ISSUES OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE:
A CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY PAKISTAN
Hybrid Regimes Locked In Transition

**Thesis for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Politics and International Relations—A Partial Fulfillment**

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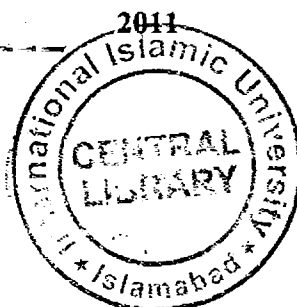
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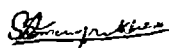**Department of Politics and International Relations**

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2011

DECLARATION

I, Sagheer Ahmad Khan, hereby declare that this Dissertation has been written by me in its entirety on the basis of my research work under the sincere guidance of my supervisor, Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam, Head Department of Politics & IR, IIUI. No portion of this Dissertation has been copied from any source. No portion of the research, presented in this Dissertation, has been submitted before for any degree or qualification in this or any other university or educational institution.

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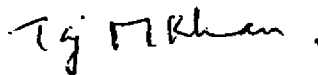Islamabad.

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ABSTRACT

Research studies suggest that societies moving from traditional-authoritarian order towards rational-democratic order should promote rational-inclusive ideological discourse, promote politicians who are favorably disposed towards rational-democratic values and capacity building at local level—incubation/transformation. However, governing elite in developing societies, such as Pakistan, adopts either exclusive ideology or remain indifferent; temper with evolutionary political process and prefers centralization instead of building rational capacity at local level.

As a result, society remains stuck in transition with hybrid regimes. Parallel to hybridism are fluctuations in state's effectiveness, political instability and violence. Periodic fluctuations indicate the presence of underpinning structural factors in this regard. Thus, structural constraints faced by governing elite in state-society consolidation and relationship between hybridism and instability and violence need to be understood.

The study is based on the position that hybrid regimes are locked in transition. As this study addresses 'why' and 'how' questions, therefore interpretive 'empathetic enquiry' has been employed. Within hybridism as deductive framework, induction across time and space has been employed in order to find out common pattern and specific variations.

Governing elite is the product of structure, hence possesses both authoritarian inclination and conviction in the legitimacy of rational-democratic order. The absence of requisites of rational-democratic order provides justification for the authoritarian

mind-set. However, requirements of democratic legitimacy prompt them to continue democratization. But the task of adjustment between irreconcilable features compels them to adopt bounded rationality—decision-making which accounts only for immediate changing context. Thus, governing elite adapt politico-ideological posture according to the changing context—internal political situation and global dynamics. Besides, due to authoritarian-libertarian paradox, governing elite neither adopts consistent coercion nor complete accommodation. Thus, grievances of less-empowered groups due to nation-state discourse keeps on simmering, high expectations of potentially mobilized groups remain un-institutionalized, and greed of privileged groups unaddressed. In addition to these, temporary motivation and limited coercion without internalization of rational-democratic values make state and society fluctuating.

Welfare-state discourse and holistic analysis of society by intelligentsia and political leadership can lead to the consolidation of stable as well as peaceful relations.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to My Late Sister Mumtaz

The way she faced bronchiectasis, a lungs disease, affected me a lot. She would often complain suffocation and express the desire to go outside in open air, especially at those places where life could be in full momentum, like busy markets. Probably she wanted to breathe in open air and to keep her feelings of life alive. In a house at Islamabad, where she spent her last days, most of the time at bed, she wanted window curtains and doors be opened, so that she could feel the life moving outside, but social values were least permissive in this regard. Later, I realized that her complain of suffocation was not simply related to bronchiectasis, but that was social in nature as well. When I tried to empathize her pain and feelings, it really changed my understanding of social world. I could visualize the biases, constraints and (unequally distributed) advantages rooted in social structures. Moreover, I could better grasp the alternative perspectives...set of perceived realities. Thus, empathy softened my rigidities towards conflicting views. Despite severe pain, she would maintain her appearance and wit. Whenever I asked her, after wearing new clothes, how do I look you Bibbi (elder sister)! She would reply, "You look good in whatever you wear". She wanted me to be in the front and centre of my fellows as she would advise me, "Don't walk behind your friends". Her courage and love will always remain in my memory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

AIML	All India Muslim League
ANP	Awami National Party
APMSO	All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization
BD	Basic Democracy
BPC	Basic Principles Committee
CIPA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
CRISE	Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity
CSRC	Crisis State Research Centre
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance
FSF	Federal Security Force
GHQ	General Head Quarters
IB	Intelligence Bureau
ISI	Inter-services Intelligence
JI	Jamat-e-Islami
JUIF	Jamiat Ulema Islam (Fazlur Rehman)
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (United Action Front)
MQM	Muttahida Qaomi Movement
MRD	Movement For The Restoration Of Democracy
NAB	National Accountability Bureau

NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPO	Non Profit Organization
NSC	National Security Council
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
PCO	Provisional Constitutional Order
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PMLQ	Pakistan Muslim League Qaid-e-Azam
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PRODA	Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1: I. SOCIO-POLITICAL ORDER: COERCION, VALUES AND DISCOURSE

Human history is replete with the stories of conflict and violence and so have been the efforts, by intellectuals and statesmen, to mitigate them. Hundred percent violence-free world may be an ideal which is difficult or even impossible to materialize. However, level of violence needs to be understood as it varies with respect to time and space. One part of the world may be peaceful at a particular time while another part may be facing violent conflicts at the same time, however, at another time situation may be vice versa. As in the current paradigm of nation-state system, some states are relatively peaceful as compared to other states. Generally, developed states are more stable and peaceful than developing states. Recent research in civil war and state fragility, however, found that states governed by transitional regimes—partial democracies and partial autocracies—with hybrid institutions are the most vulnerable to violence.

Peace/violence is a relational phenomenon hence it depends upon the nature of social interaction i.e., how individuals behave with one another.[1] Human behavior may vary with a range of possibilities in the similar situations depending upon the

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[1] Peace of mind or anxiety may be a personal phenomenon, however, we are concerned with peace/violence in society.

aptitude, temperament and state of mind at that particular moment. Broad range of possibilities of actual behavior makes them unpredictable. Unpredictable and unexpected behavior generates suspicions and mistrust in individuals towards each other that makes them diffident while interacting with one another. Thus individuals, being suspicious about the intentions of others, not only remain insecure (at least in their perceptions) but also live their lives at subsistence level as they cannot produce collective goods due to absence of social organization. Hence, for secure and better life certain kind of social conditions are necessary in which they could live together without fear and could organize themselves—a functioning society. However, for this, the level of mistrust and diffidence among individuals must be lowered down so that individuals could come close together for establishing a functioning society through collective institutions and division of labor.

Development of the norms of social interaction by living together, over a period of time, though, facilitate the smooth interaction, however, do not ensure the regularized/ordered behavior as conflict over contested resources and values would still be there to incite someone to violate the sanctity of norms of social interaction. Coercion theorists, therefore, believe that individual's behavior can be regularized/ordered and division of labor is maintained through coercion. However, coercion is a temporary solution. In the long run, it is counterproductive. Besides, regularized behavior (to be coerced) itself needs defining principles/rules of standard behavior and formal institutions—politico-legal structure— preferably deduced from social norms. Hence value theorists consider that common norms of social interaction and rules of standard behavior are inevitable for governing stable social relations.

Machiavelli, hence, first suggested the establishment of order through brutal coercion then transformation of the coercive order into authority through values, particularly religious values.

Longevity of stable social order with minimum coercion further needs internalization of those rules/laws and institutions—politico-legal structure—in the minds of members of the society that would result into institutionalized and predictable behavior. However, incompatibility of political structure with broader practicing social values would make internalization of the rules an impossible task. As a result, un-institutionalized and unpredictable behavior would be there to affect stable social relations/order.[2] So, in order to move from chaotic mass to stable functioning society first, norms of interaction and formal structure should be developed and, secondly, for the maintenance of functioning society political structure must be compatible with socially practiced norms. The problem faced by transitional societies is the second one i.e., incompatibility of political structure with the norms of the social practices.

As human beings have the natural tendency to follow the values of powerful. Hence in this globalised world, values and institutions—social order—of the powerful are perceived as standard. This point of view is close to Hegel's argument that most advanced ideological thesis, at a particular time, produces the most advanced society whose values are naturally fallowed by less advanced societies. Thus, grand

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[2] In democratic order, which is, in principle, less coercive and more accommodative, the absence or insufficient availability of both the elements, coercion and internalization of values, make it vulnerable.

narrative(s)—discourse about the values of powerful(s)—compels other societies to adjust their values with it otherwise incompatibility would disrupt their internal social order. Ex-colonized states, having exposure of the values during colonial periods and post-colonial linkages with the powerful, are the most vulnerable in this regard.

At this particular time, liberal-democratic order is the most advanced form of social order. End of cold war interpreted as the end of two hundred years competition with another grand narrative—socialism, has further established its validity, though clash of civilization perspective bit tarnished it. Peace scholars' normative criterion of just order is also not far away from rational-democratic order or Hegel's thesis. Concept of just order expounded by peace scholars may be considered as synthesis of the two grand narratives as it stresses the emancipation of individual from exploitative structures as well as from ignorance and biases through enlightenment complemented by the development of empathetic capacity that will promote harmony. Thus exploitation-free social structure comprises of democratic, rational but empathetic individuals is the vision of peaceful world.

Grand narrative of liberal-democratic discourse has, directly or indirectly through colonialism or increasing global level interaction which is facilitated by technology, affected the non liberal-democratic societies. However, grand discourse due to changing power relations at global level, dynamics of power-politics and limitations in power has remained inconsistent in its effects. As a result, grand discourse though has introduced new patterns with new concept/standard of legitimacy of power relations in non liberal-democratic societies, however, could not

transform the discourse into social practice. Therefore, these societies have become stuck in between old traditional order and new rational-democratic order governed by hybrid regimes. Thus, the challenge for governing elite in these societies is to adjust social practices with grand narratives in order to stabilize their societies.

Traditional order is based on ascriptive emotional attachment and hierarchies of deferential statuses with compatible particularistic social behavior while democratic order is based on rational association and egalitarian norms with universalistic patterns of behaviors. Thus first order is more personalistic and discretionary in nature while the second one is impersonal and rules based. Besides, in principle, democratic order, in comparison to traditional order, is more accommodative and less coercive. In transitional societies as expectations of the people have been developed that they should be treated as living in perfect rational-democratic society hence a regime in order to be legitimate must appear as democratic. Thus rational-democratic structure has been established and maintained with the trappings of rational-democratic values. However, social practices of particularism and personalistic attitudes still persist. Hence contradiction between political structure and social norms hamper the internalization of rules and laws. Thus un-institutionalized behavior of members of the society, particularly of those who serve in presumably rational/universalistic public institutions, results into inefficient and ineffective state institutions. Furthermore, particularistic behavior and personalistic attitude make state institutions discriminatory and dysfunctional. Thus declining institutional performance with rising expectations makes social life chaotic, though, occasional motivation or coercion improves the performance of state institutions.

Since state institutions, on the one hand, operate within broader social context and, on the other hand, states are also part of global system hence internal social forces and international dynamics (external influence) affect the political institutions of the transitional state. However ruling elite, being at the helm of the affairs, can maneuver forces of change and thus could consolidate the social order accordingly. As transitional societies lay in between old order and new order hence values and institutions of old order still persist along with irreconcilable values and institutions of new order. Hence it is up to governing elite either to opt the consolidation of old order or new order by institutionalizing the values of preferred order through employing the right combination of (consistent) coercion and accommodation. However, if governing elite opts for the consolidation of traditional order it, being contradictory with grand narrative, would be inherently instable. Moreover, it would also be unjust according to peace criteria, because permeation of liberal ideals in the society would create internal contradiction with the rigidities of autocratic structure. That contradiction can lead to disruption of order. Furthermore normative peaceful order also requires the transition from autocratic to more egalitarian order. Thus internally particularistic social practices and externally grand rational-liberal discourse make transitional societies vulnerable. Thus changing expectations and standard of internal legitimacy as well as external recognition demands rational-liberal structure.

Then question arises how transitional regimes can consolidate the social order by smooth transition from autocratic to egalitarian order. As recruitment in state institutions is made from society and institutions operate within social context hence

transition is not simply building new institutions but it is gradual restructuring of overall society on new patterns and values.

Appropriate strategy for transition would be to facilitate the consolidation of already existing, though infant, institutions and values of new order by patronization and cooption of elite which is favorably disposed to new order; promotion of ideological content that rationalizes new order; capacity and trust building at local level through institutional as well as socio-economic reforms.

