement agencies' harassment and staged encounters indicate serious governance and human rights concerns. The conflict has disrupted traditional social structures in the Tribal Districts, leading to significant socio-cultural changes and challenges (Idrees et al, 2024). Politically, these policies have contributed to unrest and a sense of injustice among affected communities, exemplified by movements like the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM).

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project has faced challenges due to Pakistan's internal political dynamics, highlighting the need for adaptive leadership. According to the Contingency Theory (Ejaz, 2019), the effectiveness of leadership is contingent upon the ability to adapt to dynamic situations. In this case, the leadership's ability to navigate the complex political landscape and respond to changing circumstances is crucial for the project's success. Furthermore, the Fiedler Model (Fiedler, 1967) suggests that leadership effectiveness is dependent on the match between the leader's style and the situational demands. In the context of CPEC, the leader's ability to adjust their style to suit the changing political environment is essential. For instance, during times of political instability, a more autocratic leadership style may be necessary to ensure swift decision-making, while during periods of relative stability, a more democratic style may be more appropriate to foster collaboration and consensus-building. The Pakistani authorities' consideration of measures to enhance the physical security of Chinese nationals living and working in the country is a step towards addressing the challenges posed by the political dynamics. However, the leadership's ability to adapt and respond to the evolving situation will ultimately determine the project's success.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has been impacted by geopolitical competition, with criticisms and attacks from the US and India being echoed in Pakistan. The project has faced criticism regarding its cost, transparency, and economic impact, notably from Alice Wells, US Department of State's Acting Assistant Secretary. However, the governments of China and Pakistan have responded with refutations and explanations. Pakistan's Minister of Planning and Development, Asad Umar, acknowledged challenges in debt servicing and sustainability but clarified that these issues were inherent to Pakistan's economy, unrelated to the alleged "debt trap" attributed to China. The CPEC's effectiveness is contingent upon navigating

geopolitical rivalries and addressing economic concerns, as per Contingency Theory (Minwang, 2024). Concerns about the security of Chinese personnel and institutions in Pakistan have been raised, and enhancing security measures has become essential for Pakistan. However, implementing these measures has posed issues related to institutional, legal, and administrative accountability (Khan & Bukhari, 2024). The success of CPEC is crucial for bilateral relations between China and Pakistan and for addressing security concerns.

Gender equality initiatives have been undertaken in Pakistan, including the Punjab Women Empowerment Package (PWEP) implemented by the Punjab government from 2012 to 2018. The PWEP aimed to address gender inequality through policy initiatives, including legislative changes, improved access to healthcare and education, economic opportunities, and social safety programs. Research suggests that PWEP had a positive impact on women's socioeconomic status and gender equality metrics in Punjab (Siyal et al, 2024). This demonstrates efforts by Pakistan's political leadership to address gender disparities through targeted legislation and campaigns, contingent upon effective implementation and accountability, as per Contingency Theory.

During the PML-N's tenure from 2013-2018, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government prioritized infrastructural development and economic reforms, notably establishing CPEC. However, the government faced challenges in addressing healthcare and education concerns due to funding constraints and complex governance structures. According to Contingency Theory, the effectiveness of leadership is contingent upon the ability to adapt to dynamic situations. In this case, the government's ability to navigate political instability and allegations of corruption was crucial. Furthermore, the Fiedler Model suggests that leadership effectiveness is dependent on the match between the leader's style and the situational demands. In this context, Nawaz Sharif's leadership style was task-oriented, focusing on economic growth and infrastructural development. However, the situation demanded a more relationship-oriented approach to address the political instability and allegations of corruption. After his removal, Imran Khan appealed to his supporters, sparking protests across Pakistan. The protests aim to force early elections, with Khan's message gaining support. Meanwhile, the Electoral Commission of Pakistan is investigating allegations of undeclared land ownership and potential bribery (Rasool et al, 2024). These developments

highlight the ongoing governance and political challenges in Pakistan, emphasizing the need for adaptive leadership and effective governance structures.

During the PML-N administration (2013-2018), the government prioritized social issues alongside infrastructural development and economic reforms. Education reforms, such as the Prime Minister's Education Reforms Programmes, aimed to increase access and improve education standards. Healthcare reforms were also enacted, despite facing challenges due to budgetary constraints and governance issues (Mushtaq et al., 2018). However, gender inequality and minority rights abuse persisted, highlighting the need for more comprehensive legislative initiatives. According to the Contingency Theory, the effectiveness of leadership is contingent upon the ability to adapt to dynamic situations. In this case, the government's ability to navigate budgetary constraints and governance issues was crucial. The Fiedler Model suggests that leadership effectiveness is dependent on the match between the leader's style and the situational demands. In this context, the leader's task-oriented style was suitable for implementing education and healthcare reforms, but a more relationship-oriented approach was needed to address gender inequality and minority rights abuse.

To enhance public service delivery and address these challenges, the government launched various e-governance initiatives. For instance, the Sindh Online project (2010) provided online services like licenses and certificates (Asghar, 2013). The e-Khidmat initiative (2012) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Punjab Information Technology Board (PITB) establishment (2013) advanced e-governance (Shaikh et al., 2016). The Pakistan Online Visa System (2017) simplified online visa applications for international nationals. In this context, the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) can be applied to understand the adoption and usage of e-governance initiatives. According to TAM, the perceived usefulness and ease of use of e-governance services influence citizens' intention to use them. The government's efforts to provide online services and simplify processes can improve the perceived usefulness and ease of use, leading to increased adoption and usage.

During this period, Pakistan received a $6.7 billion IMF loan, which aimed to address balance of payments concerns. However, the loan was conditional on implementing economic

reforms, including tax increases and subsidy reductions. The IMF and World Bank provided financial assistance and support for energy sector reforms, infrastructure projects, and austerity measures. These measures had a significant impact on Pakistan's economy and public spending, leading to increased public discontent and protests. According to the Political Economy Framework, the interaction between political and economic factors influences policy decisions and leadership dynamics (Asif,2023). In this case, the government's response to economic challenges was shaped by political considerations, including the need to maintain public support and manage political rivalries. The austerity measures and subsidy reductions implemented as part of the IMF package led to increased public discontent and criticism from opposition parties, ultimately contributing to Nawaz Sharif's ouster from office in 2017(Sehrani, 2022). The Contingency Theory suggests that leadership effectiveness is contingent upon the ability to adapt to dynamic situations. In this context, Nawaz Sharif's leadership was challenged by the economic conditions and the measures taken to address them. The Fiedler Model highlights the importance of a leader's style and situational demands. In this case, Nawaz Sharif's task-oriented style was suited to implementing economic reforms, but a more relationship-oriented approach was needed to manage political rivalries and public discontent.

All PAkistan

Economic problems will worsen, 56%

Economic problems will not worsen, 29%

— DK/NR, 16%

0%   10%   20%   30%   40%   50%   60%
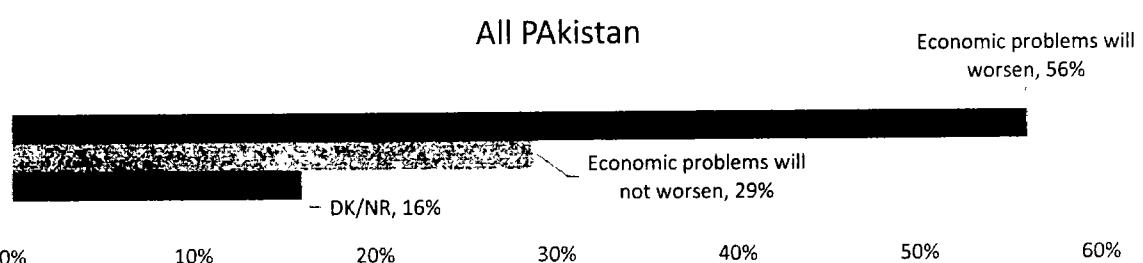
Fig:vii.Source: (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

Question: "Recently, IMF offered aid to Pakistan for relief from the economic crisis. Some people believe that accepting this aid will worsen Pakistan's economic problems, while others believe that will not be the case if aid is accepted. What do you think?" However, a recent survey by Gallup & Gilani Pakistan revealed that a majority of Pakistanis (56%) believe that the IMF aid provided to their country will worsen their economic situation. This perception can be understood through the lens of contingency theory, which suggests that a mismatch between environmental

factors (IMF aid) and organizational factors (Pakistan's economic conditions) leads to a perceived negative outcome. The survey results show that Pakistanis are skeptical about the benefits of IMF aid, with a higher percentage of highly educated individuals (76%) holding this view. This suggests that the government's decision to seek IMF aid may not have aligned with the country's economic needs, leading to a contingent mismatch and a perceived negative impact on the economy.

The survey's findings highlight Pakistan's complex relationship with foreign aid, which has significantly influenced its economic and policy priorities. According to the Contingency Theory, the effectiveness of foreign aid depends on the specific context and circumstances of the recipient country. In Pakistan's case, the significant military assistance from the US ($3.5 billion between 2013 and 2020) and China's investment in CPEC ($62 billion) have had a profound impact on its security and foreign policy priorities. However, the Fiedler Model suggests that the leadership style and situational demands also play a crucial role in determining the effectiveness of foreign aid. In Pakistan's case, the leadership has faced challenges in balancing the benefits and drawbacks of foreign aid, particularly in terms of debt sustainability and geopolitical implications. Furthermore, the Contingency Theory highlights the importance of considering the specific context and circumstances of Pakistan's relationship with foreign aid (Khan & Bukhari, 2024). For instance, the COVID-19 pandemic has severely impacted healthcare and education, while the EU's diplomatic pressure on human rights issues has added another layer of complexity.

WJP Rule of Law Index Factors

	Factor 1: Constraints on Government Powers	Factor 2: Absence of Corruption	Factor 3: Open Government	Factor 5: Order and Security	Factor 6: Regulatory Enforcement
2015 (102 Countries)	67	82	83	101	99
2016 (113 Countries)	72	97	79	113	109
2017-18 (113 Countries)	66	99	80	113	105
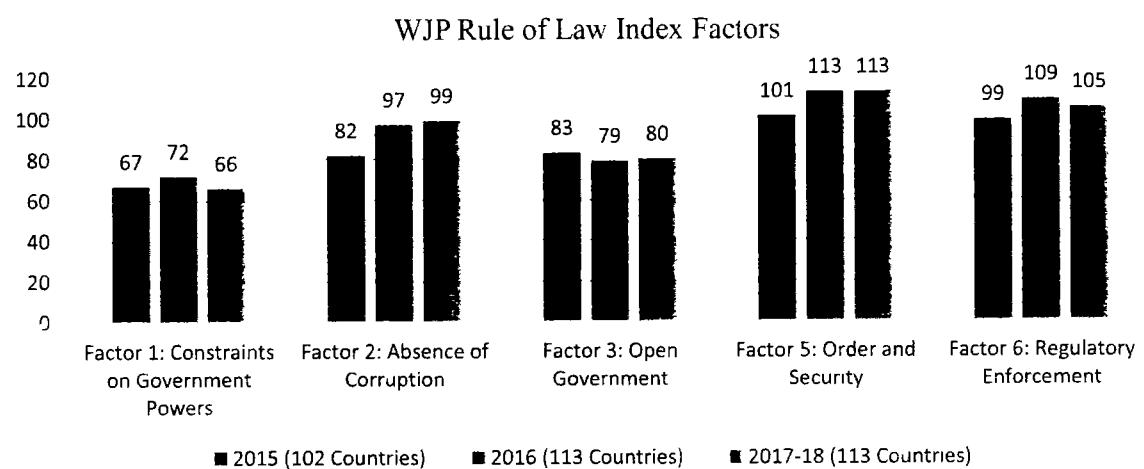
Source: World Justice Project. (2015-2018)

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The World Justice Project's (WJP) Adherence to the Rule of Law index measures the extent to which a country adheres to the rule of law, with scores ranging from 0.00 (weakest) to 1.00 (strongest). The index is divided into four categories: Weaker (0.00-0.25), Weak (0.25-0.50), Strong (0.50-0.75), and Stronger (0.75-1.00). A higher score indicates a stronger adherence to the rule of law, essential for promoting justice, accountability, and human rights. Pakistan's scores on this index have been consistently weak, with an overall score of 0.38 in 2015, 0.38 in 2016, and a slightly improved score of 0.39 in 2017-18, indicating a weak adherence to the rule of law. These scores suggest that Pakistan faces challenges in upholding the rule of law, which can negatively affect its economic development, political stability, and social welfare.

The gradual improvement in Pakistan's transparency scores from 2012 to 2017 can be attributed to the Contingency Theory, which suggests that leadership style and situational demands influence organizational outcomes. In this case, Nawaz Sharif's leadership (2013-2017) and his administration's policies aimed at increasing governmental transparency and accountability created a favorable context for progress. The Fiedler Model also applies, as the leadership style and situational demands interacted to produce the moderate transparency scores. The steady rise in transparency indicates that the leadership's task-oriented style was effective in implementing policies and achieving incremental progress. However, the moderate scores also suggest that the leadership faced challenges in addressing deeper systemic issues, highlighting the need for continued reforms and vigilance in governance practices. This is consistent with the Contingency Theory, which emphasizes the importance of context and leadership in shaping outcomes.