Pakistan is a post-colonial state which inherited modern institutions from the colonial past. Similarly, other manifestations of liberal-democratic discourse like political class as an agency of representative democracy or at least instrument of democratic legitimacy; civil society as a rational association and a voice for civil liberties and human rights; and media based on as well as a channel of freedom of expression also have their origin in colonial period. Moreover, governing elite, as part of either modern institutions or political class, also had become oriented with rational system of rules during colonial period. While discourse of the empowerment and welfare of the people during decolonization process had generated expectations in the masses that state should take care of all their material necessities and non-material rights.

However, institutional elite could not purge itself from colonial mind-set; political class though apparently was democratic however factionalism could not be eliminated thus democratic parties more resembled with personalistic affiliation than

principle based rational-democratic organization; civil society was nascent as feudal and tribal structure could not be abolished. Individual's political behavior as voter, representative or even public servant was still influenced by personal affiliations. As a result, Pakistani society was a transitional, which was being governed by hybrid regimes. As military-bureaucratic elite never rejected the legitimacy of democratic governance while democratic leaders rarely relinquished authoritarian practice.

In order to consolidate society, governing elite must have promoted rational-inclusive ideology, should have promoted those politicians who were favorably disposed to rational-democratic values, and they should have co-opted regional elite and adopted capacity building programs at regional levels. In addition to above mentioned strategies, socio-economic and institutional reforms should have been introduced.

1: II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Governing elite in Pakistan, instead of promoting rational-inclusive ideological discourse, over a long period, have been employing either exclusive ideology or have remained indifferent and inconsistent. Similarly, instead of facilitating evolutionary process of rational-democratic development of political class, governing elite have been intervening in political process and assuming patronage of selective political group(s). While governing ethno-regional groups, instead of cooption and capacity-building, the governing elite have been exploiting their weaknesses for intervention. As far as socio-economic and institutional reforms are concerned, they usually have

been maintaining status-quo. Furthermore, neither have they been employing authoritarian way of consistent coercion nor have they been adopting democratic accommodation. Therefore, Pakistan has remained in transition with piecemeal progress towards rational-democratic society.

Parallel to this hybridism, are the fluctuations in state's effectiveness, periodic episodes of political instability, incidents of religious violence and interethnic bloody conflicts. Pakistan has been experiencing periodic episodes of political instability manifested as cyclical replacements of democratic and military regimes. Religious violence started from riots against Ahmdia community in 1950s, which reasserted again in 1980s as sectarian violence, and after 9/11 terrorism has become a nightmare. Ethnic conflicts also have been a challenge for the state. East Pakistan separated after bloody civil war, whereas Balochistan has been resurgent time and again against the central elite; Sindhis hatred and resentment though took violent form once in the history of Pakistan, however, it is a simmering problem. In addition to interior Sindh, Urban Sindh, particularly the largest port city Karachi, has been suffering interethnic violence in which Mohajirs have been a permanent party competing alternatively with local Sindhis, Pashtoons or Balochis.

As quantitative research suggests, hybridism as a combination of two irreconcilable value systems, may have some sort of causal relationship with fluctuation in state's effectiveness, political instability and violence. Moreover, the pattern of fluctuations indicates that constraints faced by governing elite in consolidation of state and society are not based on agency but are structural in nature.

Thus structural constraints faced by elite in consolidation processes and relationship of hybridism with changing conditions of stability and violence need to be addressed properly.

1: III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary objective of the study is to examine the relationship between hybridism and political instability and violence. Major problem in developing states, like Pakistan, is that they remain stuck in transition. As successive regimes in Pakistan, despite the claims of making the country a true democratic state, could not consolidate the polity and society. There also exists a pattern—with some qualifications—of changes of politico-ideological stances adopted by governing elite and fluctuations in public support and performance. Hence, a question arises, are there structural constraints which inhibit the consolidation and keep the country in transition with variations in state effectiveness.

In order to be more specific, these objectives of the study have been reformulated as key questions of the study:

1.   (a) Why do governing elite adopt exclusive ideology or remain indifferent and inconsistent instead of promotion of rational-inclusive ideological discourse consistently?

(b)   How their exclusive ideology or indifference towards ideology or inconsistency with ideological program affect social relations and institutional performance?

2.   (a) Why do governing elite tamper with, instead of facilitating the evolutionary process of rational-democratic development of political class?

(b) How does tampering with evolutionary political process affect the political stability?

3.   (a) Why do governing elite centralize power instead of decentralization through the development of rational-democratic institutions at regional level manned by local people along with the accommodation of regional elite?

(b)   How does centralization and lack of accommodation affect inter-ethnic relations?

4.   Why do they maintain institutional and socio-economic status-quo?

1: IV. RATIONALE: WHY CONTEMPORARY PAKISTAN

The word contemporary in this study has not been used to denote temporal meaning; rather the word contemporary expresses parallel existence of hybridism in both state and society.[3] Thus, contemporary Pakistan is characterized as a society containing transitional features and which is governed by hybrid regimes. The contemporary Pakistan has been fluctuating with periodic ups and downs. Sometimes it witnesses high optimism in society. State institutions at times considered as state of the art. Country achieved impressive growth rates, and even Pakistan has been

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[3] Meanings of 'contemporary' in Merriam-Webster dictionary are: Happening, existing, living, or coming into being during the same period of time. It also gives the meaning of simultaneous. See online at http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/contemporary.

considered as a model for developing states. However, it has experienced worst times as well as number of times it became a bewildered directionless society where hopelessness prevailed and where state institutions lost vitality. But it never lost resilience because it has successfully been recovering crises which periodically affected the country.

Pakistan is an ideological state which has been facing ethnic conflicts too. It has experienced ethnic disintegration, ethnic integration, episodes of repeated resurgence by same ethnic group and low level ethnic violence. Besides diversity in local ethnic cases, Pakistani state had to deal with urban guerilla warfare too. Similarly, sectarian violence and terrorism also have been the challenges for the state. Situation of law and order and social violence have been changing in the country. High performance as well as worst times; variety of problems with episodes of resilience; and performance of excellence in some areas at some times make Pakistan a special case.

Though Pakistan never achieved Western standard of civil liberties, however, within Muslim World it stands top in this regard. In the western world, Pakistani leaders have been presenting the image of Pakistan as a state that could/can be a model of democracy and liberties for Afro-Asian states.

1: V.   ARGUMENT

Limited scope of rational-democratic discourse and lack of complementary structural changes (reforms) in Pakistani areas, during colonial period, inhibited the achievement of conditions necessary for new order. While governing elite of future

Pakistan, operating in traditional areas with traditional authoritarian style, could not become free from colonial mind-set despite being tuned with rational rules. Hence, in the absence of requisites of rational-democratic order, authoritarianism (colonial mind-set) found its way to continue influencing the governance patterns of the new state. [4]

However, expectations of people were gradually changing according to new order, though institutionalization of behavior according to new order was yet to take place. Nascent civil society and media had started to employ the language of new discourse. Moreover governing elite, being themselves affiliated with western liberal democracies, were convinced of the legitimacy of rational democratic order.

Governing elite themselves were the product of [transitional/hybrid] structure. Therefore, they were, on the one hand, intellectually convinced of the authenticity of rational-democratic order while, on the other hand, they were deeply inclined towards authoritarian practice. Thus, governing elite faced the dilemma of continuation of authoritarian practice while maintaining the democratic legitimacy at the same time.

Thus, there is endogeneity because hybrid features of the society and hybrid regimes, both, influence each other that keep the state and society in transition.

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[4] Authoritarian personality depicted either through Adorno et al.'s F-Scale or Altmyare's RWA scale contains many features. However, in this study authoritarian personality is one who is more inclined towards authority and uniformity, therefore, authoritarians are intolerant towards autonomy and diversity.

1:V1. THESIS STATEMENT

Hybrid regimes are locked in transition.

1: VII. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Most of the studies dealing with developing or transitional states though identify the factors responsible for instability and violence, but do not explain why those factors are not being dealt properly. Therefore, after the identification of so many factors, the main problem in research about developing states is not to understand the causes of instability/violence, but why developing states fail to deal with those factors. Though there are factors which contradict with each other, however, developing states should have addressed, at least, one interrelated set of factors if not all the factors. Hence, problem in developing societies can be understood better through 'why' questions about the failure than 'what' questions dealing with the causes of failure.

Transitional regimes have been identified as violence prone regimes by quantitative researchers. Quantitative researchers though have detected few risk factors associated with instability and violence, however, their findings do not provide complete understanding. As their studies simply describe what are the factors but fail at many points that how and why those factors cause instability or violence. Hence qualitative research, as complementary to enhance understanding through 'how' and 'why' questions, is important task. This would be wrong to consider hybridism as an exhaustive framework that eliminates all other alternative explanations of the problem

under study. There are other alternative explanations too; however, it seems more appropriate to work cumulatively instead of going wavered. Hybridism, in fact, is the new version of previous dichotomous model (tradition vs. modernity) of modernization paradigm within broader functionalist approach. Dichotomous model in modernization paradigm have already been employed to understand problems faced by new states. Major criticism was that no society is exclusively modern or traditional hence dichotomous model is not applicable. In every society, no doubt, elements of modernity and tradition are found. Though both the features would be present in private as well as, to some extent, in public life, however, point is that what the defining features of public life are.

Here in this study instead of all the distinctive features only rationality vs. emotionalism has been emphasized. It is argued that it is rationality that creates universalistic pattern in contrast to emotionalism which promotes particularism. Furthermore, the distinctive feature is not itself rationality as all the human beings are rational, hence it is the internalization of rationality (not alone rationality) that distinguishes societies from those where rationality is not internalized.

Pakistan sometimes presents itself as a successful middle-ranged developed state which is about to cross the threshold of transition, while another time it presents a frightening prospect of state-failure with variety of problems—ethnic conflicts, religious violence, political instability. The fluctuations in Pakistani state's performance and effectiveness along with multiplicity of problems enhances the scope of the study as it can be replicated, with some qualifications, to a broad range of

transitional states. In addition to its applicability to transitional state, the lessons drawn from this study not only can serve as a guideline for traditional-authoritarian states which are yet to enter the transition due to globalization of rational-democratic values, but also could be helpful to prevent reversal in states which have apparently achieved the consolidation.

As this study brings to light the structural constraints instead of description of factors hence it is more applied and policy relevant study. Therefore, recommendations of the study can be incorporated in state policies for the consolidation of state and society.

1: VIII. KEY TERMS

1: VIII.I.   Governance

Collapse of Soviet Union led to a more integrated and interdependent uni-polar world. Scholars in the West linked it with the victory of liberal democracy over communism; therefore, belief in negative state along with vibrant society became dominant. Revolution in information technology and communication further strengthened the belief that state's autonomy is on decline as technological advancements facilitated the evolution of global structures which are transcendent of states' traditional jurisdiction. These advancements also affected the interaction among state, society and economy. Thus regularization and management of society, economy and state affairs have become cross interaction of all realms of life—socio-cultural, political, and economic—which is beyond demarcation within state and across states. As Frederickson and B. Smith define, "Governance refers to the lateral

and inter-institutional relations in administration in the context of the decline of sovereignty, the decreasing importance of jurisdictional borders and a general institutional fragmentation".[5] Thus, governance deals with the new patterns evolved out of mutual and cross interactions of various actors, local as well as global, representing different aspects of life.

Governance, though, is the study of new patterns which cut across various aspects of life, but focus varies across traditional disciplines and among individual scholars. Some consider it processes of steering society, other emphasize rules and institutional frameworks—regime type—that operate society. Practitioners, especially in international development and comparative politics, are mainly concerned with the outcome so they concentrate on developing measurable indicators that can be helpful in assessing the performance of specific regimes or determinants of processes.

Though governance also incorporates civil society and corporate sector along with public organizations, as decisions taken by corporate sector and civil society affect social relations and structures due to advancement in communication technology and information system, however, it is still state-centric. As according to Pierre and Peters, governance is the "processes in which the State plays a leading role, making priorities and defining objectives."[6] This is also the case in developing societies.

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

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

Societies which are in transition, from traditional to rational value systems and thus have both value systems simultaneously, lack stable patterns. Furthermore, Socio-political and economic aspects are intermingled to such an extent that state is often influenced by traditional social institutions and values—hence state-society distinctions is blurred in these societies. Similarly, these states are also vulnerable to external changes or global trends. But elite running state affairs, governing elite, still have central place that mediates between local social institutions and values and global changes. As governance "involves affecting the framework within which citizens and [state] officials act and politics occurs."[7] Therefore, these societies are steered/governed according to a framework which governing elite draws through their interests and perception about internal situation and external environment.