TRANSPRACY

—◆—Transpracy
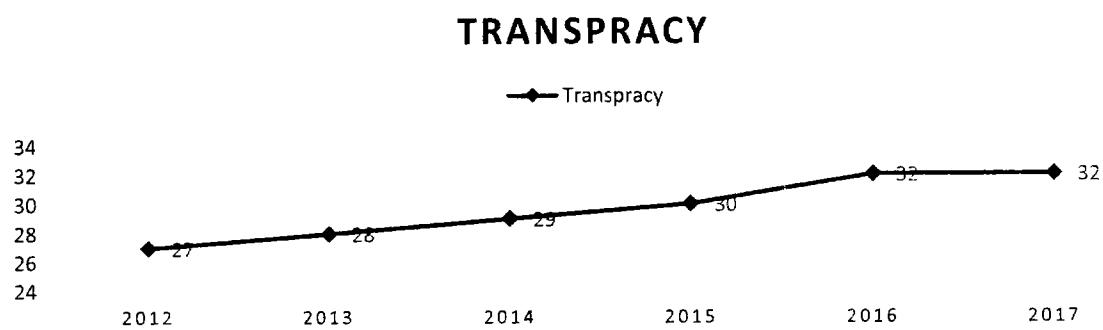
Source :(Transparency International, n.d.)

The fluctuations in Pakistan's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) scores between 2012 and 2018 can be attributed to the Contingency Theory, which suggests that leadership style and situational demands influence organizational outcomes. The low CPI scores and rankings in earlier years (2012-2014) reflected poorly on the government's efforts to combat corruption, leading to criticism and public discontent. This is consistent with the Contingency Theory, which posits that leadership must adapt to changing situational demands to achieve effective outcomes. The improvements in CPI scores and rankings in later years (2015-2018) suggest that the leadership made efforts to address corruption, but the overall perception of corruption remained a significant challenge. This is consistent with the Fiedler Model, which emphasizes the importance of leadership style and situational demands in achieving effective outcomes. The leadership faced pressure to strengthen institutions, implement reforms, and ensure accountability to address the corruption issue effectively. The CPI scores and rankings served as a benchmark for the government's performance and a reminder of the need for sustained efforts to combat corruption. This is consistent with the Contingency Theory, which highlights the importance of context and leadership in shaping outcomes. The fluctuations in CPI scores and rankings demonstrate the complex interplay of factors that influence corruption perceptions and the need for adaptive leadership to address this challenge.
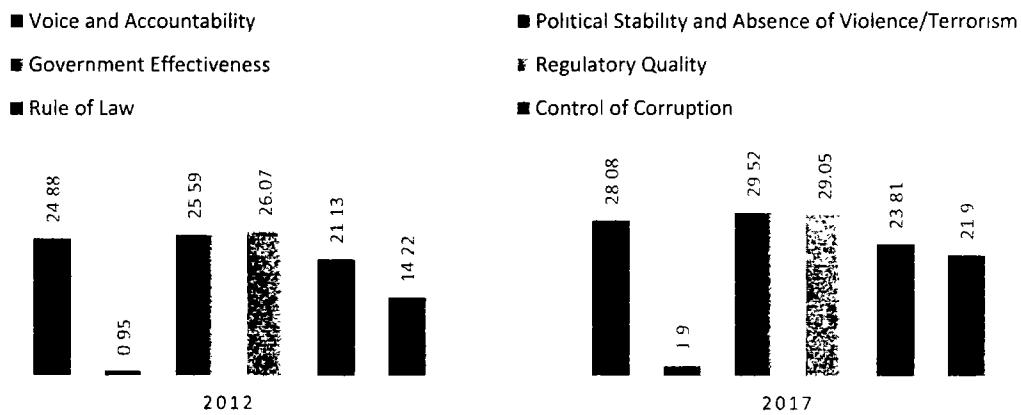

Fig :ix. Source: (WGI 2022)

During Nawaz Sharif's tenure as Prime Minister from 2013 to 2017, Pakistan experienced notable improvements across various governance indicators, consistent with the Contingency

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Theory. The Voice and Accountability score increased from 24.88 to 28.08, suggesting enhanced citizen participation and a freer media environment, consistent with the Fiedler Model. Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism improved from 0.95 to 1.9, indicating success in managing political violence and terrorism, although challenges remained. Government Effectiveness rose from 25.59 to 29.52, reflecting better public services and policy implementation, consistent with the Fiedler Model. Regulatory Quality increased from 26.07 to 29.05, suggesting more effective policies and regulations promoting private sector development, consistent with the Contingency Theory. The Rule of Law score rose from 21.13 to 23.81, indicating progress in contract enforcement, property rights, and judicial quality, consistent with the Fiedler Model. Control of Corruption saw significant improvement, rising from 14.22 to 21.9, reflecting efforts to reduce corruption, consistent with the Contingency Theory. These improvements suggest that Nawaz Sharif's governance focused on enhancing institutional performance and addressing key governance challenges, despite ongoing political and security constraints, consistent with the Contingency Theory and Fiedler Model.

PERCEPTION ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE RATING OF NAWAZ SHARIF

■ Dec 22, 2021 – Jan 31, 2022 What is your opinion about the performance of Nawaz Sharif last year?

■ Feb 01, 2023 – Feb 21, 2023 What is your opinion about the leader Nawaz Sharif?
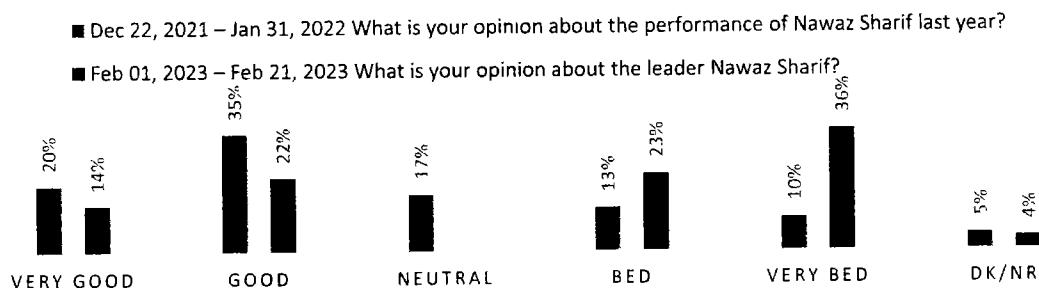
Source: Powered by Gallup Pakistan (2021-2022, 2023).

The Gallup Pakistan surveys indicate that opinions about Nawaz Sharif's performance are varied, consistent with the Contingency Theory. The first survey shows a mixed assessment, with 20% rating him "Very Good", 35% "Good", 17% neutral, 13% "Bad", and 10% "Very Bad", suggesting that his leadership style and situational demands have elicited differing responses. The second survey reinforces this, with 14% viewing him "Very Good", 22% "Good", 36% negatively ("Bad" or "Very Bad"), 23% neutral, and 4% undecided or non-responsive. This polarization is

consistent with the Fiedler Model, which emphasizes the importance of leadership style and situational demands in shaping outcomes. The Contingency Theory also applies, as the surveys highlight the context-dependent nature of Nawaz Sharif's public image, with a slightly higher percentage of respondents holding a negative view.

CHAPTER 5

ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ON THE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN FROM 2018- 2023

This chapter examines the impact of political leadership on the governance system in Pakistan between 2018 and 2023, a period marked by significant political developments and challenges. With a specific focus on Imran Khan's governance, this chapter assesses the effectiveness of his leadership in shaping the country's governance system through the lens of accountability, transparency, rule of law, and equity. Through an analysis of the decision-making processes, institutional performance, corruption, and public policy initiatives, this chapter evaluates Imran Khan's commitment to upholding these values and explores how his actions and policies influenced the country's economic, social, and political landscape. The chapter identifies key strengths and weaknesses in his approach to governance and provides a comprehensive understanding of the impact of Imran Khan's leadership on Pakistan's governance system during this period.

PTI's governance has been marked by a concerted effort to strengthen the parameters of good governance, with a particular focus on rule of law, transparency, accountability, and equity. In terms of rule of law, they have implemented reforms to ensure the independence of the judiciary and strengthen the legal framework, including the establishment of specialized courts to tackle corruption and terrorism cases. Transparency has been promoted through the introduction of measures such as the whistleblower protection law and the establishment of the Asset Recovery Unit, aimed at recovering looted national assets. Accountability has been enhanced through the strengthening of institutions like the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), which have been empowered to investigate and prosecute corruption cases. Furthermore, PTI's governance has aimed to promote equity through social welfare programs like Ehsaas, which provides financial assistance to vulnerable segments of society, and initiatives aimed at improving access to education and healthcare.

5.1 Political Party Until 2013

Imran Khan, a former cricket player and philanthropist, emerged as a prominent political figure in Pakistan. Unlike some other notable political figures, Khan's rise to prominence was not attributed to family connections or establishment backing. Instead, he built his political career through his efforts. While other leaders like Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto had familial ties with establisment, Khan's leadership abilities were demonstrated through his hard work and determination (Irfan & Krishnasamy, 2024.). In interviews, Khan claimed to have declined offers to join cabinets and political parties, including a offer of thirty seats in the PML (N) during the 1997 general election, showcasing his commitment to his vision and goals for the nation (Ullah, 2024).

In 1997, the role of Chairman of the Pakistan Cricket Board was offered to Imran Khan by President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, but he declined the offer. During a visit to Shaukat Khanum Hospital, General Pervez Musharraf suggested appointing Imran Khan as Pakistan's prime minister, which Khan refused, stating he did not want to lead an unelected government (Amjad et al, 2024). In 2002, Imran Khan was first elected to Parliament after the general elections. He declined another invitation from General Musharraf and the PML (Q) to rejoin the cabinet. Imran Khan's determination and self-assurance were evident as he worked to expand his political organization, PTI. Despite limited preparation time, PTI contested the 1997 general election under Imran Khan's leadership, losing all seats but demonstrating leadership against established political parties. In the 2002 general election, Imran Khan was invited by General Musharraf to lead the National Alliance, promising the prime minister position, but he declined to serve under Musharraf and the agencies (Farooq et al, 2024). As a result, PTI only secured Imran Khan's seat in the election.

Imran Khan chose not to participate in the 2008 general election, citing concerns over the Provisional Constitutional Order and judicial restrictions, demonstrating environmental contingency by adapting to changing circumstances. Under his leadership, PTI became the third-largest political party in the 2013 general election. Between 2013 and 2018, Imran Khan remained actively engaged in politics, contesting the election results and pursuing legal action against Nawaz Sharif following the Panama Leaks revelations. The Supreme Court ultimately ruled in favor of

Imran Khan's allegations of corruption. His leadership during this period demonstrated adaptability in response to challenging circumstances (Iqbal et al, 2021). Since 1996, Imran Khan has consistently demonstrated an understanding of Pakistan's political landscape through his statements and actions, both within and outside of parliament.

In times of political turmoil, alternative leadership options often emerge. Imran Khan criticized the PML(N) and PPP, stating they had failed to meet public expectations. He positioned PTI as a third force, offering leadership to address the country's challenges. After the 2013 election, he proposed an alternative provincial leadership, which eventually succeeded in the 2018 election. Imran Khan argued that established political forces and leaders prioritize their interests over the people's needs, resulting in widespread suffering. He believed that voters should choose sincere representatives, and that PTI's growing popularity stems from its talented members. He also claimed that the PML(N) and PPP had not effectively served the people's interests (Shah, 2022).

Imran Khan stated that Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif did not consolidate democratic traditions in Pakistan during their leadership. He criticized their tenure, saying it impacted Pakistan's government structure. Imran Khan noted that these leaders had multiple terms in office. He expressed his views on their performance, citing specific instances. Imran Khan had previously supported various politicians, including Nawaz Sharif's debt retirement campaign, General Pervez Musharraf's seven-point plan, Benazir Bhutto's PPP in the 2002 election, JUI's Fazal-ur-Rehman for prime minister, and Mehmud Khan Achakzai over Asif Ali Zardari for president. Imran Khan later evaluated their performance as unsuccessful in bringing about change in Pakistan (Ahmad, 2022). Imran Khan expressed disappointment with various leaders who failed to meet his expectations. Nawaz Sharif didn't fulfill his 1997 promises of accountability and debt retirement. Benazir Bhutto initially vowed to oppose General Musharraf but later returned to Pakistan through an agreement with him. Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, backed by Imran Khan to challenge Musharraf's policies, ultimately sided with the president. Mehmud Khan Achakzai, supported by Imran Khan to oppose Asif Ali Zardari, later joined the PPP as a coalition partner. Imran Khan decided to expose these leaders and offer an alternative. He believed his PTI could resolve Pakistan's issues, emphasizing the need to tackle corrupt leaders. Disillusioned with major parties,

the public turned to PTI, and Imran Khan encouraged hard work and optimism, eventually achieving success (Hassan, 2020).

5.2 Interstate Institution Relations

In 2013, PTI, led by Imran Khan, succeeded in defeating established parties in KP and later formed governments in the federal capital, Punjab, and KP in the 2018 general election, with coalition allies in Baluchistan. Imran Khan highlighted Pakistan's political issues, criticizing PPP and PML-N policies, which led to political unrest and General Pervez Musharraf's imposition of martial law. He also pointed out the consequences of Musharraf's National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) (Reayat et al., 2020). Imran Khan continued to challenge the PPP and PML-N administrations' policies, despite PTI not being a major political party until 2013. Although he initially supported General Pervez Musharraf until 2002, Imran Khan later opposed his policies, which led to difficulties and ultimately his departure (Ahmed & Afridi, 2014).

Imran Khan highlighted the political issues surrounding Asif Ali Zardari's presidency, particularly the NRO. He had petitioned against Yusuf Raza Gilani, resulting in his disqualification. Imran Khan questioned Nawaz Sharif's leadership, calling it corrupt, and gained support after Sharif's conviction in the Panama Leaks case. Imran Khan drew attention to Pakistan's political issues on multiple occasions, demonstrating environmental contingency by adapting to changing political circumstances. His leadership style aligns with the Fiedler model, which emphasizes situational leadership and adapting to changing circumstances. While charismatic leaders are expected to acknowledge mistakes, Imran Khan faced criticism for his initial support of General Pervez Musharraf. The PTI's constitution emphasizes adhering to the Constitution's bounds in any attempts to amend Pakistan (Mahesar, 2023). Leaders sometimes face difficult decisions between upholding the Constitution and ensuring national welfare. Imran Khan made a statement about the potential need for extra-constitutional measures in certain situations. He expressed the view that the well-being of the country might take priority over strict adherence to the constitution. Scholars have differing opinions on this matter, pointing to past experiences in Pakistan's history. The country has been ruled by multiple military leaders, including General Muhammad Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, and General Pervez Musharraf (Shah, 2014).