Thus a working definition for the study is: *governance deals with the way choices—regarding broader framework—are made (by governing elite) and how those choices affect the processes and outcomes.*

1: VIII.II. Hybridism: Hybrid Regimes to Hybrid Orders

In democratization literature, scholars have realized that analysis based on traditional binary categories, autocratic and democratic regimes, do not incorporate a large number of ambiguous states which neither fit, completely, in the category of democratic states nor they belong to the category of autocratic states. So, the scholars in the field have attempted to introduce new classifications and typologies to

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[7] James G March and Johan P. Olsen, *Democratic Governance*, New York: Free Press, 1998, p. 6.

incorporate the regimes which apparently contain the features of both types, democratic and autocratic, and thus loosely termed them as hybrid regimes. One such attempt was made by Gedds. She classified the regimes into military authoritarianism, personalist authoritarianism, and single party authoritarianism. She considers hybrid as a mixture of all three types.[8] Diomend classified the regime types on the basis of level of competitiveness in executive recruitment. Hybrid regimes, in his classification, were in between competitive democracies and closed authoritarianism. He further differentiated among types of hybrid regimes, depending on degree of competitiveness, as: competitive authoritarianism, hegemonic electoral authoritarian—residual category as ambiguous regimes.[9]

Classification and typologies used in democratization literature remained restricted to political institutions and norms with the underlying assumption that state is a distinct and thus unaffected by the larger society. Neo-patrimonalism as a hybrid type, however, linked social values with political structure. Engel and Erdmann describe neo-patrimonialis as, "a mixture of two co-existing, partly interwoven, types of domination: namely, patrimonial and legal-rational bureaucratic domination".... "two role systems or logics..., the patrimonial of the personal relations, and the legal-rational of the bureaucracy ... are not isolated from each other. Quite to the contrary,

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[8] Barbara Geddes, "Authoritarian Breakdown: Empirical Test of a Game Theoretic Argument." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2–5, 1999. See also, Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?", *Annual Review of Political Science*,(2), 1999, 115–44.
[9] L. Diamond, 'Thinking about hybrid regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, pp. 21-35. For further debate about hybridism see S. Levitsky and L. Way, 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, p.. 51-65. And Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." American Journal of Political Science 53(3):515–532.

they permeate each other: the patrimonial penetrates the legal-rational system and twists its logic, functions, and output, but does not take exclusive control over the legal-rational logic".[10]

Scholars studying instability and violence in fragile states also realized the importance of mutual interaction of state and society, therefore, used the concept hybrid order, instead of hybrid regime, that encompass broader social system. Boege et al. highlighted the influence of social structures and traditional authorities as, "customary law, traditional societal structures—extended families, clans, tribes, religious brotherhoods, village communities—and traditional authorities such as village elders, headmen, clan chiefs, healers, *bigmen*, religious leaders, etc. determine the everyday social reality of large parts of the population in developing countries even today, particularly in rural and remote peripheral areas."[11] They further rationalize the use of concept of hybrid order as:

- It is broad enough to encompass a variety of non-state forms of order and governance on the customary side (from (neo-) patrimonial to acephalous);

- It focuses on the combination of elements that stem from genuinely different societal sources which follow different logics;

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[10] Engel, Ulf and Gero Erdmann. "Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept", in: *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 2007, pp. 45, 1, 95-119.

[11] Volker Boege, Anne Brown, Kevin Clements, Anna Nolan, "On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States: What is Failing – States in the Global South or Research and Politics in the West?" in *Building Peace in the Absence of States: Challenging the Discourse on State Failure*, 2009. available at www.berghof-handbook.net

∴ It affirms that these spheres do not exist in isolation from each other, but permeate each other and, consequently, give rise to a different and genuine political order. [12]

In this study, therefore, hybridism is an overarching concept that encompasses both, state and society. Moreover, this study is in consonance with Elias' argument that politico-legal institutions and norms (state), which he termed as macro structure, is dependent on social values and norms (micro structure). Hence state is the political aspect of lager society. Therefore, features which are attached with political structure, democratic or authoritarian, are interlinked with social values. Thus hybridism is the existence of overlapping features of rational-legal institutions and traditional structures.

1: VIII.III. Discourse, Socialization, Internalization

Discourse, in simplest terms, is conversation, spoken or written. However, in this study, discourse, in Foucault's term, is 'arrangement of ideas and concepts through which truth, morality and meaning are created that shape individuals' world view'.

Discourse introduces world view but it is socialization, as a learning process, which attempts to condition human personality according to the particular discourse. While internalization is the deep psychological programming of individuals, through

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[12] *ibid*

effective socialization process that result in institutionalized behavior compatible with the discourse.

1: IX. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Fact and Perceptions

Man is a rational being who accounts for incentives and constraints while taking decisions. However, incentives and constraints are structured by society. Moreover, what is most valued or appropriate for some one is also determined by social values. As post-modernists contend that it is the knowledge elite who persuade individuals through particular discourse to adopt specific roles with the belief that those particular roles are most suitable for them. So, individual's behavior is determined by perceived truths rather than objective facts.

Post-modernists consider that narratives by the knowledge elite have obscured the fact to such an extent that inquiry for truth has become a futile exercise. Therefore, scholars can only do one job and that is to contest and counter the vicious discourses. If fact is obscured under dominant discourse then post-modernists, at least, should have described the nature of fact but they didn't. Moreover, due to this post-modernist perspective journey for accumulation of knowledge is hampered. It is, therefore, argued that Myriad variables are involved in human life with myriad permutations of possible behavior that make realities of human life as complex phenomena. If human behavior is determined by values, irrespective of perceived or objective truth, telling what is appropriate and inappropriate, then a set of particular values can shed light on expected human behavior. Thus, complexity due to myriad

variables can be simplified. Therefore, perceived incentives and constraints in relation to structure, culture or discourse of a particular society should be considered as a set of truths of that society. Thus, knowledge can be accumulated through inquiries of facts in relation to discourses. In this way human life can be better understood over a broad range of set of behaviors.

Method

Discourse as an organized thought or mental frame shapes human preferences and aptitudes as deep psychological inclinations. Moreover, individuals are hardly able to comprehend that their role is part of a broader discourse. Therefore, outward behavior provides superfluous explanations when complexities are involved. Even in some cases, human-beings, unaware of their psychological frame, can not explain their own actions. Hence, the study is based on the assumption that human beings are good, but they interpret it according to their interest which itself is determined by social structure and prevalent discourse. Therefore, Reality is the Outcome of Mutual Interaction of Subjective Interpretation and Objective Conditions. So, empathetic inquiry (Grasping of others' meaning) in relation to prevalent discourses has been done.

In addition, hybridism as a deductive framework has been applied for the case study. However, in order to find a generalized pattern, which could be applied in other cases, inductive observations have been made, by remaining within hybridism framework across temporal and spatial changes.

Data

As state policies and decisions are actually the outcome of governing elite's perceptions about the appropriate governance approach along with deep psychological inclinations hence data in this study is:

- Ideological stances of governing elite

- Developmental approach (Political economy)

- Concept of order

- Perceptions about internal and external context

Empowerment and welfare of the people are two main components of modern nation-state discourse. Empowerment stipulates that governing elite should maintain the impression of popular consent (democratic legitimacy) while, welfare of the people prompts the elite to focus on development. From this backdrop, nature and level of political mobilization (that could pose challenge to democratic legitimacy), internationally changing ideological discourse (that could influence political mobilization) and changing international development discourse set the broader context in which choices are made about political structuring and ideological preferences. Therefore, the above mentioned data has been studied in relation to this broader context.

This study is not meant to generate new data rather it is new interpretation by explaining governing elite's governance approaches in the context of transitional features of society and power-structure. Hence data have been borrowed from

academic sources and then analyzed with the framework discussed in chapter two. Though, study is not historical in nature as different arrangements of set of observations related to different time periods, irrespective of historical order, would lead to same conclusion, however historical sequence has been maintained for readers' convenience.

1: X. THESIS STRUCTURE

1- Introduction

Theoretical framework and methodological issues, involved in the study of 'Peace and Governance in Pakistan', have been discussed in introduction.

2- Theories, Concepts and Argument

An attempt has been made to understand the causes of instability and violence with the help of theories and concepts in the existing literature. The main thrust is to understand, 'why does governing elite fail to consolidate the society. Then in the light of explanations, a model of transition from violent society to peaceful society has been developed so that approaches of governance employed by the governing elite should be evaluated with that model.

3- Transition: Rational Democratic Discourse and Modern Nation-State

Rational-democratic discourse and persistence of traditional structure, during colonial period, resulted in hybridism, ethnic and religious assertiveness and new power-relations. In this chapter, therefore, it has been discussed that how the advent of rational-democratic discourse and modern nation-state, during colonial period, initiated transition with attendant ethnic assertiveness and religious consciousness.

4- Political Governance, Structural Constraints

In this chapter, it has been explained as to how governing elite, constrained by structural factors, adopts myopic/bounded rationality which prompts them to change their political preferences with the changes of context—internal and external situation. That causes adhochism, inconsistency and vagueness in the governance of the society. Governing elite's broader perspectives for economic policies and political structuring have been studied with the changing context.

5- Authoritarian Governance of Transitional Society: Ideological Challenge

Governing elite's ideological preferences and changing face of the society with the change of international politics have been studied in this chapter. This explains why society has remained direction-less and amorphous. How this amorphous nature of the society made it vulnerable to mass mobilizations.

6- Centralized Governance and Ethnic Diversity

It has been argued, in this chapter, that due to authoritarian-democratic paradox, governing elite neither accommodate completely, nor consistently coerce. Therefore, ethnic consciousness, due to nation-state discourse in the environment of limited coercion, becomes transformed into political movement—ethnic nationalism. However, ethnic groups respond differently against the perceived domination of the centre, allegedly, ruled by dominant ethnic groups. So, variation in responses by the dominated groups on the basis of social structure, level of difference from the mainstream, and presence of dominant groups as settlers have been studied in this chapter.

7- **Conclusion**

In the light of previous chapters, an appraisal of the study, concluding remarks, fmdings and recommendations of the study have been discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES, CONCEPTS AND FRAMEWORK

2: I. CONCEPT OF PEACE

The word 'peace', explicitly or implicitly, is frequently used in daily life discussions. When people talk about life and relations, they are actually concerned with quality (of life & relations) and assessment of which is done by peace criterion; when individuals talk about (living) conditions, they, in fact, are interested in evaluating them and peace as an ideal, helps them in this regard; when persons talk about situations, they want to know the deviation or movement towards a standard that is peace. Peace encompasses whole life, ranges from state of mind to state of world by addressing intrapersonal to inter-civilization relations. However, Galtung views it across eight fault lines of human conditions: race, class, gender, nation, state, exclusion, generation, and nature.[1] Apparently, it gives the meaning of order, compatibility and harmony. Thus conflict...opposite of harmony, which may affect order—is regarded as challenge to peace. Hence working for peace is working against conflict. However, conflict is a source of diversity...necessary for human progress but peace can not be anti-progress. It is a positive concept with regard to human

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

betterment and can not be equated with status-quo. Hence conflict itself is not a problem for peace, problem arises when it perverts to polarization, resulting impediment against preservation (of life) and progress...that is called violence and may be of physical, intellectual and moral forms. Thus peace is emancipation from violence: prevention/cure from diseases and injury, enlightenment from ignorance, liberation from prejudices; that could be achieved through physical, intellectual, and moral development.

Opportunities for progress and development are determined by living conditions which are shaped by social structures. Social structures based on differential treatment create inequality of conditions and thus uneven distribution of chances for development. Uneven progress divides humanity into rich and poor; "civilized" and "uncivilized"; privileged and discriminated. Poverty cause poor health conditions and malnutrition that leads to low life expectancy. "Civility" may provide justification for colonial and other master roles while "incivility" is a cause of personal naivety about oneself and thus makes one victim of human right abuses or prone to criminality. Privileged and discriminated, both, become victim of irrational prejudices of class, creed, color, race, nation, ethnicity and so forth. Hence structural arrangements result in miserable (physically, intellectually, and morally) and short life— a silent violence that kills more but perpetrators are not directly recognizable. The emancipation of this indirect structural violence is termed as structural or positive peace.[2]

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[2] Concepts of peace as positive and negative forms were first discussed by Galtung in an editorial of Journal of Peace Research see Johan Galtung, 'Edittorial', *Journal of Peace Research*, 1(1), 1964. He brought further clarity in his views by explaining the concept of

Positive peace is a continuous process—a movement towards better and better conditions with equality of opportunities. In developing societies, however, inequality of conditions persists and movement towards positive peace is slow and interrupted phenomenon with the tendency to move backward—towards structural violence.

Indirect structural violence, though, kills more but kills imperceptibly. However, violence in which human beings are directly involved kills in perceptible way. More noticeable form of direct violence is organized armed violence between human ·groups.[3] The emancipation of direct violence, that is absence of organized violence, is termed as negative peace.[4] Hence peace, as normative objective of emancipation of structural as well as direct violence, is a yardstick to evaluate and assess the existing conditions and progress of the states.