Imran Khan was approached by a senior intelligence official, who introduced him to the concept of the "Grand National Alliance" and shared election predictions. Imran Khan's inquiry about addressing corrupt lawmakers received an unfavorable response. He stated that he had no prior dealings with the agencies and would avoid future manipulation (Ali et al, 2020). Imran Khan reflected, "I supported the military establishment, hoping for a new era, and regret it because I was used." He felt that his support for the Musharraf regime missed an opportunity to fill a leadership void. Imran Khan acknowledged mutual misunderstandings led to betrayal. He believed the establishment sought accountability and reforms, while they thought he would support them unconditionally ((McCarthy, 2002).

Pakistan's establishment is frequently referred to as "an actor in its own right" because its impact and activities go beyond simple reflections of societal norms and preferences. Rather, it functions according to its own goals and plans, frequently without the supervision of civilian authorities (Shah, 2014). The PTI's relationship with the establishment is complicated. Some people think that the interstate institutions helped form and support the PTI; they specifically point to the influence of people like General Ehtesham Zamir and General Shuja Pasha. Some people's mistrust of PTI and reluctance to vote for it are the results of this impression (Cohen, 2011). PTI formally rejects interstate institution participation in political matters, particularly in the post-General Pervez Musharraf era, even if it backs the Pakistani Army.

In Pakistan's history, various political figures have had early career connections with interstate institution leaders. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rise coincided with General Ayub Khan's rule, while Nawaz Sharif entered politics during General Zia-ul-Haq's era, facilitated by General Gillani. The state institution has played a significant role in the country's political landscape, with different governments and parties having varying relationships with establishment. Benazir Bhutto worked with Generals Mirza Aslam Beg and Nasirullah Khan Babar. The Raymond Davis incident involved General Shuja Pasha, Director General of ISI, in its resolution. General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani's term extension occurred during Asif Ali Zardari's presidency (Shah, 2014).

The relationship between establishment and political leadership in Pakistan has been complex, with instances of establishment involvement in political affairs. General Raheel Sharif, as COAS, served under Nawaz Sharif's government, and his subsequent appointment to the Saudi-

led military coalition raised eyebrows. While interstate institutional intervention in politics is a factor, it is overly simplistic to attribute Pakistan's challenges solely to this dynamic. Security and foreign policy issues often create tension between military and civilian administrations (Ahmed & Syed, 2017). However, political parties have also struggled to make progress in vital areas like health and education due to inadequate governance, corruption, and a lack of practical policies.

Pakistan's establishment has undoubtedly shaped the country's political landscape. However, it is essential to acknowledge that civilian governments have made significant progress in vital sectors like healthcare, education, and political party institutionalization, despite the establishment's influence. The limited growth in these areas is often attributable to internal factors such as mismanagement, corruption, and ineffective governance, rather than solely interstate institutions interventions. To address these structural issues, a comprehensive solution requires collaborative engagement between political parties and institutions, fostering accountability, transparency, and effective governance. Furthermore, this solution must consider contingency theory, which suggests that leadership effectiveness depends on matching leadership styles to specific situations, as outlined in Fiedler's contingency model, to ensure adaptive and effective leadership in Pakistan's complex political context.

Imran Khan's political career has been marked by both charismatic leadership and controversial decisions, particularly with regard to his interactions with the military. While he has demonstrated an ability to learn from mistakes, his associations with General Raheel Sharif and General Musharraf have raised concerns about his alignment with establishment interests. However, his anti-corruption efforts have garnered significant public support and brought attention to high-profile cases like the Panama Papers and the Surrey Palace scandal. His political campaign has focused on promoting universal accountability, and his ability to mobilize large crowds and sustain political momentum has made him a significant figure in Pakistani politics. Despite the complexities of interstate instituions involvement in politics, civilian governments bear the ultimate responsibility for progress in areas like healthcare and education (Hassan, 2020). Imran Khan's trajectory reflects both his leadership abilities and the challenges of navigating Pakistan's complex political landscape.

Imran Khan stresses the importance of effective leadership that prioritizes national interests over personal gain and can resist external pressures. He advocates for a dynamic leadership style that fosters inclusive development and gender equality. Notably, Khan encourages women's participation in public life, a stance that diverges from traditional gender roles in Pakistani society. He promotes women's empowerment through increased engagement in politics, the workforce, and other areas, demonstrating a commitment to social progress and gender equality (Ghouri, 2023).. Imran Khan's rise to power was marked by a populist anti-corruption stance, and his party, the PTI, won a significant victory in the 2018 elections. However, his government has been criticized for its handling of corruption cases involving its own members and allies, and for its treatment of the military and its business interests. Khan's government has also been accused of targeting political opponents and their supporters with corruption charges, while ignoring similar charges against its own members (Saud, 2020). The impact of Khan's initiatives on Pakistan's legal system is still being evaluated, but his government's mixed record on corruption and .its treatment of the interstate institutions have raised concerns

The Pakistani people were drawn to Imran Khan and the PTI's foreign policy stance, emphasis on justice, and promises of reform. Khan's anti-US position, calls for change, anti-corruption rhetoric, and peace initiatives resonated with the public. His charitable work and cricket career had already made him a household name, and his image as a caring and relatable leader further boosted his popularity. The PTI's vision for a "Naya Pakistan" emphasized justice, equality, and welfare, aiming to create an Islamic welfare state free from corruption and dynastic politics (Sarwar, 2020). While the party's 2018 manifesto outlined ambitious goals, including poverty reduction, education reform, and infrastructure development, critics argue that the PTI has fallen short on delivering these promises. Additionally, the party has been accused of restricting freedom of expression and the media (Afzaal et al, 2022). Despite these challenges, the PTI's commitment to promoting women's participation and diverse representation in leadership positions remains a key aspect of its vision for a more equitable society.

Under Imran Khan's leadership, the PTI prioritized social welfare, human development, and anti-corruption efforts after taking power in 2018. Notable programs like Ehsaas and Sehat Sahulat aimed to reduce poverty and achieve universal healthcare coverage. However, their

effective implementation was hindered by governance challenges and economic instability. The period from 2013 to 2018 saw varying socio-political contexts, national priorities, and challenges that hindered Pakistan's progress in addressing social issues (Adnan & Fatima, 2018). Each government faced unique circumstances that impacted its ability to address these challenges.

The National Assembly voted on a no-confidence resolution on April 10, 2022, which was filed by the opposition alliance on March 8, 2022. According to Article 95 of the Pakistani Constitution of 1973, a no-confidence motion supported by at least 20% of the MNAs can lead to the prime minister's removal (Tuttnauer & Hazan, 2023). The Speaker of the National Assembly is required to schedule a vote on the motion within four to seven days of its submission. If the motion receives a majority of votes, the Prime Minister is dismissed, and a new prime ministerial election is held.
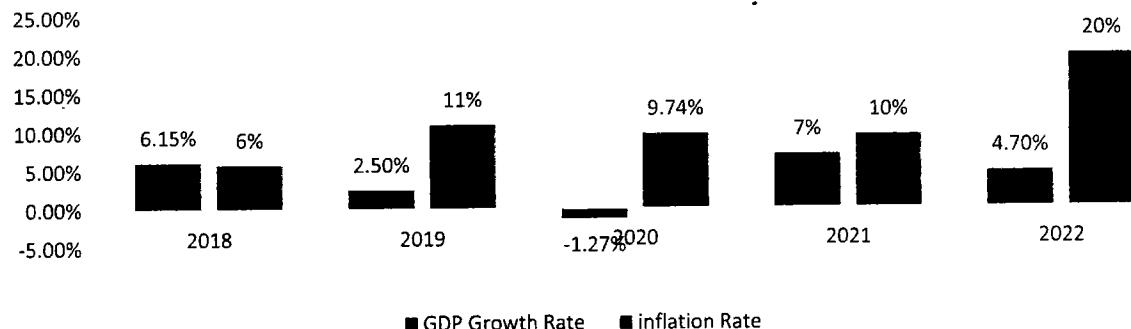
Fig:ii. Source (Macrotrends 2023)

The economic indicators for Pakistan from 2018 to 2022 show significant fluctuations in GDP growth and inflation rates, reflecting the varying economic conditions and challenges faced during this period. In 2018, the GDP growth rate was a robust 6.15%, with an inflation rate of 6%. However, in 2019, the GDP growth rate sharply declined to 2.50%, while inflation surged to 11%, indicating economic instability and rising prices. The year 2020 saw a further downturn with a negative GDP growth rate of -1.27% due to the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, although inflation slightly decreased to 9.74%. In 2021, the economy rebounded with a 7% GDP growth rate, but inflation remained high at 10%. By 2022, GDP growth slowed to 4.70%, and inflation spiked to 20%, reflecting severe economic challenges and price instability. These economic trends

had significant implications for the leadership during this period, primarily Imran Khan, who served as Prime Minister from 2018 to 2022. The initial strong growth in 2018 was overshadowed by subsequent economic difficulties, including rising inflation and negative growth during the pandemic, which likely affected public perception of his economic management. The rebound in 2021 provided some relief, but the high inflation in 2022 posed ongoing challenges. These economic conditions influenced policy decisions and public satisfaction. Protests became frequent as a result of increased unemployment, excessive inflation, and a lack of economic progress. The "Mehngai Mukao March" from Lahore to Islamabad in March 2022 was organized by opposition groups in response to public unhappiness. Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) also announced protests, which led to the deaths of multiple people, including three security officials(Mahesar,2023).

Another important factor is political instability. To protect the interests of the country and the welfare of its citizens, governments in democratic states usually try to build cordial relationships with opposition parties. Even though the opposition frequently criticizes the administration, constructive assembly debates can help the government implement sound policies. But in Pakistan, the government tends to ignore the opposition and uses state apparatuses for both political scheming and repression. The PTI government adopted a similar strategy to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's. Imran Khan tried to suppress the opposition, but he was unable to maintain a majority in the Assembly, which led to the fall of his government. A democratic system requires the government to communicate with the opposition as well as other party members before making any legally binding decisions. The PTI government's inability to reach a consensus with other parties resulted in internal division and coalition loss.

5.3Reforms under the Leadership of Imran Khan

As a democratic nation, Pakistan has witnessed attempts by the administration to marginalize the opposition via political manipulation and utilizing state institutions to silence their views. Similar tactics were used by Imran Khan's PTI government, which tried to undermine the opposition but eventually failed because of a lack of support in the Assembly. Governments in democracies work to foster cordial links with opposition groups to further the welfare of their constituents and the country. Imran Khan claimed to establish strict accountability mechanisms

and give transparency top priority when he came to power. He created the Asset Recovery Unit in 2018 to recover assets and concealed funds that were situated abroad as part of his pledges (Siddiqi, 2022). Over the past three years, the Asset Recovery Unit has helped recover almost Rs 426.4 billion (Sehrani, 2022). Khan had sought to the Supreme Court to have the PML-N-amended National Accountability Ordinance (NAO) 1999 restored. The problem was that Imran Khan was opposed by many, and his main objective was to petition the Supreme Court to uphold the NAB ordinance. Consequently, following the enactment of the National Accountability (Amendment) Act, 2022 All pending inquiries, investigations, trials, or proceedings under this Ordinance about the individuals or transactions listed in sub-section (2)'s clause (a) shall be transferred to the relevant departments, courts, and authorities by their respective laws (Hussain , 2022). Additional modifications were made to this act during the tenure of Shehbaz Sharif's government. On September 15, Supreme Court Judge Umar Ata Bandial restored everything, though, and the cases for which charges have been brought will now be handled by their trials (Iqbal, 2023).

However, though opposition parties might be difficult to work with, sensible policies are supported by a productive discussion among them and the government. Imran Khan disregarded basic democratic principles, which ultimately contributed to his collapse since he was unable to reach an agreement with other parties.(Hussain & Kumar, 2023). Members of the coalition withdrew from backing in a no-confidence motion as his party fell apart. The opposition insisted on a no-confidence motion, which eventually succeeded with 174 votes against the prime minister, even though Khan agreed to new elections. The National Assembly was restored by the Supreme Court's intervention, which also ruled that the deputy speaker's decision was invalid. Following this, Pakistan's political history underwent a new chapter following the sworn-in of Shahbaz Sharif as prime minister (Magal, 2023).

The impartiality of the Imran Khan-led PTI government in Pakistan has been called into question due to substantial opposition from several official institutions. Differences over policies and goals, as well as a lack of collaboration between government as well as these organizations, are the main causes of this conflict. Past examples such as Iskandar Mirza, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, and Nawaz Sharif indicate that tense ties between the government and state institutions frequently lead to the departure of the government from office. The relationship

between the administration and the judiciary is a key point of dispute; the Supreme Court has expressed reservations about the way the government is handling human rights, the economy, and corruption(Mahmood, 2023). In 2020, Khan's interaction with the army also deteriorated as a result of his dissatisfaction with foreign policy positions, governance difficulties, and the way the insurgency in Balochistan was handled. Approaches to the US-Afghan war showed disagreements among the government and the military; Khan opposed the military's involvement and saw the war as America's, not Pakistan's (Arshad, 2023).

An investigation was conducted after the abduction of Mushtaq Maher, the Inspector General of Sindh Police, from his office in Karachi on May 18, 2022. The investigation led to the removal of certain personnel from their positions. Additionally, a member of the PMLN, Mr. Safdar, was taken into custody by the Rangers following a rally in Karachi.The investigation revealed that certain actions were taken by the ISI, leading to the dismissal of the ISI Director General and the appointment of a new one. This led to increased tensions between the military and the prime minister. Through the lens of Contingency Theory, this situation can be understood as a result of the interaction between the organization's internal environment and the external environment. The theory suggests that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to leadership and that the most effective leadership style depends on the specific situation.

In this case, the leadership style of the prime minister and the military leaders can be analyzed using Fiedler's Contingency Model. According to this model, leaders have different leadership styles that are either task-oriented or relationship-oriented. The model suggests that leaders who are task-oriented tend to perform better in situations where the task is clear and the leader has control over the environment. On the other hand, leaders who are relationship-oriented tend to perform better in situations where the task is unclear or the leader has limited control over the environment. In this situation, the prime minister's leadership style can be seen as task-oriented, as he is focused on addressing the political crisis and maintaining control over the government. However, the military leaders' actions can be seen as more relationship-oriented, as they are focused on maintaining their influence and power within the political system. The events led to a crisis of legitimacy for the government, characterized by declining public confidence and strained relationships with the media and bureaucracy. The government's perceived inability to effectively

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govern and address key issues contributed to a crisis of authority, marked by widespread discontent and calls for reform.

The PTI government faced challenges in upholding peace and order, eliminating corruption, and confronting mafias and nepotism while optimizing the utilization of human capital. People's lives were more difficult as a result of this failure, which raised social suffering, rates of crime, inflation, and unemployment. From 3.5% in 2018 to 5.4% in 2020, poverty rates increased. whereas the survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan represents a different view

Question: "Thinking about PTI'S government during 2018-2022, what is your overall opinion about their performance in the following fields?"

■ Economy   ■ International Politics   ■ Fighting Corruption   ∟ Security Situation   ■ Controlling Poverty
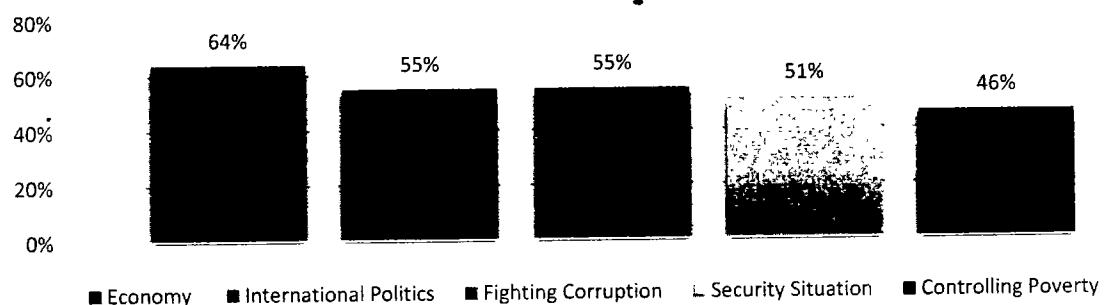
Fig: iii. Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2023)

During the period from 2018 to 2022, under the leadership of Imran Khan, public perception varied across different governance aspects in Pakistan. The economy received the highest approval rating at 64%, indicating that a majority of the public viewed economic management positively, despite fluctuations in GDP growth and high inflation. International politics had a 55% approval rating, reflecting significant public satisfaction with Pakistan's diplomatic efforts and global relations. Similarly, fighting corruption also had a 55% approval rating, suggesting moderate approval of the government's anti-corruption initiatives, despite ongoing challenges. The security situation was viewed positively by 51% of the public, indicating some confidence in the government's efforts to manage security threats. However, controlling poverty received the lowest approval rating at 46%, highlighting public concerns about the effectiveness of poverty alleviation measures during this period. These perceptions influenced the overall evaluation of Imran Khan's leadership and his government's policy effectiveness.

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Corrupt practices likened to termites influencing social change and economic growth, continued to be a major issue. According to Transparency International, Pakistan's transparency score decreased from 32 to 28 during the PTI rule, and the country was ranked 140th out of 180 in 2022 to 133 in 2023 the Corruption Perception Index 2023 (Dawn, 2023). Public employees' demands for bribes to perform their jobs made the general populace's hardships worse. As a result of Imran Khan's appointment of close allies to high positions after winning the election on promises to eradicate nepotism and corruption, the situation worsened and the government's legitimacy problem deepened.

Question: "Who do you think is most responsible for problems in Pakistan?"
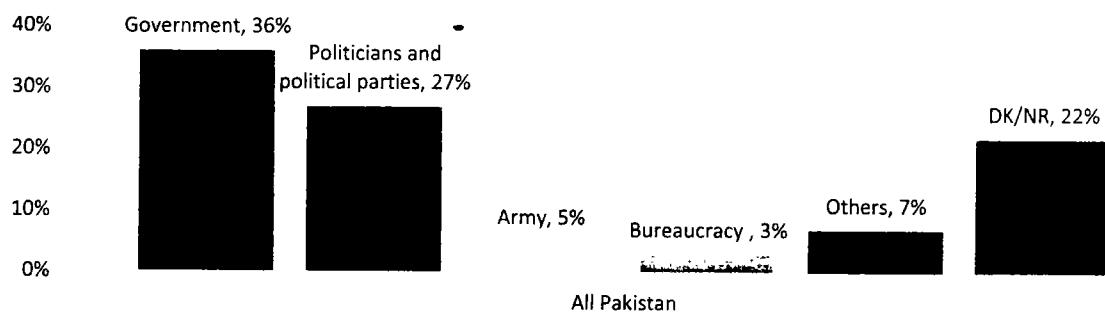
Fig:iv. Source : (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

Public perception in Pakistan reveals diverse views on corruption and institutional trust. While 52% disagree that an average citizen in a position of authority will become corrupt, 47% believe it's easy to corrupt them. Interestingly, 66% of respondents over 50 years old think an ordinary citizen in power won't be corrupted.

When asked about the biggest problems in Pakistan, 36% blame the government, 27% blame politicians, 5% blame the army, 3% blame bureaucracy, and 7% blame others. The remaining 22% were undecided or didn't respond. These responses reflect varying levels of trust in institutions, with the government and politicians receiving moderate approval ratings (36% and 27%, respectively). The army and bureaucracy have lower approval ratings (5% and 3%, respectively), while 7% expressed confidence in other entities. These insights highlight the complex and divided public opinions on corruption and institutional trust in Pakistan.

Similar to several other political figures, Imran Khan promoted the notion of a "Riasat e Madinah" and exploited religious themes to seize power. His global anti-Islamophobia campaigns resulted in the UN designating March 15 as an International Day for Combating Islamophobia. Some of his actions, though, sparked debate. Atif Mian, an Ahmadi economist from Princeton, was added to an economic advisory committee by him. Despite its best efforts to justify the nomination, the government finally withdrew it after facing harsh criticism. In defiance of its "Riasat e Madinah" motto, the PTI government came under fire for its treatment of the Ahmadi community. Javed Latif, the leader of the PMLN, charged Khan with undermining fundamental Islamic tenets and siding with the Ahmadi community.

Pakistan's pro-Western military, bureaucracy, and politicians shaped the country's foreign policy from the start. Liaquat Ali Khan, the prime minister, decided to go to the US rather than the USSR. On the other hand, Prime Minister Imran Khan supported the East and aimed to deepen his connections with Russia and other Eastern nations. He even paid a visit to Russia on February 24, 2022, shortly before it invaded Ukraine. The United States had advised Khan not to travel to Moscow because it thought Pakistan was complicit in the fighting. European nations also put pressure on Pakistan to denounce Russia's UN moves, but Khan refused, challenging them in public by posing the question, "Are we slaves?" This position infuriated Western countries, which are important commercial partners and went against Pakistan's established foreign policy. Claiming US backing for opposition efforts to overthrow him, Khan called a meeting of the National Security Council on March 31. The military and the government became more tense as a result. The Pakistan-US strategic and commerce relations hold the utmost importance, as the army chief stated on April 2, denouncing the Russian assault. The military establishment declined to back any political party, despite the PTI leadership's assertions of unity with the armed forces (Arshad, 2023).

Several issues contributed to the legitimacy crisis facing the PTI government. Imran Khan and other PTI leaders were unprepared to rule and were unable to implement sound governance. As a result, it became impossible to maintain stability in politics and the economy, as well as financial security. Inflation, unemployment, nepotism, mafias, corruption, and maintaining positive ties with state agencies and the media proved to be difficult challenges for the government

to overcome. The establishment initially backed the PTI when it came to power, but over time, bad leadership damaged this alliance. The public and opposition put greater stress on the military establishment during the PTI government as a result of several instances. In response, establisment personnel decided to stay impartial to preserve its reputation and win over the public. As a result, in April 2022, the opposition was able to vote a resolution of no confidence in Prime Minister Imran Khan, which caused him to lose his majority and be removed from office(Iqbal, 2023). As a result, another Pakistani prime minister was unable to serve his full five-year tenure because of a crisis of legitimacy brought on by poor governance.

The implementation of the Ehsaas Programmes by the PTI administration after taking office in 2018 is another notable case study. A multidimensional program aimed at reducing poverty, the Ehsaas Programme tackles social protection, the development of human capital, and the enhancement of livelihoods. Through initiatives including cash transfers, asset transfers, interest-free loans, and skill-development programs, it seeks to boost poor neighborhoods, empower women, and offer possibilities for socioeconomic advancement. Studies reveal noteworthy advancements in mitigating poverty and improving socioeconomic consequences for Pakistan's most marginalized populations via the Ehsaas Programme (Patoli & Sand, 2024). To address social issues and promote inclusive development, this case study highlights the significance of political leadership in Pakistan's execution of broad strategies for reducing poverty.

Imran Khan's concept of efficiently battling corruption was in line with helping people, especially women and children from disadvantaged backgrounds, through the establishment of the Legal Aid Justice Authority (Mamoon, 2022). Throughout his tenure as prime minister, E-governance, the Right to Information Act, anti-corruption measures, financial transparency reforms, asset declaration schemes, online citizen engagement platforms, institutional reforms, and open public procurement processes are just a few of the initiatives Imran Khan's administration launched to encourage transparency. The enhancement of transparency initiatives was furthered by public awareness campaigns and whistleblower protection systems. Meanwhile, measures to decrease corruption and boost accountability included merit-based appointments, citizen engagement programs, and better auditing and supervision mechanisms (Siddiqi, 2022). Transparency objectives were also advanced by international collaboration and the fusion of

technology and data. These initiatives, however, encountered many obstacles, including bureaucratic and political resistance, financial limitations, security issues, deeply embedded corruption and social norms, scarce resources, and the requirement for persistent public engagement and behavioral change. Developing government transparency remained a continuous, complex, (Tarique & Shaheen, 2023).

| E-Governance | ➡ | Governement Transparacy | ➡ | Public Knowledge | ➡ | Satisfaction with goervnment |

Fig:v (Gu , 2023).

Imran Khan's governance stance on Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) has been a significant aspect of his political agenda. Imran Khan and his party, PTI, have consistently advocated for the use of EVMs in elections, citing benefits such as: - Reduced fraud and rigging, - Increased transparency and accuracy, Faster election results. Imran Khan has criticized traditional paper-based voting systems, alleging that they are prone to fraud and manipulation. He has claimed that EVMs would help eliminate these issues and ensure fairer election. In 2020, the government announced plans to use EVMs in the 2023 general elections. The opposition parties and some election experts have raised concerns about the reliability and security of EVMs, citing issues such as Technical glitche , Lack of transparency in the voting process, Potential for hacking and manipulation - Insufficient voter education and training. The opposition parties have challenged the government's decision to use EVMs in courts, citing constitutional and legal concerns. Whereas, Imran Khan's stance on EVMs reflects his commitment to electoral reforms and his belief that technology can improve the voting process. However, the controversy surrounding EVMs highlights the need for thorough evaluation, public engagement, and consensus-building to ensure the integrity and credibility of the electoral process. Imran Khan stated that he was in favor of EVMs being used in Pakistan, citing their ability to improve electoral integrity and lower fraud. However, there were many obstacles to overcome before EVMs could be widely used. These included logistical problems with purchasing and distributing the machines, technical problems with the voting system's security and integrity, and political resistance that made it difficult to reach an agreement and foster confidence amongst various stakeholders. During his

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administration, these difficulties made it more difficult to fully adopt EVMs in Pakistan's voting process (Kanwal, et al 2022).

Youth Opnion Survey (EVM)

Don't know (1.2%)
1%

Unhelpful(22.1%)
22%

Helpful (76.7)
77%

■ Helpful (76.7)   ■ Don't know (1.2%)   ■ Unhelpful(22.1%)
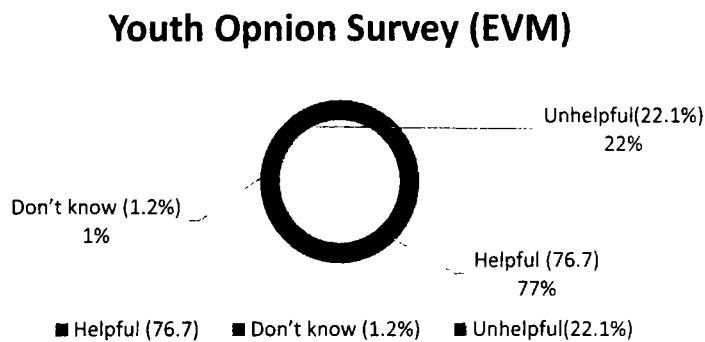
Fig:vi. Source (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

The PTI administration's efforts to introduce Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) and implement the Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 demonstrate their commitment to leveraging technology for improved governance and citizen services. Gallup Pakistan survey shows that the debate over the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) continues, the youth largely support them. About 76.7% of young people feel that EVMs will assist ensure free, fair, and reliable elections, while 22.1% believe they would be ineffective. Despite concerns from the opposition, the administration pushed for the use of EVMs, which was supported by a majority of youth, who believed it would ensure free, fair, and reliable elections (Wasim, 2021). The Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 aimed to promote financial inclusion, consumer rights, and e-commerce regulation, with the government seeking inspiration from successful models like China to ensure effective implementation and transparency outcomes, thereby enhancing governance and citizen engagement (Ali,2024). These initiatives align with the contingency theory, where the effectiveness of technology adoption is contingent upon various factors, including technological, organizational, and environmental considerations, as represented in the Fielder model.