Peace researchers and activists, considering peace as an emancipatory project, focus on personal transformation for the elimination of structural as well as direct violence.[5] Intrapersonal condition or state of mind, though, is important aspect in this

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structural violence see Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Aggression", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 1, No. 2., 1964, pp. 95-119. Concept of structural violence though provided deep understanding, however, it ignored cultural aspect of life. This deficiency, he addressed by a complementary article in which he explained the cultural elements which legitimize the violence. See Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3., Aug., 1990, pp. 291-305.

[3] In the context of nation-state, broad categories of armed violence are: interstate war and intrastate war. More than two third of total armed violence is perpetrated through intrastate warfare in developing societies.

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

[5] For details about transformation as an approach, in peace research, for Conflict Resolution (CR) see A.Curle, *Making peace*. London: Tavistock, 1971; Johan Galtung, *Essays in peace research*, Vol. 1., Copenhagen, Denmark: Christian Ejlers, 1975; Iohan Galtung, *Peace, war and defence: Essays in peace research*, Vol. 3., Copenhagen, Denmark: .Christian Ejlers,

regard, particularly for peace psychologists, however it is mainly relational (interpersonal) aspect that determines the conditions of peace or violence. Hence it would be utopian to expect that individual transformation alone would be suffice to realize better peaceful world.

As interpersonal relations take place in the context of social order—power relations—based on either coercion, or normative values or combination of both. Hence understanding about rules of power relations termed as regime type—rules of interaction of power elite—is imperative for comprehending the real challenges to the project, emancipation of violence. However social order or regime type is simply the description of existing power relations but important part in this regard is the understanding of processes that actually regulate/govern the social relations. These processes of social regulations are termed as governance. Thus understanding about existing regime type and adopted governance strategies not only point out the problems in achieving peace but also suggest appropriate policy options.

Two strands of interdisciplinary intellectual pursuits, civil war research and [international] development studies,---by employing same concept but with opposite connotation...state capacity and state fragility---have realized the centrality of

1976; V. Jabri, *Discourses on violence: Conflict analysis reconsidere,* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1996; J. P. Lederach, *Preparing for peace: Conflict transformation across cultures,* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995; K. Rupesinghe, Ed., *Conflict transformation.* London: Macmillan, 1995; J. P. Lederach, *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies,* Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.1997; H.-W. Jeong, (Ed.). (1999). *The new agenda for peace research,* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999.

political order in shaping the socio-economic conditions. Hence, current debate in these areas revolves around regime types as main explanatory variables of peace and violence; and governance indicators as key measures of progress and decline. Civil war research addresses the causes of intrastate violence while development studies are concerned with the improvement of human conditions. Review of recent literature in these areas would bring more conceptual clarity while research findings and lessons would help us to devise ideal regime type and governance strategies for societies facing violent conflicts. That model would help us to understand and explain why some societies are trapped in spiral of violence.

2: II. CIVIL WAR RESEARCH

Recent debate in civil war research has narrowed down between greed motives versus grievances and complemented by opportunity structure.

2: II.I. Grievances

Grievance theorists based their research on the sense of inequality in economic, political and cultural realms of life—relative deprivation, exclusion, marginalization.[6] Relative deprivation is based on perceived distributive injustice in contrast to traditional explanation of violence as absolute poverty or scarce resources.[7] Thus

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[6] Relative deprivation of economic needs expounded by Ted Gurr is considered as the representative of grievance perspective however political variants of this perspective also have their proponents as Vilfredo Pareto who explained it as unsatisfactory co-option of non-elite. Other classical exponent of this perspective are Gaetano Mosca and Emile Durkheim.

[7] For instance, Dahrendorf argues that absolute poverty may create a sense of belonging among deprived people and thus may convert them as one collective entity. Klare contends that scarce resources as "Unsettled contested resource deposits" would be guide of conflict

human desires, though, are endless and means to satisfy them are limited. However, given the conditions and situations, few desires are expected to be satisfied. The dissatisfaction of these expected desires create discontentment. The gap between expectations and gratifications, due to either increase in expectations or decline in the rewards, create discontentment. When this discontentment is viewed against an expected level of satisfaction or against a better off group(s), it creates sense of relative deprivation. In traditional societies, problem arises when state starts socio-economic modernization process as it brings changes in aspirations and achievements that may result in increasing gap between them. Initial modernization affects few members, however, expanding modernization leads to alienation of large number of people with increasing intensity. Thus, scope and intensity of relative deprivation work as determining force which may turn into politicized collective discontentment by acquiring political objectives with normative or utilitarian justification.[8]

2: II.II.   Greed

Grievance theorists did not take into account collective action problem, however, greed theorists do.[9] They incorporate collective action problem in their

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zones in the World for twenty first century See M T Klare, "The New Geography of Conflict", *Foreign Affairs*, May-June, 2001.

[8]Antecedents of relative deprivation theory were James Davies, "Towards a Theory of Revolution", *American Sociological Review*, 27, 1962, pp. 5-19.; Feierabends (1966), however Ted Gurr is considered as leading exponent of this theory see Robert Ted Gurr, *Why Men Rebel?*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970. For recent work on grievance perspective see Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Eric Cederman and Jan Ketil Rod, "Disaggregaing ethno-nationalist civil wars: A dyadic test of exclusion theory", *International Organization*, 62(3), 2008, pp. 531-51.

[9] However Ted Gurr in his later work attempted to address the problem by merging relative deprivation theory with Charles Tilly's resource mobilization theory. He explained as deep

explanatory designs with the underlying assumption that man is a rational actor who makes decision—whether or not take rebellious actions—by keeping in mind the expected utility of his/her actions with regard to his/her private gains. Collier and Hoeffler in their path breaking study in which they employed expected utility analysis, using mainly probit and tobit regressions, found that greed motives rather than grievances provide empirical explanation of rebellious violent behavior. They tested grievances using variables as rapid economic decline, political repression, income and asset inequality, religious and ethnic fractionalization and political transition. The results of their study demonstrated that inequality in terms of land or income has no impact on civil war onset, while ethnic and religious fractionalization and state suppression—which previously thought as positively related to civil war onset—have, in fact, opposite impact, however, political transition may be a violent phenomenon.[10] Thus contrary to grievances, greed motives as availability of finances through natural resources, funding from diasporas or in the form of

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grievances and strong identity make easier for group leaders to articulate the grievances and thus organize members for collective action. See Robert Ted Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethno-political Conflicts*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1993, pp. 123-24.

[10] Besides demonstrating the irrelevance of grievances their study illustrated that large exports of primary commodities, bulges of young men, low education and economic decline were significantly related with civil war onset see Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "On Economic Causes of Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 50, 1998, pp. 563-573. Though ethnic and religious fractionalization has no impact on civil war, however, polarization...two groups similar in size...makes societies prone to the eruption of civil war see Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler and Dominic Rohner, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 61, 2009, pp. 1-27.

lootable/exploitable money were found to be responsible for the increase of chances of civil war onset.[11]

2: II.III.   Opportunity Structure

Along with human motives, greed or grievances, socio-physical conditions too determine the incentives as well as hurdles for mobilization. Hence rational man must incorporate socio-physical situations in his calculations while taking decisions either about his/her private gains or about rectification of his/her grievances through rebellious activities. Greed theorists, though, base their studies on the assumptions that man is rational, however, they remain preoccupied with individual's greed motives so, pay little emphasis on objective socio-physical conditions. Thus their studies do not remain valid according to the basic assumption.[12] This problem is addressed by the scholars who assume that man, being a rational actor, calculates opportunities against the hurdles present in the environment while taking strategic decisions. Thus study of opportunity structure, too, has become part of recent research

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[11] For relationship between natural resources and funding from diasporas with civil war see Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, " Greed and Grievances in Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56, 2004, pp. 563-95. However, large deposits of natural resources, they contended, would strengthen the government hence will decrease the chances of civil war. While Regan and Norton explained that how lootable money increases the likeliness of civil war see Patrick M. Regan and Daniel Norton, "Greed, Grievances and Mobilization in Civil War", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(3), 2005, pp. 319-36.

[12] Some of the civil war experts have argued that civil war is, at least, a dyadic phenomenon hence, instead of exclusive focus on one actor, understanding of mutual interaction between state and non state actors is imperative for the explanation of civil war see Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Eric Cederman and Jan Ketil Rod, "Disaggregating ethno-nationalist civil wars: A dyadic test of exclusionary theory", *International Organization*, 62(3), 2008, pp. 531-51.; David E Cunningham, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Idean Salehyan, "It Takes Two: A dyadic analysis of civil war duration and outcome", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(4), 2009, pp. 570-97 .

agenda. Opportunity structure theorists focus either on deep structures (social structure... classes, ethnic groups, authoritarian, democratic or semi-democratic structure), country characteristics (per capita income, size, terrain etc.,), immediate specific changes or events that create a favorable situation for opponents to launch a collective action against the government.[13] Tarrow described favorable factors related to opportunity structure as: increasing access in previously repressive regime; changes in political alignment; polarized/divided elite; limited repression and limited accommodation; weak state; and extreme but inconsistent repression that makes regime illegitimate hence ineffective. McAdam added to the list international or external support to the activists.[14] Favorable factors, though, increase the understanding; however, it is proper sequencing of factors [as theory] that explains the phenomenon.

Tilly's resource mobilization theory is an example relevant to the perspective. He elaborated the perspective, as politics is a constant competition between ruling elite and contending elite. The outcome of the competition will depend on who controls the resources of power. He contended that individual interests do not convert, automatically, into collective action rather it is the process of mobilization and organization [by leaders] of adequate resources that aggregate and regulate the

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[13] Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, Chicago: University of Schicago Press, 1982; Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.; David S Meyer, "Protest and Political Opportunities", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 2004, pp. 125-45.

[14] Doug McAdam "International Factors in Social Movements", in Guigno, McAdam and Tilly, editors, *Social Movements*.

individual interests into collective action. Hence it depends how leaders effectively use resources of power i.e. to recruit and organize members through incentives or coercion for participating in collective action. This effectiveness depends on leaders control over 1) Normative resources—commitment of members with group and its ideals 2) Coercive resources—inflicting punishment/injuries to rivals and 3) Utilitarian resources—rewards.[15] Hence when contenders will find the opportunities to equate [roughly] their resources of power with the ruling elite, then a situation may develop in which opponents could mutually involve in attacks and counter attacks on each other's resources through mobilization leading to violence.[16]

As underlying assumption of both greed theorists and opportunity structure theorists is same hence both incorporate favorable opportunities in their designs, however, variation in emphasis, either on greed motive or opportunity structure, leads them to different conclusion. A distinct example is Collier and Hoeffler, on the one hand, and Fearon and Laitin, on the other hand. Collier and Hoeffler found in their study that availability of finance (greed motive as well as opportunity) through natural resources increases the risk of civil war onset.[17]

Fearon and Laitin in their study, however, do not find any relation between natural resources and civil war onset. Neither do they consider ethnic nor does

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[15] Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978, pp. 69-70.

[16] *Ibid*, pp. 216-19

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

religious fractionalization as contributing factor in civil war onset while Collier and Hoeffler contend that polarization increases the chances of civil war.[18] In nutshell, Fearon and Laitin, focusing on favorable opportunities, found that poverty, rough terrain, state weakness and large population make state vulnerable to civil war.[19]

Nonetheless, both agree that state's administrative weakness increases the likeliness of civil war onset.[20] As initial civil war research—before exploring state's weakness as key factor—was centered on human motives. Similarly, post-Cold-War international development programs were based on (liberalism's assumption of) human nature.

2. III.   CHANGING INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE: GOOD GOVERNANCE, PEACE-BUILDING, BUILDING STATE FOR PEACE

Political development scholarship, in the context of Modernization Paradigm, gave priority to nation-building in post-colonial states. However, after Vietnam War emphasis on nation-building declined and during 1980s both state-building and nation-building had been replaced by market dynamics on international agenda.[21]

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

[19] James D Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War", *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 2003, pp. 75-90.

[20] James D Fearon and David Laitin, "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(4), 2005, pp. 483-507.

[21] Francis Fukuyama, *State-building: Governance and World Order in the twenty first century*, London: Profile Books, 2004.

Immediately after the end of Cold War, under the euphoria of so-called victory of liberal democracy, development discourse re-embraced modernization perspective but with new terminology and title as good governance. Good governance agenda, however, ignored the caveats that modernization is not a smooth project in which all the good things go together but a process of trade offs between democracy and stability, on the one hand, and between growth and distribution, on the other. Initially good governance was a narrow concept of administrative efficiency reminiscent of negative state as efficient, accountable, transparent but limited government. Later emphasis on competitive economy parallel to competitive politics increased the agenda, however, incorporation of free media and vibrant civil society made it system-wide overarching concept.