Pakistan established a goal in 2018 to raise the proportion of digital payments in total transactions and the number of digital transaction accounts by 2023 to further encourage digital transactions. The government launched digital systems for tracking the virus, offering health

services, and facilitating remote learning as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, which expedited the implementation of e-governance (Antique et al, 2024). Even though Pakistan has made strides in e-governance, more can be done. Pakistan should improve its e-governance platforms for more effective government, particularly during times of crisis, by taking lessons from successful examples such as China.

Pakistan hastened the implementation of digital solutions and e-services in the fight for accountability and transparency, especially in the wake of the COVID-19 outbreak. The government was dedicated to improving openness in the public service sector by utilizing information and communication technology (ICT). This dedication was demonstrated by several projects, including e-governance, infrastructure development, and digitization. To guarantee that citizens could easily access government services and information, additional efforts were made in the areas of human resource development, law, and women's empowerment (Amin & Zafar, 2024). The administration unveiled progressive plans, such as the National Broadband Policy 2021 and the National Cyber Security Policy 2021, to support transparency measures. The goals of these regulations were to improve cybersecurity and transparency. Pakistan admitted that its e-governance ranking still needed to be improved despite these attempts. In response, the government established online services for passports and identity cards as well as a complaint website (www.pmo.gov.pk/), which made it simpler for people to access governmental services (Khan et al, 2024) .Imran Khan's PTI administration (2018-2023) introduced significant healthcare reforms, notably the Sehat Sahulat Programme (SSP). This program aimed to ensure universal health coverage by providing free medical care at public and private facilities, targeting impoverished populations. The SSP contributed to reducing healthcare inequities, demonstrating the administration's commitment to addressing social issues in the healthcare sector. (Siyal et al,2024). The PTI administration demonstrated that it was committed to tackling social issues in the healthcare industry by launching programs like the SSP.

The healthcare reforms introduced by Imran Khan's PTI administration, specifically the Sehat Sahulat Programme (SSP), embody key governance principles. The program promotes equity by targeting impoverished populations and reducing healthcare inequities. Transparency is evident in the program's clear objectives and eligibility criteria. The government's commitment to

providing free medical care and reducing healthcare inequities also holds them accountable for the program's outcomes. It is implicit in the program's design and implementation, which is governed by legal frameworks and regulations that ensure its proper execution. The SSP demonstrates the government's commitment to good governance principles, including equity, transparency, and accountability.

The digital initiatives introduced by Imran Khan's PTI administration from 2018 to 2023 exemplify the government's commitment to harnessing technology for enhanced governance and citizen services. The Ehsaas program, launched in 2018, utilized digital channels to provide financial support to the poor, promoting financial inclusion and transparency. The Citizen Portal, also inaugurated in 2018, enabled citizens to submit complaints and feedback online, fostering citizen-government engagement and accountability. These innovative measures demonstrated the administration's dedication to leveraging technology to improve governance, enhance citizen participation, and promote transparency and accountability (Jameel et al, 2019). This commitment to digital governance aligns with the principles of good governance, including transparency, accountability, and citizen participation.

The effective implementation of e-services, as recommended by the UN, is crucial for nations to reap the benefits of e-governance, including increased transparency, accountability, and citizen participation. In the context of Pakistan, the introduction of e-governance has the potential to transform government activities, making them more transparent and susceptible to public scrutiny, thereby reducing the likelihood of corruption (Saleem, et al, 2024).. However, flaws in public policies, such as the Digital Pakistan Policy, need to be addressed to fully harness the benefits of digital governance. By revising the policy to focus on bridging the technological gap, enhancing payment and procurement processes, and expanding access to digital tools for healthcare and education, Pakistan can establish a more accountable and transparent governance structure, ultimately supporting a knowledge-based economy. The PTI administration's efforts to introduce Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) and implement the Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 demonstrate their commitment to leveraging technology for improved governance and citizen services, aligning with the UN's recommendations and contingency theory's emphasis on effective technology adoption (Seiam & Salman,2024).

The effective implementation of e-services, as recommended by the UN, has the potential to transform governance in Pakistan, making it more transparent, accountable, and responsive to citizen needs. The country's experience with e-government programs, such as online portals for tax payments and citizen services, demonstrates the potential of technology to enhance efficiency and transparency. Moreover, international pressure and commitments, such as ratifying UNCAC and scrutiny from organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have contributed to advancements in human rights, especially for women and marginalized communities. Social media and internet platforms have also expanded political participation and engagement, enabling citizens to hold their government accountable. The PTI administration's efforts to introduce Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) and implement the Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 align with these external factors, which shape political dynamics, institutional reforms, and policy decisions in Pakistan, ultimately promoting a more transparent and accountable governance structure.

The PTI administration, led by Imran Khan, inherited significant economic challenges upon taking office in 2018, including dwindling foreign exchange reserves ($7.5 billion) and a substantial balance of payment deficit (42% in the last quarter of 2017-2018). The country's economic vulnerability was exacerbated by high inflation, rising oil prices, and external debt denominated in foreign currencies, particularly US dollars ($14.02 billion held by commercial banks). These factors strained Pakistan's financial situation, making it susceptible to both internal and external economic shocks. Despite these challenges, the government pursued digital initiatives, such as the Digital Pakistan Policy 2021, aimed at promoting e-governance, financial inclusion, and economic growth. The implementation of e-services, as recommended by the UN, and the leveraging of technology to enhance transparency and accountability, align with the government's efforts to address economic challenges and promote sustainable development. By adopting a comprehensive approach that addresses economic, social, and political factors, Pakistan can transition towards a knowledge-based economy, characterized by transparency, accountability, and citizen participation (Asif, 2023). This approach is consistent with contingency theory and Fielder's model, which emphasizes the importance of fitting solutions to specific contextual factors to achieve effective leadership and organizational performance.

Pakistan's Biggest Problem

70%	
60%	
50%	
40%	
30%	
20%	
10%	
0%	

Inflation, 64%
Unemployment, 21%
Corruption, 7%
loadshedng , 1%
Political Instability , 1%
The Kahsmir Conflict , 1%
the Problem of Children's Education , 1%
Water Crisis , 1%
Other, 4%

SOURCE: POWERED BY GALLUP PAKISTAN, DEC 22, 2021 – JAN 31, 2022
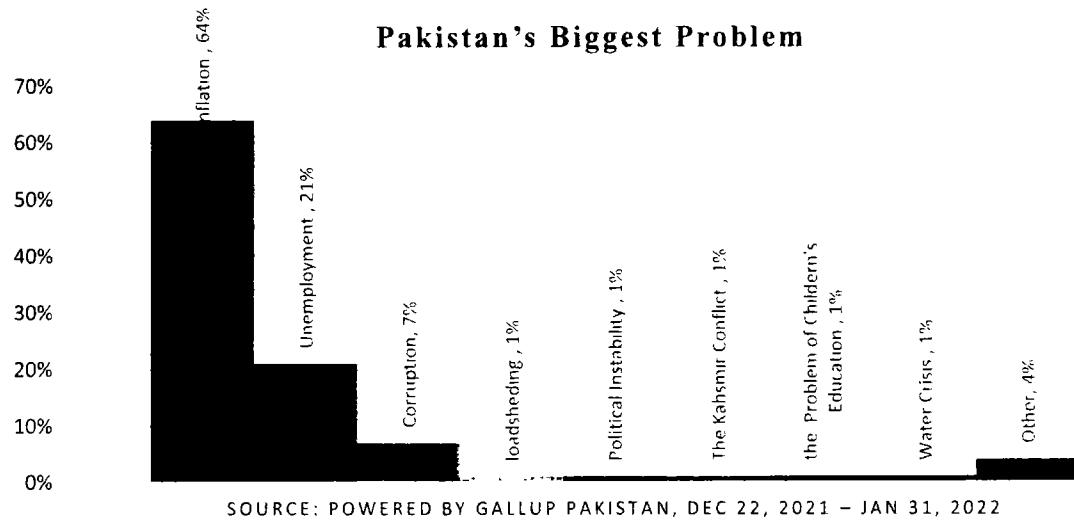
Fig:viii. Source: (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

Pakistan faced significant economic challenges in 2018, including a dwindling foreign exchange reserve of $7.5 billion and a substantial balance of payment deficit of 42% in the last quarter of 2017-2018, which led to a request for IMF assistance and loans from international partners. The country's economic vulnerability was exacerbated by high inflation, rising oil prices, and external debt denominated in foreign currencies, particularly US dollars ($14.02 billion held by commercial banks). To address these challenges, Pakistan sought financial assistance from international partners, including Saudi Arabia, China, and the United Arab Emirates, securing a $6 billion lifeline from Saudi Arabia and over $5 billion in loans from China to finance infrastructure projects related to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). However, the large-scale imports of Chinese machinery and supplies worsened Pakistan's current account deficit, highlighting the need for a comprehensive approach to address economic challenges (Mahmood, 2023).

Additionally, Pakistan's relationship with the US experienced tensions in 2018, as the US expressed concerns about Pakistan's efforts to combat terrorist organizations in Afghanistan, leading to the suspension of over $900 million in military assistance. This diplomatic development added to Pakistan's economic challenges, highlighting the need for a comprehensive approach to address economic difficulties and promote sustainable development. The country's relationship with the US experienced tensions in 2018, as the US expressed concerns about Pakistan's efforts

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to combat terrorist financing and money laundering, leading to its inclusion in the FATF watch list in June 2018, termination of educational and training programs for Pakistani military officers, and delay of $300 million in aid. The US also cautioned Pakistan against seeking IMF assistance to pay off Chinese loans, which drew criticism from the Trump administration for creating excessive debt. Despite these challenges, Pakistan sought financial assistance from international partners, including Saudi Arabia, China, and the United Arab Emirates

Furthermore, the World Governance Indicators (WGI) provide additional insights into Pakistan's governance landscape, which is relevant to the country's economic situation and its relationship with foreign aid. The WGI, developed by Kaufmann in 1999, assesses government performance across six dimensions, including "Voice and Accountability" (VA) and "Political Stability and Lack of Violence/Terrorism" (PV). The VA indicator reflects the country's perceived freedom of media expression and association, as well as the effectiveness of individuals' participation in choosing their government through free and fair elections. The PV indicator measures public opinion on government stability and the likelihood of overthrow by illegal or undemocratic means, including politically motivated violence. These indicators offer a more nuanced understanding of Pakistan's governance challenges and their potential impact on the country's economic development and relationship with foreign aid (Younus & Rehman 2023).
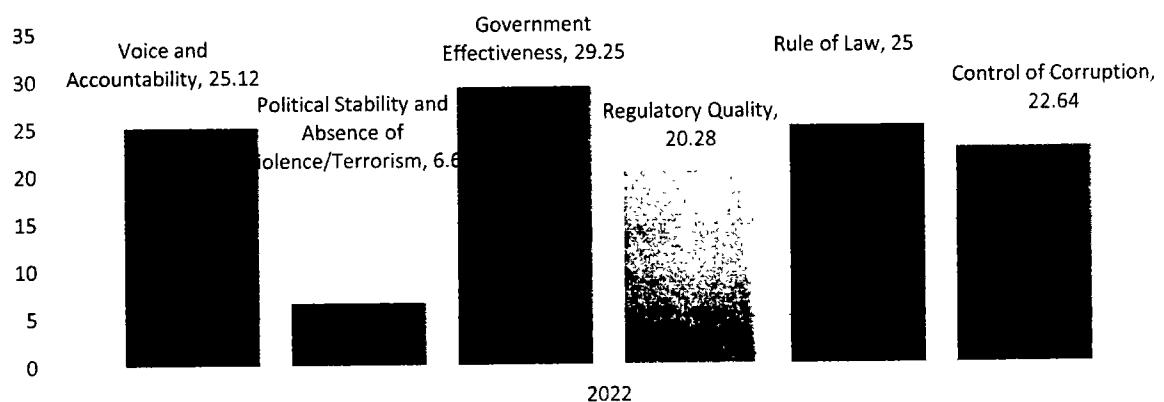

Fig :ix. Source: (WGI 2022)

The survey's findings and World Governance Indicators (WGI) are likely to have significant effects on political leaders in Pakistan, increasing pressure to re-evaluate their

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relationship with the IMF and consider alternative economic strategies. The results may lead to greater scrutiny of government decisions, potential erosion of public trust, and increased calls for transparency and accountability. Political leaders' legitimacy and popularity may be impacted if they are seen as out of touch with public concerns. Through contingency theory, the WGI indicators suggest that leaders' effectiveness is contingent upon addressing governance challenges, including voice and accountability, political stability, and lack of violence/terrorism. Failure to address these challenges may lead to decreased public trust, political instability, and potentially even regime change, highlighting the need for leaders to prioritize good governance and respond to public concerns to maintain their legitimacy and effectiveness.

WJP Rule of Law Index Factors
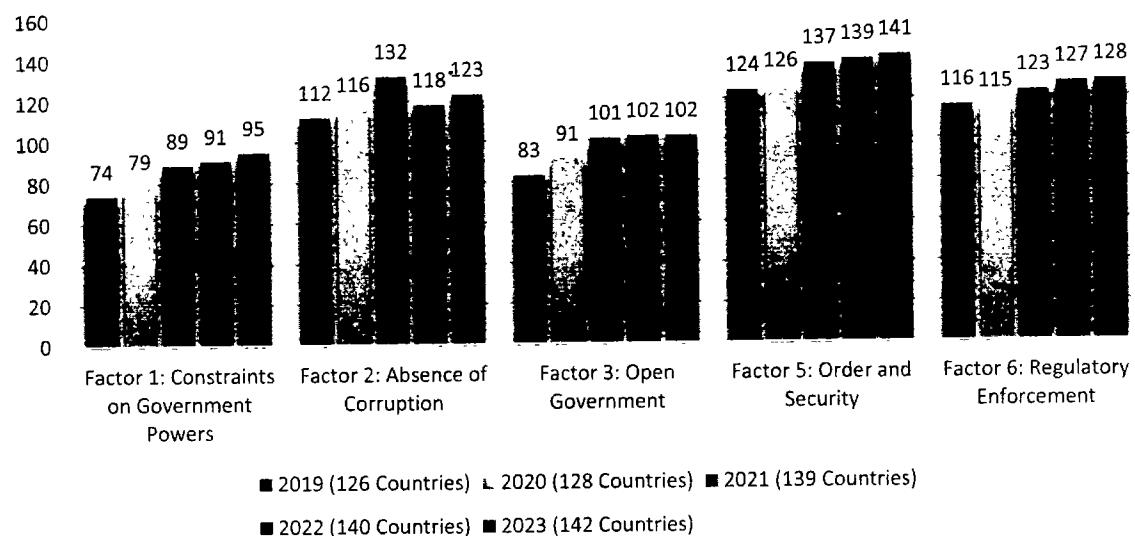
Source : World Justice Project's (2019-2023)

The WJP Adherence to the Rule of Law index measures a country's adherence to the rule of law, with scores ranging from 0.00 to 1.00, categorized into Weaker, Weak, Strong, and Stronger, as previously discussed on page 49. Pakistan's scores on this index have been consistently weak, with an overall score of 0.39 in 2019, 0.39 in 2020, 0.39 in 2021, 0.39 in 2022, and 0.38 in 2023, indicating a weak adherence to the rule of law. This weakness causes political instability, corruption, human rights violations, limited access to justice, economic stagnation, social unrest, and decreased public trust in institutions, ultimately hindering Pakistan's

development and prosperity. Furthermore, according to Contingency Theory, this weakness in the rule of law can lead to a mismatch between Pakistan's legal framework and its political and social context, resulting in ineffective governance and a lack of adaptability to changing circumstances. Additionally, the Fiedler Model suggests that the weak rule of law in Pakistan can lead to a leadership style that is more autocratic and less participative, exacerbating the country's political and social challenges and resulting in a lack of trust and motivation among citizens and institutions. This can further perpetuate a cycle of weakness in the rule of law, making it essential for Pakistan to address these challenges and work towards strengthening its legal framework and governance structures.

The fluctuations in Pakistan's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) scores between 2018 and 2023 underscore the challenges facing the country's leadership in addressing governance and corruption issues. The improvements in CPI scores and rankings in 2019 were short-lived, and the subsequent decline in scores and rankings in 2020 and 2021 coincided with the public's growing skepticism about the benefits of IMF aid and concerns about the government's ability to manage the economy, as reflected in the survey's findings. The CPI scores and WGI indicators collectively highlight the need for sustained efforts to combat corruption, strengthen institutions, and ensure accountability. The leadership's effectiveness in addressing these challenges will be crucial in restoring public trust, promoting economic development, and maintaining political stability in the face of external pressures and internal dissent. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and political instability during this period also affected the country's ability to address corruption, underscoring the need for a comprehensive approach to addressing these challenges.
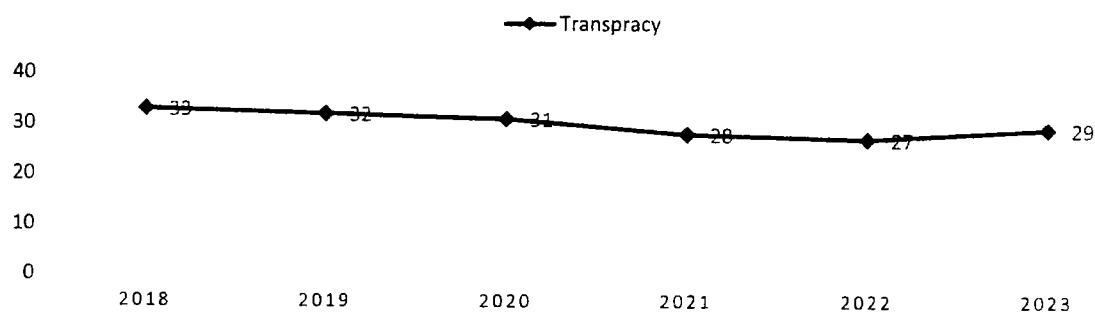

Fig:X .Source : Transparency International. (n.d.).

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Pakistan's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) scores continued to fluctuate between 2018 and 2023. In 2018, Pakistan scored 33, ranking 105 out of 180 countries. The score improved slightly to 35 in 2019, with a ranking of 93 out of 180 countries. However, in 2020, the score dropped to 31, with a ranking of 124 out of 180 countries. The score further declined to 28 in 2021, with a ranking of 140 out of 180 countries. In 2022, the score remained at 28, with a ranking of 136 out of 180 countries. In 2023, the score improved to 30, with a ranking of 123 out of 180 countries. These fluctuations in CPI scores had a significant impact on the leadership of Pakistan during this period. The improvements in scores and rankings in 2019 were seen as a positive development, reflecting the government's efforts to combat corruption. However, the subsequent decline in scores and rankings in 2020 and 2021 suggested a reversal of progress, leading to criticism and public discontent. The leadership faced pressure to reinvigorate reforms, strengthen institutions, and ensure accountability to address the corruption issue effectively. The CPI scores and rankings served as a benchmark for the government's performance and a reminder of the need for sustained efforts to combat corruption. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and political instability during this period also affected the country's ability to address corruption.

Economic issues and who is to be blamed?
Question: Some people think that the PTI government (2018-2022) is responsible for the current wave of inflation while others hold the PML-N-led PDM government responsible for it. Who do you think is to be blamed

38% — 62%

■ PDM / PMLN   ■ PTI
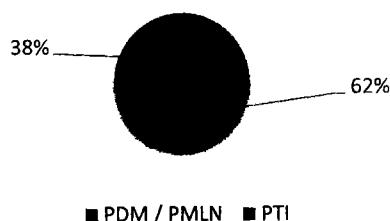
Source: Powered by Gallup Pakistan, 2023

Question: Some people think that the PTI government (2018-2022) is responsible for the current wave of inflation while others hold the PML-N led PDM government responsible for it. Who do you think is to be blamed between the two? According to a Gallup Pakistan survey conducted from February 1 to February 21, 2023, opinions are divided on who is responsible for

the current wave of inflation in Pakistan. When asked if they hold the PTI government (2018-2022) or the PML-N led PDM government responsible, 38% of respondents blamed PTI, while a majority of 62% held PDM/PML-N accountable. This indicates a significant difference in public opinion regarding the two political parties' roles in addressing the country's economic challenges.

On September 8, 2022, Khan admitted to selling four gifts he received as Prime Minister, including a Graff watch, cufflinks, a ring, an expensive pen, and four Rolex watches, claiming he made a profit. The Electoral Commission of Pakistan (ECP) found him guilty on October 21, 2022, under Article 63(1)(p) for unethical behavior and false declarations, sentencing him to three years in jail, a fine of PKR 100 thousand (USD 350), and a five-year ban from running for office. Khan challenged the verdict on October 22, 2022, arguing he legally obtained the gifts from Toshakhana and used the profits for community benefit. In frustration, he organized the 2022 Azadi March II protest starting on October 28, 2022. During the protest on November 3, 2022, Khan was shot in the leg, blaming interim Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif and others for the attack(Faiz,2022).
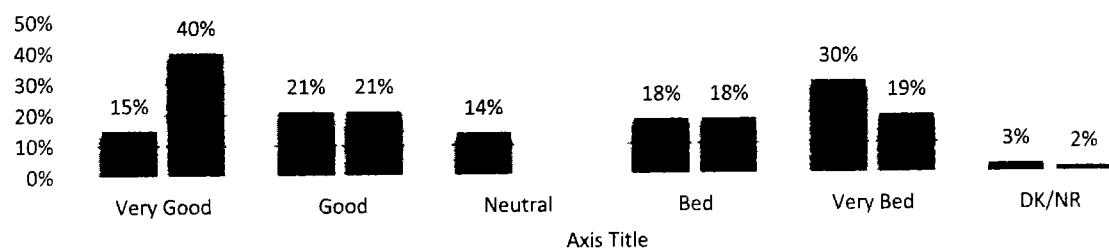
■ Dec 22, 2021 – Jan 31, 2022 Question: What is your opinion about the performance of Prime Minister Imran Khan last year?
■ Feb 01, 2023 – Feb 21, 2023 Question: What is your opinion about the leader Imran Khan?

Source: Powered by Gallup Pakistan (2021-2022, 2023).

According to Gallup surveys, opinions about Imran Khan's performance have fluctuated over time. In 2022 (Dec 22, 2021 - Jan 31, 2022), 36% of respondents had a favorable view, while 48% had an unfavorable view, and 14% remained neutral. In contrast, the 2023 survey (Feb 1-21, 2023) showed a slight tilt towards a positive assessment, with 40% viewing him favorably (21% "Good", 19% "Very Good"), 39% holding a negative opinion (18% "Bad", 21% "Very Bad"), and 2% undecided. According to Gallup surveys, the comparison suggests a shift in public opinion, with a slightly more positive assessment in 2023.

CONCLUSION, FINDINGS, AND WAY FORWARD

Political leadership is essential in a governance system, as it establishes the framework for the nation's policies and general progress. Ineffective political leadership can result in instability, corruption, and civil dissatisfaction. In contrast, effective leadership can ensure social justice, promote democratic values, and encourage economic prosperity. Political leaders are responsible for making important decisions, reconciling conflicting interests, reaching consensus, and communicating their vision to the public. Effective leadership can inspire trust, encourage responsibility, and accelerate progress, while ineffective leadership can weaken institutions, maintain inequity, and impede development. Therefore, the quality of political leadership significantly impacts a country's well-being and the efficiency of its governance structure. In Pakistan, political leadership has played a crucial role in shaping the country's governance system, often with mixed results. The country has experienced periods of democratic rule, military interventions, and political instability, which have impacted the effectiveness of governance. Political leaders in Pakistan have faced challenges such as corruption, terrorism, and economic stagnation, and their responses have often been criticized for being inadequate or authoritarian. Despite these challenges, Pakistan has made significant progress in areas such as nuclear energy, infrastructure development, and social welfare programs, highlighting the importance of effective political leadership in shaping the country's future.

Nawaz Sharif's government (2013-2017) prioritized infrastructure development and economic growth, while Imran Khan's government (2018-2022) focused on anti-corruption and austerity measures. The PTI government's reforms aimed to decentralize power and increase accountability. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution (2010) devolved power to provinces, increasing their autonomy. The Supreme Court's judgments on corruption cases, such as the Panama Papers case (2017), impacted governance. Organizations like the PTI and the PML-N mobilized public support and influenced governance. Having served in the position of prime minister twice before, Nawaz Sharif possesses a wealth of political skills and has skillfully managed complex coalitions and political alliances in earlier positions. Under Nawaz Sharif's leadership, several infrastructure initiatives were started, such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which seeks to modernize Pakistan's energy and transportation systems.

However, Nawaz Sharif was accused of money laundering, corruption, and favoritism towards family members when allocating government contracts. In 2017, the Panama Papers controversy led to his dismissal from government service. The Nawaz Sharif government came under fire for failing to sufficiently address social inequities, poverty, and inequality, which persisted despite economic progress. Nawaz Sharif took over as prime minister amid financial difficulties, including high inflation, low economic growth, and a large budget deficit, with foreign reserves decreasing due to a balance-of-payments issue.

Nawaz Sharif's leadership faced significant challenges from events such as the 2014 PTI long sit-in and the 2017 Faizabad rallies. To stabilize the economy, his administration adopted tax reform and privatization policies, commenced selling state-owned businesses, and implemented a revised tax structure. Nawaz Sharif oversaw several large-scale infrastructure projects, including the construction of motorways and power plants. His emphasis on fostering relationships was essential in securing foreign investments and forming political alliances. For instance, in 2013, he allied with other parties to form a coalition government. Nawaz's leadership was particularly useful for projects concerning infrastructure, as his focus on building relationships facilitated alliances with foreign organizations and financing for efforts like the CPEC.

Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), which stands for "justice movement," was founded in 1996. In 2018, following a 22-year struggle, he was sworn in as Pakistan's prime minister. Khan was a well-known leader who captained Pakistan's cricket team to a World Cup victory in 1992. After retiring , he entered Pakistan's complex political scene. Initially, PTI's rise was limited, evident in its failure to win any seats in the 1997 elections and only securing one seat in 2002. The party's early rise was further constrained by its boycott of the 2007 elections. PTI did not become a serious opponent until after 2010. In 2011, PTI started to gain momentum after Khan's historic gathering at Lahore's Minar-e-Pakistan, which surprised politicians and the media. Imran Khan's speeches and rallies encouraged young people and gave them hope for change. For example, his 2018 campaign rallies drew sizable audiences and created a lot of enthusiasm. His tactics and leadership enabled PTI to win the 2018 general elections, becoming the largest party in the National Assembly with 116 seats. Imran Khan has faced criticism for his rigid methods, unwillingness to consider different viewpoints, and decision-making without seeking input from

others. He has been charged with silencing oppositional voices and critics, hindering the free exchange of ideas and opinions. Despite these criticisms, Imran Khan's task-oriented approach was effective for election campaigning. His commitment to goals such as promoting economic growth and fighting corruption resonated with voters.