Thus, during 1990s, international development agencies and donor countries, following the good governance agenda, were pressing developing states to introduce various reforms under the structural adjustment programs. While in states facing civil war, the international community extended its role, under the auspices of UN, from traditional peacekeeping to humanitarian intervention and peace-building programs. Though, peace-building programs were the efforts by the international community to prevent the reversal of violence through identifying and supporting structures relevant to the consolidation of peace.[22] And presumably under the euphoria of 'end of history', western policy makers and scholars believed that those relevant structures must be liberal in orientation. However, naivety that liberalization of politico-

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[22] C Call and E Cousens, *Ending Wars and Building Peace*, Working Paper series: Coping with the Crisis, New York: International Peace Academy, 2007.

economic structures alone would be suffice to consolidate peace proved counterproductive. In many cases lack of effective institutions and institutionalization of political behavior resulted in the further deterioration of the situation. For example, in Rwanda, liberalization of media, in fact, aggravated the social division by propagating hatered and inciting genocidal violence.[23]

Thus scholars like Fukuyama realized the trade off between stability and democracy and hence he argued 'stateness first'.[24] The stateness, however, as top priority has already been reinforced by the events of 9/11, 2001 with the proclaimed links between international terrorism and fragile states.[25] Fragile states with the possibility of becoming failed states and even collapsed states was thus being viewed as potential places of anarchy where non-state actors, free from rules and laws— reminiscent of Hobbesian state of nature, could disrupt the global security too.[26]

Hobbe's assumption about human nature may be right or wrong, however in this globalised world, Hobbesian state of nature, in the form of failed states, has become a nightmare which also haunts the inhabitants of stable liberal-democratic states. Failed states as breeding nurseries of global terrorism or through their potential

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

[24] Francis Fukuyama, "Building Democracy After Conflict: 'Stateness' First", *Journal of Democracy*, 16(1), 2005, pp. 84-88.

[25] US President , *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington, DC: White House, 2002, online at http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf.

[26] However, Patrick argued that relation between fragile state and threats to global security is far from universal see S Patrick, Weak States and Global Threats: Assessing Evidence of "Spillovers", Working Paper No. 73, Center for Global Development, Washington, 2006.

contagiousness may disrupt the global security system. Hence, failing/fragile, failed and collapsed states have become focus of study for scholars of International Relations. However, since decolonization, scholars of comparative politics have already been concerned about newly independent nascent states in their journey of state-building, nation-building and political development. Thus state-failure is a merger of comparative politics and IR scholarship.

In addition to peace-building and global security, the need for strong and effective state was also being recognized with regard to development especially in the context of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). World Bank Commission on Africa stressed the need for effective [state] institutions for transformation necessary to achieve the MDGs. Collier also linkages between fragile state and violence, on the one hand, and fragile state and underdevelopment, on the other hand.[27] Hence UNDP, realizing the need for effective political (state) institutions, has promoted the merger of peace-building and state-building as a single concept 'building state for peace'. Thus UNDP's approach 'state-building for peace', in the context of centrality of state with regard to civil war, global security and development, indicates the renaissance of state with broader objectives distinct from developmental state's objective of economic growth and security state's objective of protection of national interest.

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

2: IV. STATE CAPACITY, STATE FRAGILITY AND STATE-FAILURE

Keeping in view the varying, even contradictory, explanations of scholars from different perspectives, the agreement between Civil war researchers, Development experts and IR scholars on state's weakness, as a factor that causes violence and underdevelopment, indicate the centrality of state's capacity in maintaining civil peace or causing civil war. State capacity, however, is a broad concept with many aspects as: bureaucratic efficiency, regime stability, level of economic development, extractive capability, military power etc.[28]

Prospective rebels, presumably, find opportunities when state is weak due to its low capacity to repress rebellion or accommodate grievances. Decline of state's capacity to deter mobilization is considered important indicator in this regard.[29] Concept of state capacity in civil war research, especially when it is low or declining, enhances the understanding of civil war onset, but search for appropriate remedies is the area of international development studies where similar concept 'state fragility' but with opposite connotation i.e. incapacity (state fragility), has acquired central place on research agenda, over a period of time, like state capacity in civil war research.

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[28] For utility and problems in employing the concept of state capacity to understand violence see Cullen S Hendrix, "Measuring state capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(3), 2010, pp. 273-85. in David Sobek, "Master of Their Domains: The Role of State Capacity in Civil Wars", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47:267, 2010.

[29] Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978; Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

However, burden of defining and criteria-setting for failing, failed and collapsed

states owe to International Donor Agencies/states that are in the search of appropriate

strategies for the recovery of these states through different programs entitled conflict

prevention, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. For instance, World Bank

measures states strength/weakness through Country Policy and Institutional

Assessment (CPIA) criteria that ranks country on the basis of quality of policies and

institutional framework with regard to resource utilization towards sustainable and

poverty-reducing development. A proposed definition of fragility within Organization

for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is, in the context of state-

society relations, the inability to manage the changes in peoples' expectations and

capacity through political process while previously it defined: "States are fragile when

state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions

needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human

rights of their populations."[30] If a state faces incapacity in maintaining monopoly over

coercive means and provision of public goods then it is termed as a fragile state or

failed state.[31] The difference between fragile state and failed state is the variation of

degree of incapacity.[32] The more comprehensive definition is given by Crisis States

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[30] OECD DAC (2007) *"Principles on Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations."* OECD DAC: Paris. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/61/45/38368714.pdf.

[31] CSRC, War, state collapse and reconstruction: Phase 2 of the Crisis States Programme. Working Paper No. 1, Series No. 2, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2006; B Rubin, "Peace-building and state-building in Afghanistan: Constructing Sovereignty for whose security?", *Third World Quarterly*, 27(1), 2006, pp. 175-85.

[32] M Francois and I Sud, "Promoting Stability and development in fragile and failed states", *Development Policy Review*, 24(2), 2006, pp. 141-60.

Research Centre (CSRC), "a fragile state' is a state [which is] significantly susceptible to crisis in one or more of its sub-systems."[33] Thus, underlying focus in all definitions of state fragility is the nature of political institutions; hence, recent studies link fragility with the nature of institutions or regime type.

2: V. TRANSITIONAL REGIMES/HYBRID INSTITUTIONS

As autocracies adopt coercive approach that results political suppression and economic discrimination hence, according to grievance perspective, autocracies are more prone to violence.[34] While others contend that autocracies relying on coercive measures can suppress dissent hence chances of civil war in such states are less.[35]

Research studies in civil war and development studies, however, pointed out that the problem of fragility or incapacity is related with nature of institutions or regime type. States with Hybrid or transitional institutions were found vulnerable to political instability or civil war. Weak democracies and weak autocracies termed as partial democracies or anocracies were found more vulnerable than full democracies

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[32] Francis Fukuyama, *State-building: Governance and World Order in the twenty first century*, London: Profile Books, 2004.

[33] John, Jonathan Di., "Conceptualizing the Causes and Consequences of Failed States: A Critical Review of the Literature", *Working Paper No. 25- Development as State-Making*, Crisis States Research Centre, 2008.

[34] Ted Gurr, 1970; Adi Schnytzer, "An Economic Model of Regime Change: Freedom as a public good", Public Choice, 79(3/4),1994, pp. 325-39.

[35] Christian Davenport, "Multi-dimensional threat perception and state repression: An Inquiry into why states apply negative sanctions", *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 1995, pp. 683-713.; Mark I Lichbach, *The Rebels Dilemma*, Ann Arbor MI: Michigan University Press, 1995.; Gordon Tullock, "The Paradox of Revolution", *Public Choice*, 11(1), 1971, pp. 88-99.

and autocracies.[36] Hybridism may cause civil war and state-failure.[37] U-curve shaped relationship between degree of democracy and likeliness of violence exists as partial democracies experience increase level of violence due to insufficient coercion to suppress the dissent as well as inadequate freedom to accommodate the grievances.[38] Hence, scholars link it with [failed] democratic transition.[39]

Scholars, however, do not have unanimity about terminology and typologies for mixed institutions. Partial democracy, anocracy, transitional regimes, hybrid system, competitive authoritarianism regimes, ambiguous cases, institutionally inconsistent political systems and neo-patrimonialism are the terminologies which are being alternatively used. Competitive authoritarianism, according to analysts, differs from other forms of hybrid regimes as in the former "democratic institutions offer an important channel through which the opposition may seek power from those regimes in which democratic rules simply serve as to legitimate an existing autocratic

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[36] Sambanis, 2001; Hegre et al, 2001; Reynal-Querol, 2002

[37] Jack A. Goldstone, Robert Bates, David Lester Epstein, Ted Robert Gurr, Lustic Michael B., Monty G. Marshall, Jay Ulfelder, and Mark Woodward, " A Global Model for Forcasting Political Instability", American Journal of Political Science, 54(1), 2010, pp. 190-208. ; Scott Gates, Havard Hegre, Mark P. Jones and Havard Strand, "Institutional Inconsistency and Political Stability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000 ", American Journal of Political Science, 50(4), 2006, 893-908.; Robertson, 2007; J. Snyder and E. Mansfield, "Democratization and the danger of war", International Security, 20, 1995, pp. 5-38.

[38] Havard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war,1816-1992", American Political Science Review, 95(1), 2001, pp. 33-48.; Douglas Hibbs, Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis, New York: Wiley, 1973.; Edward N Muller and Erich Weede, "Cross-national variation in political violence: A Rational Action Approach", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 34(4), 1990, pp. 624-51.

[39] However, Gleditsch claims that it is not democracy per se but Irregular leader change which increases the likeliness of civil war see Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Political Opportunity Structures, democracy, and civil war", Journal of Peace Research, 47(3), 2010, pp. 299-310.

leadership."[40] Common feature of these regimes is that elections are held and results are sufficiently unpredictable which make the ruling group cautious and serious, however, procedural standards are not according to the consolidated democracies.[41]

2: VI. STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS

Regime type or state institutions do not operate in vacuum. Not only do individuals serving in state institutions come from society but society also provide the context in which institutions operate. Hence, problems of fragility and thus violence should be viewed through broader social context in which state operates. Scholars of state-building/nation-building have also realized the importance of social context.

Optimism of modernization scholars that local identities, being traditional in character, would be replaced by modern homogeneous national identity through nation/state-building process has met disillusionment. Because, attempts to make nation and state congruent, through cultural homogenization (nation-building), have resulted in the ethnic conflicts.[42] Hence, in contrast to homogenous approach, multiculturalism as an approach which incorporates local context has been emphasized.[43] Midgal, in his study, explained the mutual interaction of state-society

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[40] Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." 16 (2005): 20---34, p. 54.

[41] Levitsky and Way, "The Rise of competitive authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002, pp. 51-56.; G. B. Robertson, "Strikes and labor organization in hybrid regimes", *American Political Science Review*, 101(4), 2007, pp. 781-98.

[42] Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation- Destroying?", *World Politics*, Vol. 24, April 1972, pp. 319-355.

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

factors related to state-building processes.[44] Others, Brock (2001) and Ottaway (1999), have termed it ethno-centric state-building. While, Whaites considers it as 'responsive' state-building[45] and Jones et al, further, elaborated it, as an effective political process that facilitate the mutual negations between state and citizens about demands, expectations and obligations.[46]

Huntington, as one of the pioneers of Institutionalizations approach, employed social context in his explanation of the causes of political instability and violence in developing societies. Gap between rapid social mobilization and slow institutionalization—formation of stable pattern of socio-political interaction is the main cause. "The lag in the development of political institutions behind social and economic change" is the main cause of political violence.[47]

Elias's Civilizing Processes, a theory of socio-political order, links the macro structure of state institutions with micro social structures of the society. When macro structure as an external constraint transforms into internalized self-restraint reflected in individual behavior at micro level then order becomes fully established.[48] Thus

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

[45] A. Whaites, "States in Development: Understanding State-building". *A DFID Working Paper.* London: DFID, 2008.

[46] B. Jones, and R. Chandran with E. Cousens, J. Slotin, and J. Sherman, "From Fragility to Resilience: Concepts and Dilemmas of State-building in Fragile State." Research paper for the OECD Fragile States Group, 2008.

[47] Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, pp, 4-5, 274-75

[48] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, Oxford: Blackwell,1994, pp. 443-56.

establishment of stability is the process of inter-linkage between state structure and social practice through inculcation of normative values of the new order. Hence, it is the transition from absolutist/authoritarian rule to normative/institutional order...personal rule to democratic rational rule.

Problem is to reconcile power structure to social practice; legal authority to daily practice; macro structure to micro structure. Hence problem is not only the transition of old order to new order but transition from old society to new society.

2: VII. DICHOTOMOUS MODEL (EMOTIONAL VS. RATIONAL)

Transitional society lies in between modern and traditional societies. Modernization theorists differentiated between modernity and tradition in various ways.[49] However, basic difference was the persistence of particularistic patterns in traditional societies in contrast to modern society which is characterized by universalistic norms. The dichotomy between universalistic and particularistic patterns, in fact, is the reflection of underlying difference between rationality and emotions/feelings: whether a society, in general, is based on rationality or emotions/feelings.[50] In societies where people, in general, are rational, rules and

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[49] Huntington considered Sutton's categorization of 'industrial' and 'agricultural' societies as most representative of dichotomy between tradition and modernity see Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Apr., 1971), pp. 283-322. For Sutton's categorization of the dichotomy see Frank X. Sutton, "Social Theory and Comparative Politics," in Harry Eckstein and David Apter, eds., *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, New York, 1963, pp. 67 ff.