Comparing Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's leadership principles reveals that their methods shaped their approaches to governance. Imran Khan's task-oriented management style produced immediate results, while Nawaz Sharif's relationship-oriented strategy worked better to create partnerships and secure funding for long-term initiatives. Under Nawaz Sharif's PML-N government, per capita GDP improved, tax revenues increased, the stock market thrived, and the number of firms grew. In contrast, under the PTI regime, per capita GDP significantly decreased, economic growth was weak, and inflation rose. Despite Imran Khan's promise to create 10 million jobs, unemployment increased, and the economic situation worsened. Nawaz Sharif and his ministers paid little attention to the tourism industry compared to Imran Khan's efforts to boost travel to Pakistan. Tourism's contribution to GDP fluctuated during Nawaz's tenure, whereas Imran Khan's efforts resulted in significant investment in the sector. From 2013 to 2023, Pakistan's bureaucracy significantly impacted the government both positively and negatively. Bureaucrats have been crucial in implementing policies, providing basic services, and maintaining law and order. However, corrupt bureaucracy and red tape have hampered effective program execution and service delivery. Political influences have led to bias and favoritism in decision-making.

Several reforms aimed at improving bureaucracy's efficacy and efficiency have been introduced, such as the Punjab Public Management Reform Act (2014) and the PTI's "Bureaucratic Reforms" initiative (2019). Despite these efforts, the bureaucracy's performance has been inconsistent. On November 21, 2022, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) announced the results of criminal proceedings against Imran Khan, stating that he intentionally violated sections of the Elections Act, 2017 by providing false information about his assets and liabilities for the year 2020-21. Despite facing legal challenges, Khan remained influential in Pakistani politics, hinting at a potential campaign in 2023.the

However, Khan's plans were disrupted when he was arrested in May 2023 on corruption charges. The arrest sparked nationwide protests, leading to a protester's death and a Supreme Court ruling declaring Khan's arrest illegal, ordering his release. Despite this, Khan was arraigned in the Toshakhana case, which investigated asset mismanagement and corruption allegations. On August 5, 2023, he was found guilty, sentenced to three years in prison, fined PKR 100 thousand, and disqualified from holding office until 2028. His removal from power left a political vacuum in Pakistan, with former allies vying for control as the interim government neared the end of its term amidst economic and governmental instability. With Shehbaz Sharif's term ending on August 10, 2023, Anwar-ul-Haq Kakar was chosen as the caretaker Prime Minister, a move seen as the establishment's approval of their selected candidate. Kakar's appointment, considering the military's choice, signified their influence in Pakistan's political landscape. The military's crackdown on Khan's protestors further solidified their power amidst the chaos. Due to the need for a new census and electoral boundary drawing, elections were unlikely before the end of 2023. The Kakar administration oversaw these projects using IMF funding, allowing major candidates like Shehbaz Sharif to run for office again.

Sharif, representing the Pakistan Muslim League, held pro-US views, differing from Khan's administration. The elections held significance for Pakistan's democratic progress, as they were expected to determine the nation's future stability. Ultimately, the new elections took place on February 8th, 2024, marking a pivotal moment in Pakistani politics. Over the past five years, Pakistan has grappled with internal instability fueled by political tensions and leadership changes. The political landscape has witnessed dramatic shifts as various parties have come to power through elections or other means. The recent parliamentary term, the third since transitioning from military rule in 2008, saw significant turmoil and military involvement. Imran Khan led the first ruling coalition, the PTI, from August 2018 to April 2022, followed by Shehbaz Sharif's PML-N from April 2022 until August 2023. Khan's removal sparked nationwide protests, alleging a conspiracy between the military and the US government. He called for new elections and advocated for a change in army leadership, leading to tensions within the military. Despite Khan's efforts, General Asim Munir succeeded as army chief. Khan's actions strained relations with the military, resulting in his arrest and subsequent attacks by his supporters on military facilities. The establishment's response helped Munir maintain control and influence over policy, solidifying his

political position by the end of the parliamentary term. Economic challenges have also contributed to internal instability. High inflation has driven up prices for essentials like food and fuel, sparking protests. The economic crisis from 2022–2023 has exacerbated political turbulence, highlighting long-standing issues such

While the government prioritizes economic growth and job creation, sectors like education and healthcare receive less attention. Unemployment, particularly among young people, exacerbates social tensions and fuels civil unrest. The lack of job opportunities perpetuates a cycle of low GDP growth and limited employment prospects, further eroding confidence in the economy. This economic stagnation also impacts government services, as reduced GDP means fewer taxable resources to fund public services, diminishing citizens' quality of life. The cycle of government instability and economic uncertainty creates a hostile business environment. However, Pakistan is actively seeking solutions to its economic challenges. International engagement, including foreign aid and trade agreements with China, has provided both opportunities and challenges. In February 2023, Pakistan secured a USD 700 million loan from China to bolster foreign exchange reserves and prevent bankruptcy (Spies, 2024). Collaborative efforts between Pakistan and its global partners aim to address systemic issues, strengthen economic growth, and promote self-reliance.

Opinion Poll
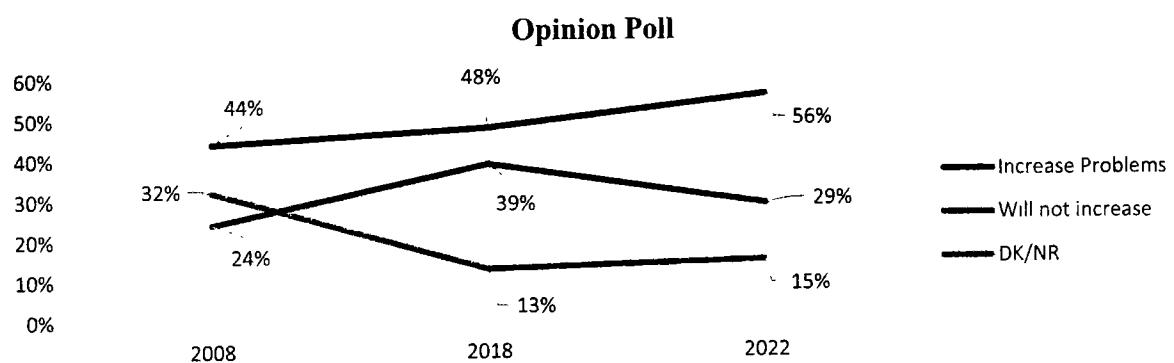
Fig :xi Source: (Gallup Pakistan, 2022)

Recent political and economic challenges have exacerbated security concerns, posing significant threats to internal stability in Pakistan. The collapse of the Afghan government to the Taliban has intensified security issues along Pakistan's western border, leading to increased attacks on civilians and soldiers in the FATA region. The Taliban's actions have caused loss of life,

widespread fear, and diverted resources from other priorities. India remains a constant security threat, with both nations exchanging retaliatory attacks and accusations of terrorism, particularly across the Line of Control in Kashmir. Despite attempts to ease tensions, such as the return of downed Indian fighter pilot Abhinandan Varthaman as a peace gesture by Prime Minister Imran Khan, external pressures from the US and China have influenced diplomatic negotiations.

The need to prioritize security measures often overshadows governance in other vital areas such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure development. This fragmented response contributes to a sense of instability within the population. Additionally, Pakistan faces natural disasters like earthquakes, floods, and droughts, further straining resources and diverting attention from long-term planning and development projects. The devastating floods in 2022 and flash floods in July 2023 caused widespread damage, displacement, and health risks due to contaminated water sources, highlighting the country's vulnerability to natural calamities. Despite ongoing efforts from governmental and non-governmental organizations, the recovery process remains challenging and time-consuming. The aftermath of the flooding led to an increase in waterborne diseases, posing a significant public health challenge. Agriculture in affected areas suffered devastating losses, although some regions experienced an unexpected positive outcome as the floods carried nutrient-rich soil that improved farmland quality. However, this did not alleviate short-term food scarcity, raising concerns about future disasters.

Societies have battled corruption for a very long time, which causes several issues. According to a quote from UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, everybody loses when bribes are paid. According to Transparency International, corruption is the abuse of authority for one's benefit and is an important problem in the modern world. Grand, petty, and corrupt politicians can be distinguished based on the quantity of money at stake. It is a worldwide problem that affects nations' capacity to thrive and develop, particularly the poorest ones (Dori, 2024). Inequality among people and unhappiness brought on by corruption can cause instability and increase a nation's vulnerability to armed conflicts and violence.

In the context of Pakistan's economic challenges, corruption poses a significant threat to the country's ability to achieve sustainable development goals, including eradicating extreme poverty by 2030. The link between corruption and bad governance creates a vicious cycle, where

corruption thrives in environments with lax enforcement of the rule of law, accountability, and openness. This ultimately leads to political instability, resource mismanagement, unemployment, and socioeconomic inequality, exacerbating Pakistan's economic challenges (Salman et al., 2016). Therefore, addressing corruption and promoting good governance is crucial for Pakistan to overcome its economic difficulties and achieve sustainable development.

In recent years, Pakistan's deeply rooted systemic corruption and unstable political environment have seriously weakened decent governance. The nation's future looks increasingly dire due to a combination of factors such as a faltering economy, growing rates of youth unemployment, and ongoing political instability. In addition to facilitating widespread political corruption, rising political favoritism and clientelism along with bad governance have hampered social and economic advancement. A downward economic spiral has also been exacerbated by widespread nepotism and poor economic management. The present situation of political fragility has constrained civil society's space and its capacity to bring about constructive change (Mubashar & Salman, 2020). On the other hand, the nation's administrative and governing organizations face enormous obstacles as a result of the country's socio-political and economic issues, which have been made worse by the general public's impression of corruption and decreased faith in institutions.

Therefore, various factors have severely impacted the public perception of stability in Pakistan, from political turmoil to natural disasters like floods. Confidence in the country's leadership is at an all-time low. Navigating Pakistan's future poses significant challenges, especially for future cabinets. Critical decisions must be made by cabinet ministers to rebuild confidence and maintain stability. This requires setting aside personal goals and working together to develop and implement solutions. Only through a unified approach can Pakistan forge a stronger path towards a stable future.

Political appointments have hampered the merit-based system in the bureaucracy by fostering nepotism and favoritism. There is a lack of accountability and transparency in governance as a result of bureaucrats' frequent lack of transparency. Excessive documentation and protracted procedures have made it more difficult to carry out projects and effectively provide services. Reforms intended to increase accountability and governance have frequently encountered

resistance from bureaucrats, who have expressed fears about losing their privileges or authority. There has been a brain drain from the service as talented bureaucrats have left because of poor working conditions, lack of prospects, and political influence. Service delivery has suffered as a result of bureaucrats' frequent incapacity and lack of training to carry out policies and programs. Bribes, nepotism, and corruption are all commonplace in the bureaucracy, where corruption has persisted as a major problem.

Inaction by bureaucrats due to "rules" is a common justification for outdated laws and regulations that have hindered innovation and advancement. Politicians and bureaucrats have a close working connection, which has weakened good governance by allowing for the abuse of authority and resources. Pakistan's inequality and bad governance are partly attributable to these obstacles to the bureaucracy's ability to operate effectively. For the nation's governance and development trajectory to improve, these challenges must be addressed. Political and administrative leaders' interaction has been vital; although some partnerships have produced fruitful outcomes, others have resulted in disputes and deadlock. Pakistan's governance has been impacted for a long time by the leadership role in the bureaucracy, with some leaders suffering criticism for their tenure and others leaving a legacy of success.

International organizations like the World Bank, IMF, and UN can influence governance through conditionality, funding, and technical assistance. Bilateral relations, aid, and diplomatic pressure from other countries can shape governance. Global economic trends like economic crises, trade agreements, and investment flows can impact governance. New technologies can enable or disrupt governance, depending on how they are utilized. International human rights, anti-corruption, and transparency standards can influence governance. These factors can interact and influence one another, making governance a complex and dynamic process. Effective governance requires navigating these influences to prioritize the public interest and ensure accountability, transparency, and inclusivity.

Findings

1. The direction of the country is viewed differently by various political parties. A survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan from February 8 to 15, 2020, revealed that 24% of PML-N

supporters and 81% of PTI supporters are satisfied with the country's direction, reflecting the complex political landscape of Pakistan. While all political parties and individuals emphasize democratic values like accountability, transparency, socioeconomic justice, and the rule of law, their implementation can be inconsistent due to varying political strategies, leadership styles, and institutional frameworks. State institutions like the military, bureaucracy, and intelligence services have a distinct professional culture and hierarchical structure, whereas civil society organizations like political parties and elected assemblies face specific challenges. This contrast can impact the country's democratic development, resulting in a limited role for Pakistan's parliament in decision-making. Legislators' priorities and actions can influence the country's democratic progress. Understanding these factors is essential for addressing the challenges and opportunities in Pakistan's political landscape.

2. Executive political leadership confronts opportunities as well as challenges in the modern governance environment, which is defined by the combination of traditional state institutions and the participation of non-state actors, about accountability, transparency, and the rule of law.

3. Political leaders in Pakistan have faced numerous challenges, including corruption, terrorism, and economic stagnation. However, their responses have been criticized for being inadequate or authoritarian. According to a survey, 36% of respondents attribute the biggest problems in Pakistan to the government, while 27% blame politicians. In contrast, 5% blame the army, 3% blame bureaucracy, and 7% blame others. The remaining 22% were undecided or did not respond. These findings indicate varying levels of trust in institutions, with the government and politicians receiving moderate approval ratings. In contrast, the army and bureaucracy have lower approval ratings, while a small percentage expressed confidence in other entities. These insights highlight the complex and divided public opinions on corruption and institutional trust in Pakistan.