[50] The central point of dichotomy between traditionalism and modernity is the presence or absence of rationalized behaviors (of masses and elite) and institutions. According to W. Moore modernization is "the process of rationalization (institutionalization) of social behavior and social organization". see J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela ,"Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment ", *Comparative Politics*, July 1978, pp. 535-57. Also in David C. Macridis and Bernard E.

principles matter more while in societies where people are emotional, personal liking, disliking and whims matter more.[51]

Man employs rationality in contrast to other living beings, who rely on their instincts, while making decisions and taking actions. Though every individual, normally, possesses the capacity of rationality, however, it is a latent capacity. Moreover, man is naturally disposed to act instinctively. Hence, rational capacity needs to be developed and internalized through socialization processes in order to make man truly rational being. Education could create sense of rationality, however, it is practice in rational environment which not only restraint instinct but internalizes rationality. Hence in societies where traditional structures persist, despite rational education, internalization of rationality remains a problem.

Hence, behavior and attitude of those individuals, who have not been internalized rationality through socialization, are determined by immediate instinctive disposition rather than deep rational cognition. However, empirical findings of psychological studies suggest that instinctual behavior is not a hereditary/genetic feature of human beings.[52] Here, however, argument is that when rational capacity is not internalized then man may employ rationality but not in a consistent manner. His/her behavior is determined either by personality disposition, or rationality or combination of both in inconsistent manner. Hence, the

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Brown, eds., Comparative Politics : Notes and Readings, Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1986, 6th edition, pp. 491-515..

[51] Dependency theorists also accept the universal capability of individuals of being rational (classical economic assumption). The difference is not the capability but economic structure which produces different incentives that results in different behaviors. See *ibd.*

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

difference between traditional and modern societies is not the rational capacity but the internalization of rationality in modern societies which produces institutionalized behavior.

Instinctive person affiliates himself/herself with persons who are naturally similar or close to him/her in terms of kinship, color, culture, temperament and so forth. While he/she has aversion with persons who are different or strange. Similarly, moral assessment criterion, like affiliation and aversion, is also instinctive...the wrong of like one is not wrong while right of stranger is not right. Thus instinctive affiliation and instinctive assessment criterion serve as a bond for family, kinship and tribal structure.

As instinctive person does not employ rationality consistently hence he/she readily accepts existing social structure. Vertically, too, he/she is attached with persons emotionally. Attributes of persons that extend to his/her whole family, due to emotional attachment, are considered natural and thus hereditary. Hereditary statuses of families with differential treatment become norm of society. Families are positioned in hierarchy of statuses on the basis of level of superiority/inferiority which they inherit generation after generations. At the apex of hierarchy is, the most superior, ruling family/elite. Thus inherent superiority rather than rationality provides the justification of rule. Hence, the very basis of social structure is personalistic and emotional rather than rationalized by some principle. Horizontally he/she evaluates on the basis of kinship while vertically on the basis of deferential statuses...particularism. Socialization of kinship affiliation and differential norm was helpful in maintaining the social stability.

Old order, due to norm of deferential social statuses, was based on superiority of ruling elite, however, was a remote rule—detached from subjects' daily life and indifferent to their

social (tribal) identities. Hence, at the time of limited mobility and remote order, differential and deferential norms were not problematic but maintained the stability.

2: VIII. EMERGENCE OF MODERN NATION-STATE AND EVOLUTION OF TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY WITH ATTENDANT PROBLEMS

Old order, based on superiority (intellectual, civilizational, racial or family) of ruling group, was a remote rule, detached from subjects' daily life and indifferent to their social identities, while, modern nation-state is a more egalitarian, pervasive, central and overarching to human life. Almost every aspect of human life is related to or under the jurisdiction of state. It is no more indifferent to social identities of its citizens for its own identity must be overarching to other identities. Provision of material as well as psychological needs to its citizens is state's responsibility. Hence, it controls or regulates life and resources. In fact, it is modern nation-state that gives meaning to life.

In western societies, old structures were replaced by gradual but parallel evolution of rational thought and rule based institutions. That parallel rational development facilitated the transformation, on the one hand, of narrow tribal identities into larger national identities and, on the other hand, vertical deferential structure into more egalitarian structures. Thus resulted in a modern democratic nation-state where individuals working in institutions would serve their fellow nationals equally.[53] Thus,

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[53] Scholars do not have unanimity about how modern nation-state structure evolved and consolidated in Europe. Weber explained that state formation was a war-prone long process of erosion of coercive capabilities of non-state communities in the favor of state thus modern

over a period of time, socialization, compatible to social structures, have resulted in institutionalized behaviors of individuals. In the West, transformation of old structures, due to evolution of rational thought and rule based institutions, finally resulted in nationalism and democracy.

Colonial rule was also based on the racial and civilizational superiority of colonials. They gradually introduced rule based institutions in colonies. As values, civilization and mannerism of superior/powerful are always enviable, hence, sense of local employees of being a part of superior civilization was sufficient for effective working of new institutions though with arrogance. Moreover, penetration of these institutions with employees from rival ethnic groups in old societies was less provocative as they were the agents of superior master.

Similarly, due to colonial influence, local demands of equality and self-rule were articulated through western concepts of nationalism and democracy. Thus struggle against colonialism was launched on the promises of establishing a nation-state. A nation-state where every one would be equal, people would be empowered to organize society according to their dreams. Moreover, state would be responsible to

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state is characterized as highest authority that enjoys monopoly of coercive power see H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, ed., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, London: Routledge, 1991, p. 83. According to Tilly, in Europe, state-builders first established monopoly in order to control the material resources like criminals. Later on, requirement of war financing compelled the state-makers to negotiate with emerging capitalist class that resulted, over a long period of time, in the civiliazation and thus democratic-rational state see Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 and ---, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, p. 206. Moor's contends that, due to increasing need for revenue, state was to bargain with society over taxation that resulted into the transformation of state-society relations and functioning taxation system consolidated new relations as modern nation state.

provide food, shelter and other life amenities...public interest. However, discourse of new order was missing the transformation of old structures. Thus, in post- colonial societies, it was democracy and nationalism that were to transform old structures. It was a sharp contrast from the west where transformation of old structures had resulted in democracy and nationalism.

2: VIII.I.   Emotional Society—Rational Expectations

Though colonial rule and discourse of nationalism created a nascent civil society, affiliated with democratic-rational norms, however, primitive affiliations— ethnic, tribal and cast identities—were/are still strong. Similarly, democratic parties, though, have been established but association of individuals with parties is emotional rather than rational. That is why democratic parties are identified with personalities/families rather than principles. As political affiliation is based on emotions hence supporters expect from their leaders to use their position in their favor whether, in principle, they are right or wrong. Political leaders, on the other hand, expect to be supported even if they compromise principles for personal gains. Thus supporters receive preferential treatment through state institutions while political opponents are discriminated or even coerced through the same institutions. This problem is much visible at local level politics where kinship, cast or tribal bond is strong. Hence supporters maintain their support to their leaders while leaders continue their patronization irrespective of rational rules and principles.[54]

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[54] This point of view is close to the concept of pattern-client relationship which is being used in comparative politics literature related to developing societies.

Introduction of modern education and merit based system though created upwardly mobile class and thus weakened the traditional hierarchical structure of social statuses, however, failed to create egalitarian structure based on mutual respect and human dignity rather it complicated the situation. As traditional structure remained entrenched while, new pattern of upward mobility resulted in arrogant and rude behavior: Individuals, at the low level of hierarchy, now, can move upward through hard work in education and thus can improve their social status. Since respect is linked with social status, hence, it is not a right by birth but earned through hard work. Therefore, one who can not earn is inferior and must be treated inferiorly.

Ideological (values and norms) rhetoric which is neither compatible with existing structure nor with modern structure creates confused and Hippocratic personalities as propagated social values which are also considered as standard, or at least desired, do not match with practices of real world.

The discourse of nation state though could not transform traditional structure, however, created sense of public interest and equal treatment—expectations as they live in modern state. Moreover, since politicians could not internalize the democratic norms and rational principles through practice hence they lack common framework of interaction. As a result, their political behavior is motivated by narrow interests. Thus, they are disposed, on the one hand, to work through discretion, on the other hand, are readily willing to switch political loyalties—make and break political factions, for the sake of personal interest.

In transitional situation, therefore, society is traditional but expectations of people are modern; upwardly mobile class is not civilized but arrogant; political parties are identified with personalities and families but claim to be democratic.

In an emotional society where traditional norms and structures still persist and upward mobile class is not being internalized with civil-egalitarian norms, the rational civil society remains nascent; political elite is factionalized and polarized and thus unable to resolve problems through democratic way of decision-making. Authoritarian mind-set in administrative elite, which is more organized hence more powerful, exploit the situation in its favor. Thus civil-military bureaucracy intervene the political system and assume either direct authoritarian role in power-structure or play the decisive role behind the scene.[55] Thus administrative elite, particularly military, becomes the real wielder of power, therefore, top-ranked military officers could be termed as core elite.

However, now people expect, though society is traditional, that state should take care of public interest. Since, in developing societies, expectations of people are always high, therefore, dissatisfaction with authoritarian regimes prompts them to find solutions in democratic form of governance. Besides, nascent civil society, media and political parties are there to rationalize the democratic order. In addition to these, executive elite itself not only is oriented with western values but have developed contacts with western democratic powers, since colonial period, for perceived state

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[55] The argument is close to uneven development theory but here emphasis is on authoritarian mind-set which civil-bureaucracy inherited from colonial mind-set.

interests. Most importantly, elite have internalized the system of rational procedures and norms, though, their style of governance have been authoritarian. Therefore, authoritarian rule is anomaly hence authoritarian elite must present its rule either as one of the forms of democratic governance or a transitional way towards 'real' democratic governance.

Since authoritarian elite itself is the product of transitional structure hence is unable to accommodate the political elite and patronize among them who are favorably disposed towards values of new order; appreciate the local sensitivities and thus co-opt the regional elite and help them to build rational institutions at local level; realize the need for consistent ideological program to integrate social practice with macro rational structure. Thus, assuming that problem lies in economic backwardness, they adopt simplistic approach of economic development and maintenance of law and order.

For development, the core elite being affiliated and dependent on the western liberal democratic powers, adopt the policies recommended in western scholarship, like modernization, nationalization, good governance. Ideological stance is also modified according to economic policies and suitable to western powers.

Thus, society lacking clear direction and identity becomes susceptible to changes taking place in regional and world politics. As a result society keeps on experiencing different ideological trends. Hence socio-political life remains un-institutionalized hence becomes prone to violent ideologies too.

In order to seek democratic legitimacy while maintaining authoritarian practices, ruling elite manipulate local politics. Since politicians of high caliber who have the capability to run state affairs by accommodation and democratic compromises can hamper the dominance of administrative elite, therefore, they are either sidelined or made ineffective through manipulation and coercion. Thus disruption in natural process of evolution of democratic maturity keeps the country stuck in transition.

(a)   Institutional decay:

The feelings of being local representative of 'superior' civilization facilitated local servants to behave in a rational and impartial way. While local people also accepted them as they were the agents of superior masters. Hence, institutions performed well. However, in new state with elapse of feelings of superior civilization, and the absence of national fellow feelings or ideological purposes, the public servants started to use their positions for their personal interests. Due to instinctive feelings favored closed one...nepotism. However, persons who do not have personal reference thus have another option—pay money for public services...corruption. Thus corrupt institutions serve discriminately on the basis of family, kinship, ethnicity, sect or money.

(b)   Ethnic discard

In new state, as sense of being a part of superior civilization is not supplanted by fellow national feelings, hence the members of over represented ethnic groups

serving in the institutions or residing in minority ethnic areas due to instinctive aversion behave arrogantly…justified by the assumption that their culture is standard one and hence superior from the culture of less represented groups.

However, the discourse of self-rule and empowerment has created self-consciousness: whether one is being treated equally or being discriminated by other. Naturally the 'other' is one whom he/she instinctively felt aversion. Due to greater mobility and interaction, particularly in cities, the instinctive aversion is felt with people who are different in terms of psychological frame, which is later interpreted as cultural difference leading to ethnic discard.

2: IX. GOVERNANCE AS INCUBATION

Hybrid institutions indicate that Transitional states have stuck in between the traditional structure and modern state structure. It means problem lies in state formation processes—state-building and nation-building. Nation-building is "a process of socio-political development, which ideally—usually over a longer historical time span—allows initially loosely linked communities to become a common society with a nation-state corresponding to it".[56] This process…nation-building…requires integrative ideology.[57] Nation/state-building gives the sense of a stage and after attaining that stage job is accomplished hence it is a static concept.