4. The country has experienced periods of democratic rule, military interventions, and political instability, which have impacted the effectiveness of governance.

5. The governments of Sharif and Khan faced similar criticisms regarding their economic management and anti-corruption efforts, including neglecting economic development in rural areas, struggling with high inflation and unemployment, and utilizing accountability

mechanisms for political gain. A Gallup Pakistan survey conducted from February 1 to February 21, 2023, reveals divided opinions on who is responsible for the current wave of inflation in Pakistan, with 38% attributing blame to the PTI government (2018-2022) and 62% to the PML-N led PDM government. This significant difference in public opinion underscores distinct perceptions of the two political parties' roles in addressing Pakistan's economic challenges, highlighting the need for more effective and impartial anti-corruption measures and economic management strategies in future administrations.

6. Nawaz Sharif's government prioritized large-scale infrastructure projects, primarily benefiting urban areas, particularly Punjab, exacerbating regional disparities and neglecting rural development, widening the equity gap. However, his government was successful in improving governance indicators, including Voice and Accountability (24.88 to 28.08), Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (0.95 to 1.9), Government Effectiveness (25.59 to 29.52), Regulatory Quality (26.07 to 29.05), Rule of Law (21.13 to 23.81), and Control of Corruption (14.22 to 21.9). In contrast, Imran Khan's government focused on social welfare initiatives like Ehsaas and Sehat Sahulat, aiming to address poverty and provide health coverage to marginalized communities, demonstrating an intent to promote equity, but hindered by economic challenges and implementation gaps. Despite these challenges, Imran Khan's government was successful in improving Government Effectiveness (29.25) and the Rule of Law (25). However, his government experienced declines in Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (6.6), Regulatory Quality (20.28), and Control of Corruption (22.64), indicating a mix of progress and decline in governance performance.

7. Both Nawaz Sharif's and Imran Khan's governments struggled with perceptions of weak and politicized accountability mechanisms, with the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) being criticized for selective enforcement. During Sharif's tenure, NAB was accused of targeting political opponents, while Khan's government prioritized anti-corruption efforts but faced similar accusations of politicizing accountability processes, with NAB perceived as being used to target opposition figures, thereby undermining public trust and the credibility of anti-corruption initiatives, despite efforts to pursue high-profile corruption cases.

8. Nawaz Sharif's governance lacked transparency, exemplified by the Panama Papers scandal and secretive handling of mega-projects like CPEC. In contrast, Imran Khan's governmer t

introduced initiatives like the Ehsaas Program to promote transparency, but transparency in public procurement and mega-projects remained a challenge. Pakistan's adherence to the rule of law has been consistently weak, with scores ranging from 0.38 to 0.39 between 2015 and 2018, according to the World Justice Project's (WJP) Adherence to the Rule of Law index. This index measures the extent to which a country adheres to the rule of law, with higher scores indicating stronger adherence. Pakistan's scores fall in the "Weak" category (0.25-0.50), indicating a weak adherence to the rule of law. This weakness leads to political instability, corruption, human rights violations, and limited access to justice, hindering Pakistan's development and prosperity. Contingency Theory suggests that this weakness can lead to ineffective governance and a lack of adaptability, while the Fiedler Model suggests that it can result in autocratic leadership and a lack of trust among citizens and institutions. Addressing these challenges is essential for Pakistan to strengthen its legal framework and governance structures.

9. Nawaz Sharif's and Imran Khan's governments faced similar challenges in certain areas. Both administrations struggled to adequately address rural development, judicial reforms, and equitable resource distribution. While Sharif's government focused on large-scale infrastructure projects, Khan prioritized social welfare initiatives. However, both approaches had limitations, and neither government fully addressed these critical issues.

10. Pakistan's governance has been influenced by international organizations like the World Bank, IMF, and UN, which use conditionality, funding, and technical assistance to shape policy. However, a recent Gallup & Gilani Pakistan survey revealed that a majority of Pakistanis (56%) believe IMF aid will worsen their economic situation. This perception can be understood through contingency theory, which suggests that a mismatch between environmental factors (IMF aid) and organizational factors (Pakistan's economic conditions) leads to a perceived negative outcome.

11. The effective execution of programs and the delivery of services have been hampered by corrupt bureaucracy and red tape, which has resulted in delays and resource mismanagement.

12. The PTI administration's efforts to introduce Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) and implement the Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 demonstrate their commitment to leveraging technology for improved governance and citizen services. The Gallup Pakistan survey shows

that the youth largely support EVMs, with 76.7% believing they will ensure free, fair, and reliable elections. The Digital Pakistan Policy 2021 aims to promote financial inclusion, consumer rights, and e-commerce regulation, with the government seeking inspiration from successful models like China to ensure effective implementation and transparency outcomes. These initiatives align with the contingency theory, where the effectiveness of technology adoption is contingent upon various factors. Introducing E-governance can make government activities more transparent, allowing for greater supervision and participation in public affairs, increasing public accountability and transparency, and lessening the possibility of corruption.

13. Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan's performance assessments have been mixed and polarized, according to Gallup surveys. Nawaz Sharif's surveys show a slightly higher percentage of negative views, with 13% and 36% of respondents viewing him negatively in the two surveys. In contrast, Imran Khan's surveys show a shift in public opinion, with a slightly more positive assessment in 2023, where 40% of respondents viewed him favorably, compared to 36% in 2022. However, both leaders have a significant percentage of respondents holding neutral or undecided views, indicating a lack of strong consensus on their performance. Overall, the surveys highlight the context-dependent nature of public opinion, with leadership style and situational demands influencing responses, consistent with the Contingency Theory and Fiedler Model.

Way forward

1. Implement efficient water usage practices and invest in water infrastructure.

   The water crisis in Pakistan is worsening daily, threatening both agricultural and industrial sectors. The country loses approximately $21 billion worth of water to the ocean annually due to inadequate storage capacity, while excessive groundwater pumping has led to precariously low groundwater reserves. The agrarian population, which consumes the most water, also generates the most wastewater due to mismanagement. In 2018, the Pakistani Council of Common Interests approved the National Water Policy (NWP), allocating 10% of public sector development funds towards water infrastructure development. Pakistan's Vision 2025 recognizes the importance of abundant, reliable, clean, and cost-effective water for sustainable economic growth. However, integrated policy and execution have failed to address this critical

issue, exacerbated by climate change. Encouraging water conservation, efficient use, and investment in new sources is crucial. A national consensus on new commitments and investments through public-private collaboration is essential to bridge the extensive gaps threatening Pakistan's progress. Implementing policies to balance demand and supply, with a focus on both sides of the equation, is vital to achieving Pakistan Vision 2025 and ensuring sufficient water supplies for all users, including agriculture, industry, and residential sectors.

2. Invest in renewable energy sources and improve energy efficiency.

Pakistan faces severe environmental challenges, including water pollution, air pollution, deforestation, desertification, and climate change, which significantly impact social and economic development. Despite efforts like the National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) and the Pakistan Environmental Protection Act of 1997, the country remains vulnerable to environmental degradation. Effective implementation of environmental laws, increased public awareness, and private sector participation are crucial to address these challenges. Additionally, renewable energy development and sustainable infrastructure investment are essential for supporting economic growth and environmental sustainability. Pakistan must prioritize environmental protection and sustainable development to ensure a prosperous future.

3. Enact and enforce laws to protect Pakistan's natural resources.

The use of natural resources has the potential to boost productivity levels and enhance production capabilities, with ample resources indicating a higher capacity to enhance production capabilities. The expansion of the agricultural industry requires essential natural resources, and allocating resources is necessary for the growth of agro-based firms. A strong correlation exists between the expansion of the agricultural sector and the expansion of the industrial sector. The availability of energy resources, such as oil and gas, is crucial for facilitating industrial development. The identification and use of iron and steel deposits provide significant benefits to the development of the industrial sector. Pakistan actively participates in the exporting of goods, leveraging its large reserves of natural resources, which plays a crucial role in enhancing foreign currency reserves. The use of natural resources is necessary for the development and progress of basic infrastructure, including water, sanitation, roads, energy, and power. Effective resource management is necessary to address energy challenges, reduce dependence on foreign aid, and improve the overall well-being of the population.

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However, Pakistan faces challenges such as declining law and order, terrorism, and inadequate resource management, leading to a low GDP growth rate, trade imbalance, inflation, poverty, and unemployment. A comprehensive approach to resource management is necessary to achieve self-sufficiency and reduce dependence on external aid.

4. Invest in roads, transportation, and communication networks.

Policymakers can consider various strategies to reduce transportation costs and promote economic growth. These strategies include addressing income disparities, enhancing digital access, investing in infrastructure, and managing fuel prices. By implementing these measures, governments can help decrease transportation expenses and foster economic development.

5. Improve the judicial system and provide legal aid to marginalized communities.

Improving the judicial system and providing legal aid to marginalized communities is crucial for ensuring equal access to justice. This involves making courts and legal services more accessible and affordable, providing free or low-cost legal assistance, training legal professionals to be sensitive to diverse needs, reforming laws and procedures to eliminate biases, and increasing diversity within the judicial system. By taking these steps, equal opportunities are created for everyone to seek justice and have their rights protected, regardless of background or circumstances, ultimately creating a fairer and more just society for all.

6. Enact and enforce laws to protect women's rights and promote gender equality.

In Pakistan, despite existing women's rights laws, gender inequality persists due to historical, social, and cultural factors. A long-term, multi-pronged approach is needed to address this, involving collaboration among stakeholders and recognition of women's experiences. Solutions include legal reforms, public awareness campaigns, educational initiatives, economic empowerment, and addressing research gaps. Pakistan can draw inspiration from South Korea's economic empowerment and cultural narrative shifts. Technology can also enhance women's rights. The government and stakeholders are taking steps to address gender-based violence, update laws, and strengthen legal frameworks. These efforts can enhance awareness, improve access to justice, and change societal attitudes, ultimately promoting gender equality in Pakistan.

7. Promote religious tolerance and coexistence.

An environment of peace and harmony can be created by promoting inter-religious dialogue and commonality, and addressing human rights issues in light of divine teachings. Applying justice and fairness without discrimination, and addressing oppression and deprivation, is crucial for real peace and security. Participating in inter-religious festivals and programs can promote tolerance and understanding, increasing love and tolerance between minorities and others in Pakistani society. Free speech is allowed in every religion for clarification and discussion, but should avoid denigrating other religions and creating chaos. Adopting a da'wah style requires endurance and promotes social stability, peace, and tranquility, which is a basic teaching of all inspired religions. By following these principles, we can create a society where everyone can thrive and understand each other better.

8. Invest in industries and create jobs to reduce unemployment.

Investing in human capital and skill development is crucial for industrial growth in developing countries. Education, health, and technical training are key factors that positively impact industrial development. Additionally, favorable trade policies can also contribute to industrial growth. To achieve sustainable industrial development, governments should prioritize investments in human capital, and skill development, and implement supportive trade policies. This will help create a skilled workforce, foster innovation, and drive economic growth.

9. Improve healthcare infrastructure and access to healthcare services.

Pakistan, the 5th most populous country, has a mixed healthcare system with a three-tiered delivery system. Prior to decentralization, the federal government had exclusive power over healthcare, but the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010-2011 devolved healthcare to the provinces. The decentralization process was abrupt and inadequately planned, leading to challenges in managing national and international coordination. A recentralization process was initiated in 2013, consolidating central functions under a single federal entity. Post-decentralization, provinces took initiatives to fulfill their new stewardship role in healthcare, formulating context-specific health policies and action plans. Despite efforts, implementation remained limited due to weak institutional capacities and insufficient budgets. Provinces made progress in improving primary healthcare governance and delivery through reforms and innovations. While challenges persist, decentralization increased ownership of healthcare by provincial stakeholders and bureaucrats, fostering a sense of competition among provinces.

Pakistan's health indicators have shown improvement over time, with reductions in infant and under-5 mortality rates. A systematic evaluation of the health system indicators is recommended to ascertain the impact of decentralization on healthcare performance and efficiency.

10. Improve education quality and increase access to education.

Pakistan's education system faces numerous challenges, including a lack of direction and uniformity, prioritizing rote learning over critical thinking skills, and low enrollment rates, with only 60% of children completing primary school and 30% completing secondary level education. Despite these issues, there is a positive trend in education spending, with a 1.59% increase to 9.40% of the budget in 2022, following a decline to 7.82% in 2021 and 10.80% in 2020. However, the system still needs improvement, as it is biased towards religious and cultural aspects, neglecting essential subjects like STEM, leading to a lack of preparedness for real-life challenges. Moreover, the lack of uniformity in curricula, teaching standards, and examination systems across schools perpetuates unequal distribution of educational opportunities, exacerbating poverty and inequality. To address these issues, Pakistan should consider initiatives like career guidance projects, which have been successful in other countries, to reform its education system and improve outcomes.

11. Invest in digital infrastructure to improve connectivity and access to digital services.

Pakistan faces significant challenges in unlocking the opportunities of digitalization, including the digital divide between urban and rural populations, and infrastructure deficiency. To address these gaps, investments in digital capital and infrastructure are necessary. Cybersecurity is another pressing concern, requiring a strong system based on regulations, security technologies, and cybersecurity culture. Human capital development is also crucial, with a focus on digital literacy, higher technological education, and ongoing training sessions. A coherent strategy with suitable policies and coordination across sectors is essential, with the government playing an active role in shaping the environment for digitalization. Private and public sectors must collaborate to foster digitalization, promote digital culture and entrepreneurship, and drive economic growth and job creation. By embracing digitalization, Pakistan can address its economic challenges and build a better future for its people and society, ultimately contributing to achieving the country's development objectives.

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