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[56] J. Hippler, "Violent Conflicts, Conflict Prevention and Nation-building—Terminology and Political Concepts" in *Nation-building: A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?*, Pluto Press, 2004, p. 6.

[57] *Ibid.*

However macro-structure and micro social practices are continuously being influenced by new socio-physical developments, internal and external, so, it is a continuous adjustment and readjustments of macro and micro structures. Thus governance as the processes of regulation is appropriate concept in this regard.

Lessons from the previous projects of state-building and peace-building are that effective political institutions are required. Few scholars emphasize the appropriate institutional design, for instance, Lijphart has given the idea of Consociationalism for ethnically divided societies. Major tenets of this approach are: shared decision-making by representatives of all ethnic groups about issues of common interests; segmental authority with regard to local problems; and proportional representation.[58] Centripitalism emphasizes the preferential/incentive vote. In this system, voters rank all the candidates. Thus candidates from other ethnic groups may soften their ethno-centric stances in order to be ranked higher by voters from other ethnic groups.[59]

Though power-sharing through institutional designs is important aspect with regard to establishing stability, however, it is the issue of restructuring socio-political relations according to new order. As shown above, in the review of literature, the main cause of fragility is hybridism---hybrid values and hybrid institutions. In terms of governing elites approach, hybridism indicate that problem is middle way: neither

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

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

complete coercion nor complete accommodation. But, it has been illustrated in the review of recent civil research and international development discourse that liberalization agenda or emancipatory peace projects which did not incorporate socio-political order—power relations— in their designs made either little headway or became counterproductive. While, on the other, scholars in nation-building, for example Connor's study, contend that exclusive (in terms of ideology or cultural homogenization) authoritarian way of nation-building, in fact, would lead to nation destruction. Similarly, political culture studies show that ruling elite, during modern times, cannot transform individuals and society through coercive authoritarian approach; as successive totalitarian governments in former Soviet-Union could not produce soviet man. Therefore, solution is also middle way but in the right direction. Hence, ultimate option is incubation—gradual transformation of society through supervisory role by maintaining order. Thus, new rational values are promoted without banning alternative perspectives; individuals favorable to rational values are patronized but without suppressing dissidents; and; and ethno-regional elite is co-opted, however, process of capacity-building, at local level, also continues.

State elite can restructure society through socio-economic reforms which would weaken the grip of traditional elite and thus would result creation of equality of opportunities and emergence of new elite; institutional reforms by transforming them from colonial institutions to people centric institutions; by introducing inclusive ideological content which not only will work as overarching integrative framework but would create emotional commitment too among disparate ethnic groups, which is necessary for transitional period; and patronization of intellectuals and emerging elite

who would be tuned with new rules, thus further rationalize the order and ultimately replace the old elite. Incubation process should be complemented by trust building among ethno-religious groups. As nation-state discourse make conscious of self-empowerment hence exclusive power structure is bound to affect relations but prevalence of particularistic behavior at local level may result poor governance by local elite. Thus appropriate strategy would be cooption and capacity building

Ideology: in common parlance, ideology is a set of logical propositions that normatively suggest how society should be organized i.e., what should be the principles and standards of individual behavior and social interaction. In addition to normative recommendations, ideology, especially nationalist ideology, also suggests the appropriate symbolic/cultural expression of the society. In the light of previous research findings and peace studies' normative guideline, ideology, in terms of cultural expression, should be inclusive. While in terms of principles of social life, it should be parsimonious, preferably incorporating the rationality and empathy.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSITION: RATIONAL DEMOCRATIC

DISCOURSE AND MODERN NATION-STATE

Areas that constitute the present Pakistan have witnessed many episodes of socio-cultural developments. However, regular foreign invasions have been interrupting this civilizational journey—either by destroying or reshaping the social structures. Hence, the history of Pakistani society is the history of dialectic between indigenous and exogenous factors with many ups and downs.[1]

Nonetheless, at the advent of British colonialism in this area, the society was primitive in terms of power structure. Power was concentrated in host of dynastic families ruling in many principalities, baronies and tribesdoms. Power was less penetrative, un-institutionalized but intensive in character. The sporadic use of this intensive power was effective in socializing obedience in the minds of powerless subjects—that was to be transmitted in future generations as well.

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[1] Pakistan has been the birth place of oldest human civilizations which have been flourishing in different places at different times: Indus Valley Civilization at Mohenjodaro and Harappa (3300-1300 BC) and Gandhara Civilization at Taxila (500 BC-500 AD). Several waves of invaders and traders from Central Asia and Middle East have been redefining social norms through interacting with previously settled communities. Ancient roots of Pakistani society is depicted from the title of a book and work by British archeologist. See Mortimer Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan: An Archeological Outline*, Royal Book Co, 1992.

3: I. COLONIAL HERITAGE: LIMITED REFORMS AND SLIGHT EXPOSURE TO RATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC DISCOURSE

3: I.I. Modification in Power-Structure

British Raj modified this power structure by introducing two modern institutions—civil bureaucracy and army. Civil bureaucracy was meant to consolidate and maintain colonial rule through civil administration with the help of co-opted local elite—feudal lords, tribal chiefs, and heads of princely states. While, army would deal with internal and external security threats faced by British raj. Now power was more institutionalized and much penetrative as compared to pre-colonial period. However, it was still authoritarian in nature. Thus civil bureaucracy, local elite, and army formed the new authoritarian power structure under the tutelage of British Crown.

Power-structure, though, became modified but society remained traditional in character. Thus during colonial period, Pakistani society was predominantly rural with fewer urban centers. Tribal, clannish, and cast/occupational affiliations were structural basis of the society. Social position, usually, was determined by inheritance and roles attached to social positions were relatively fixed, making structures rigid with limited upward mobility. Social interactions and their outcome were driven by emotions, affiliations and personal links rather than rationality or objective rules. Feudal lords and tribal chiefs were all powerful and autonomous in local issues while externally their position was dependent on the good will of British raj through civil bureaucracy. The relationship between powerful feudal/tribal elite and powerless common man was exploitative in nature. The socialization of allegiance to feudal lords had embedded

the life of common man in the exploitative structure to such an extent that he/she could not take independent decisions in political affairs.[2]

British Raj influenced, along with structural changes, socialization processes too. Sense of intellectual and civilizational superiority over colonized people characterizes the colonial mind-set. They transmitted this colonial mind-set to local elites especially to bureaucracy and military.

3: I.II. Rational-Democratic Discourse

At the same time, however, local elites and emerging middle classes were being exposed, through rational-democratic discourse, to Western ideals…liberty, democracy, equality, self-determination, and so forth. The rational-democratic discourse which was consistent and broader in scope along with gradual socio-political reforms brought about changes in power structure and hence required conditions for successful democracy in India after independence.[3] While in Pakistani

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[2] For details about feudal/tribal structure under British rule, see Khalid bin Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan The Nature and Direction of Change*, Praeger Publishers, 1980, pp. 3-7.

[3] Indian cities, being main-stream areas, became centre of modern education facilities and exposure. Thus upwardly mobile classes, residing there, were being oriented with liberal-democratic values. New power-structure was favorably biased towards the individuals oriented with new values. Hence elite in India whether part of civil-military bureaucracy, intelligentsia or political class were oriented with new values. Parallel to orientation of new values was the opportunity to internalize the new values by practice through local self government (as local self government started in India long before Pakistani areas). As a result, over a period of time, not only liberal intelligentsia and civil society became vibrant but new political elite became integrated through all India National Party…Congress Party. Thus orientation, practical experience and common platform helped them to penetrate into the society by breaking already weakening social hierarchies. Hence, Congress Party had attained democratic maturity and penetration as its leadership had bypassed the local traditional leadership, thus, had developed direct links with masses while AIML was dependent on traditional leadership particularly in Muslim majority areas.

areas, both, socio-political reforms and rational-democratic discourse were limited in scope and hence less effective in bringing about changes from authoritarian to democratic power structure.[4] Therefore after independence, while managing the affairs of the state, colonial mind-set of the governing elite with partial socialization of democratic values would consider democracy as legitimate form of government while authoritarianism a practical necessity.

3: II.   UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT: CENTRALIST VS. AUTONOMIST TENDENCIES

Rational-democratic discourse and modern nation-state also influenced inter-ethnic relations of future state. Pakistan is situated at the critical juncture of South Asia, Central Asia and Middle East. Hence, it is ethno-linguistically and culturally a diverse society. Almost all the major Ethnic groups— Punjabis, Pushtoons, Balochs— are transcendent, have their co-ethnics across the borders in other countries.

When the British extended their Indian empire towards North-West, presently Pakistan, they resorted to different strategies for governing these areas. Since the main motives behind the extension, in addition to imperialist derive, were the security concerns from potential threats of Russian empire that had already took over Central Asia in its fold. Hence, they avoided alienating local feudal/tribal elite. Rather they strengthened their hold further by granting them magistracy and executive powers and

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[4] According to Talbot, Britain acquired Indus valley (presently Pakistan) for security reasons in contrast to rest of India which was colonized for commercial reasons. Hence, they introduced rigid system of bureaucratic hold, military and land-lords see Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, 1998.

thus made them internally autonomous and responsible for maintaining the law and order.[5] Though co-option of local elite was the central theme of governance, however, it was not a uniform system for it varied in princely states, settled areas and tribal areas. The areas adjacent to Afghanistan…a buffer state between Russian empire and British empire… were more autonomous and tribal in nature while Punjab was more developed.

Pashtuns and Punjabis are populated along the traditional route of invaders and traders from Central Asia to India. Repeated invasions in these areas had been softening the rigidities of structures by affecting the stability of social relations. Thus individuals, relatively free of structural rigidity, were more dynamic. That dynamism was sufficient to create environment in which individual vies others, takes risk and welcomes the new opportunity. While in secluded areas of Sind and Balochistan, social structures were more stable and rigid. Hence people were more content and averse to change and thus reluctant to avail new opportunities. However, Punjab being proximate to centre benefitted more of its dynamism than remote Pashtun areas. Potowhar…arid area…became the major place of military recruitment for British India; Punjabi literates were quick in availing job opportunities offered by British raj, hence, state functionaries of lower level in other parts were Punjabis; while Punjabi peasants welcomed the opportunity to cultivate newly irrigated lands in other provinces, particularly, in Sind and Balochistan. Thus 'opportunist' and 'malleable'

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[5] Khalid bin Sayeed, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-7

Punjabis were already present among 'feudally controlled', 'backward' and 'passive' Sindhis and Balochis.

As North India had been the centre of Muslim rule in India, the ruling Muslim community—whose most of the members claimed their ancestral roots from central Asia or Middle East—had been enjoying privileged status in socio-political and economic life vis-à-vis Hindu majority community and even locally converted Muslims. Decline of their rule due to British Colonialism infused in them the sense of insecurity that stimulated them to adopt dynamism in socio-religious, cultural and educational activities.[6] Hence, they were successful in maintaining their privileged status vis-à-vis Hindus during British Colonialism. Moreover, on account of living in main-stream areas and playing pro-active role for the maintenance of their status, they were more literate, conscious of their status and thus enjoyed more share in civil-services and senior positions of army as compared to remote Muslim majority areas in North-west and north-East.

The North-Western Muslim majority area, presently Pakistan, was dominated by feudal-lords and tribal chiefs. Most of the feudal and tribal chiefs, with few exceptions, were Muslims. British Raj co-opted the local elites and thus strengthened the feudal/tribal structure for security reasons. Common man, tied with that social-structure, had little say in socio-political life.

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[6] Deoband Tehrik, Sir Syed's social reform and educational movement are the examples.

Under the new power structure in Pakistani areas, common man was being exploited and kept illiterate. However, the British Raj made special arrangements for the education and training of children from elite families on modern lines. Elite schools were established and even some of the children from elite were sent to UK for education.[7] Hence political consciousness about democracy, liberty, equality, self-rule and national question was restricted to western educated elites. For internally autonomous elite, political consciousness had regional or ethnic connotations. Though scope of reforms in these areas was limited, however, these limited reforms further strengthened the regional outlook.[8]

Thus in the new state, ethnic relations were to be determined through the struggle between overdeveloped and overrepresented Urdu speaking migrants and Punjabis, on the one hand, and less developed and less represented but assertive due to rational democratic discourse Bengalis, Balochis, Sindhis and, to some extent, Pashtoons on the other. In the new state, this struggle was to be reflected as the emphasis on centralization with exclusive ideology by overdeveloped groups and demands of autonomy with inclusive ideology by the less developed groups.

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[7] Details about patronization to elite's children through elite education by the British raj is depicted in several personal accounts. One of such depictions is found in autobiography of Sher Baz Mazari. See Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 1-114.

[8] How political reforms introduced by raj promoted autonomist tendencies in Pakistani areas, see Yunus Samad, *A Nation in Turmoil, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-1958*, Delhi: Sage Publishers, 1995.

3. III.   DECLINE OF NORTH-INDIAN MUSLIMS AND PAKISTAN

MOVEMENT

Before British raj, majority of the rulers of India were Muslims. Though Muslims were in majority in North-Eastern and North-Western parts of British India, but their center of rule was North India...a Muslim minority area. Thus Muslims of north India, in terms of language, culture, and socio-economic position, were a privileged minority with major share in local elites.[9] Privileged minority, despite being small in number compared to Hindus, was able to steer socio-cultural and educational activities of main-stream area according to their preferences. Thus, their language and culture became standardized one.

Therefore, decline of Muslim rule was more seriously felt by North-Indian Muslims than Muslims from majority areas. That sense of decline generated moderate and conservative responses. Moderates, mostly elites, adopted the way of becoming the part of system for the maintenance and recovery of their position...a strategy of survival within system. Therefore, they oriented themselves with western values and norms though maintained their Muslim identity. Conservatives, however, adopted the rejectionist and revivalist agenda which prompted them to look into the origin of their

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[9] Even after colonization, they were in privileged position as in 9113 AD 14.11 percent UP Muslims possessed 35 percent of important jobs (41.3% executive and 24.8% judicial jobs). See David Page, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control, 1902-1932*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 8.

Robinson also underscored that Muslims in North-India enjoyed majority share in jobs, lands and other sources, see Robinson, F. C., *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The politics of the United Provinces Muslims, 1860-1923*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

faith and thus a movement for literal meaning of Islamic teachings started there. Another aspect of revivalist agenda was to find out the features of Islamic order. Consequently, increased consciousness of Muslim identity and literal meaning of faith and overall revivalist agenda generated, on the one hand, pan-Islamic feelings and, on the other hand, communal and sectarian hatredness among Muslims living in minority areas.

While in Pakistani areas, religion was being used to strengthen the power-structure as individuals' spiritual upliftment was dependent on religious *pirs/makhdooms*. Those *pirs/makhdooms* were also feudal-lords and, therefore, they were intermediary between the Raj and common man.[10] Though, religion was a source of exploitation, but communal normalancy, over a period of time, had become an established reality. That religious tolerance was sufficient to maintain peaceful co-existence among people of different religions and sects.[11]

Pakistan Movement

During decolonization processes, local demands of autonomy, self-rule and independence from colonial rule were being incorporated in Western-originated concept—nationalism due to discourse of nation-state. As far as the Muslims of the sub-continent were concerned, due to variation in interests and orientations, the

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[10] Khalid bin Sayeed, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 3-7

[11] Burki considers Muslims from minority areas who migrated to Pakistan as religiously moderate while Muslims from Pakistani areas as religiously extremists, see Shahid Javed Burki, *Pakistan: A Nation in the Making*, Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1986. However, the case is opposite as he ignores the origin of Islamic revivalist movements and religious ideologues, both sectarian and revivalists. He also does not take into account the affiliation of Muslim immigrants with religious parties in his analysis.

expression of nationalism took three variants—territorial nationalism, Muslim nationalism and, ethno-linguistic nationalism.

Whenever the privileged Muslims from Muslim minority areas faced decline or danger of decline, they equated it with the decline of Islamic/Muslim culture and values and presented themselves as preservers of Muslim culture and thus always looked towards Muslim majority areas for help.[12] Under the feelings of insecurity vis-à-vis Hindus due to electoral politics, intelligentsia from North India created the impression of Muslims of sub-continent as one monolith body whose culture [theirs' own] they were preserving under difficult circumstances.

North Indian Muslims, being politically more conscious, launched All India Muslim League (AIML), a political party based on Muslim nationalism which intended to protect their rights (privileged status) constitutionally. The founder party of Pakistan, Muslim League with its roots in Muslim minority areas, was an elite project for constitutional safeguards and rights of Muslim population in British India.[13] Hence it was more popular where fear of Hindu domination was prevalent i.e. Muslim minority areas, particularly North-India.

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[12] When *Marhata* forces were mounting pressure and Muslim rule was declining, Shah Waliulllah launched religious reformist movement and invited Ahmad Shah Abdali for help. During Urdu Hindi controversy, North Indian Muslims presented it as the language of all Muslims.

[13] 24 out of 35 representatives of the Simla Deputation were officially titled members of Muslim nobility, see S Shamsul-Hassan (ed), Plain Mr. Jinnah, Karachi, 1976, Appendix I, pp.299-301. According to Tinker, AIML was "a coterie of landlords and retired senior officials", see Hugh Tinker, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis*, Frederick A Praeger, 1976, p.104.

The socio-economic conditions were vice-versa in North-Eastern part...East Bengal, presently Bangladesh. Socio-economic position of Muslim majority was low as compared to Hindu minority. Majority of Muslims were peasants and tenants while majority of land-lords were Hindus. In addition to land owning, business and commercial activities were also in the control of Hindus. Thus low socio-economic conditions of majority made East Bengal a thriving ground for left-leaning orientation. Thus, for Muslim leadership in East Bengal, Pakistan Movement was a struggle against socio-economic domination of Hindus. For this reason they aligned themselves with AIML.

However, in the Western part, Muslim elite were still the privileged group and masses also were free from fear of Hindu domination. That is why AIML was least popular in areas that constitute the present day Pakistan. Hence Pakistan movement launched by Muslims of minority areas through AIML was least popular in this part. Two years before partition, Punjab was being ruled by the Unionist Party; in KPK *Khudai Khimatgars* (Servants of God) had won the 1946 provincial elections; while in Balochistan, though Quetta Municipality voted for Pakistan, however, Qallat state opted for independence through its assembly. Ziring described the affiliation of the local elite with AIML as, "for the holdouts, the Muslim League was an alien organization with a message that threatened their personal independence."[14]

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[14] Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History*, Oxford: One-world, 2004, p. 47.

At one occasion, one of the leaders from North India asked Fazal Elahi Choudhary to play role for all India Muslim politics but he refused because Muslim majority areas were out of fear and elite there were enjoying privileged and autonomous status with amicable relations with non-Muslim elite as the Unionist Party and the Sindh *Ittehad* Party were the examples.

Majority of leadership of ML was moderate or modernist, oriented with Western values of democracy and constitutionalism. For conservatives, moderates/modernists were agents of the British raj hence they rejected ML. In 1940, ML passed the resolution for separate Muslim states in Muslim majority areas...a major shift in its politics which may be termed as Pakistan Movement. In order to gather support from Muslims of all regions and different orientations, leader of AIML, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, adopted ideological ambiguity as political tactic. Hence vague ideology of Pakistan contained the religious slogans for the appeasement of conservatives; for modernists democracy and constitutionalism were there; while promises of socio-economic justice was there for people of left-orientation.[15] In addition to vague ideology, MA Jinnah convinced the elite from majority areas that they need a spokesperson in the centre in order to safeguard their interests and no one

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[15] see Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, London: Oxford University Press, Reprinted in Pakistan, 1968, 1969, pp. 208-10. Jinnah responded to the demand of comprehensive socio-political program by young leaguers as " We shall have time to quarrel ourselves and we shall have time when these differences will have to be settled, when wrongs and injuries will have to be remedied, we shall have time for domestic programmes and policies, but first get the the government. This is a nation without any territory or any government." See Jamiluddin Ahmed (ed.), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. 11, Mohammad Ashraf , 1947, p. 393. cited in Mustafa Chowdhury, *Pakistan Its Politics and Bureaucracy*, New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1988, p. 30

else could play the role of spokesman better than Jinnah. Thus at the time of partition ML managed to garner support when it co-opted local elites and propagated the alleged violence perpetrated by Hindus against Muslims in Muslim minority areas.[16]

Muslim nationalism was more compatible with prevailing power structure due to its emphasis on religion that could provide a rationale for authoritarian practices against ethno-linguistic demands in the new state...Pakistan. Though ethno-linguistic and territorial nationalisms had their proponents and effective voices among Muslim population, however, it was Muslim nationalism (with emphasis on communal differences rather than democratic norms) that, within a short span of time near independence, enlisted popular support of masses and came victorious through a Muslim elitist party---the Muslim-League.

However, neither British Raj nor Pakistan movement brought about changes in social norms and power relations, thus Pakistan was a democratic victory but without structural changes. Though at the end, Pakistan movement secured popular support, however, it was not deep-rooted affiliation but was the result of momentarily created environment of communal hatred and violence. Similarly, local elite opted for Pakistan due to convenience rather than commitment. Hence Pakistan movement neither could bridge the ethnic divide at mass level nor did it give unanimity of purpose to regional elites.

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[16] For details how AIML/Jinnah maneuvered local elite from Muslim majority areas to accept Jinnah to speak in the centre on their behalf see Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman, Jinnah, the Muslim League and Demand for Pakistan*, Niaz Ahmad, Lahore:Sang-e-meel Publications, 1999.

Limited reforms and restricted socialization of democratic values could not bring about structural changes necessary for smooth functioning of democracy. Pakistan movement, too, could not break feudal/tribal structure. Thus ruling elite was factionalized, regionally polarized, had authoritarian tendencies, and untuned with the system of rules and procedures. Society was traditional based on clannish, cast and tribal affiliations for social life was based on emotional attachment rather than rationality.

Hence for ruling elite, authoritarianism, though an anomaly was a practical necessity. However, limited reforms, restricted socialization, Pakistan's democratic movement, and relations with the Western democracies had convinced the ruling elite that democracy, though theoretically, was the only legitimate form of government.

3: IV. INHERITED SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Limited social reforms introduced by the British Raj, anti-colonial struggle and Pakistan movement though brought about attitudinal changes and expectations with regard to the legitimacy of the new order but failed to ingrain the values of new order. Peoples' expectations of socio-political upliftment were high but their affiliations with their casts, tribes and ethnic groups still persisted. Political party was apparently democratic but factionalism still persisted, hence was being controlled in personalistic manner. Civil-military bureaucracy was internalized by rational rules but authoritarian style still persisted.

(a)   Ruling Elite

A vital proportion of ruling elite came from Muslim minority areas that traditionally have been apolitical, oriented with Islamic revivalism and more concerned with the rights/interests of Muslims rather than democratic values. This group lacked constituency for democratic elections, though had cordial relations with bureaucracy. Feudal lords from the Western part with clannish identity were another powerful group of the ruling elite. This group had secure constituencies, personal or, to some extent, class interests were main motives of this group. This group historically had been patronized by the Raj through bureaucracy and thus was convinced and trained to work with them as junior partner though had authoritarian mind-set. Third group, oriented with ethno-linguistic identities, comprised of non-landed class, majority from the eastern wing, had liberal and socialist tendencies. This group lacked political maturity and had weak links with bureaucracy.

Neither British raj nor Pakistan movement provided a common framework through which political elite could interact and resolve their differences. According to Jalal "the Muslim League could not pull the different and frequently conflicting regional strands in Muslim politics into a unified and coherent whole."[17] Hence, ruling elite, with divergent orientation and motivated with personal interests, was marked by factionalism.

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[17] Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective,* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, p. 15.

On the other hand, executive elite—bureaucracy—, infused with the sense of intellectual superiority, was susceptible about the integrity and capability of political class and was thus reluctant to owe allegiance to them. Above all Jinnah—the founder of Pakistan—,having a long experience of authoritarian management of Pakistan movement and particularly skillful handling of politicians from Muslim majority areas, was convinced of his supervisory role over politicians through bureaucracy.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL GOVERNANCE, STRUCTURAL

CONSTRAINTS

The tripartite relationship among rational-democratic development, state's effectiveness and political instability have been discussed in this chapter. Evolving process of rational-democratic development have been tempered and interrupted, through manipulation and coercion, by governing elite despite their intentions and claims of making Pakistan a stable, democratic and developed state. Military regimes, especially, in order accomplish the task (to make Pakistan stable, democratic and developed state), under self assumed responsibilities and missions, have been attempting to restructure polity at grass-root levels, however, at the end of every regime, either status-quo prevailed or situation became worsened with regard to rational-democratic development.

To understand the constraints that hamper the evolution of democratic culture and institutionalization of rational norms, the processes of political structuring and outcomes have been examined with reference to governing elite's frameworks for governance, under which they take decisions. Since, governing elite must maintain the impression of democratic legitimacy, so they have been remained cautious about level of political mobilization. Similarly, governing elite's assigned task, because of nation-state discourse, is to develop the country. While pursuing this task, governing elite—being oriented, dependent (on advanced western countries) and being a part of nation-

state system—have been attuning development programs (economic policies and related political program) with international development discourse, prevalent at their specific time periods. Thus governing elite's personal orientation, prevalent international development discourse and level of political mobilization set the context for elite's framework of political governance.

4: I. POPULAR PERSONALISTIC RULE TO BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL

4: I.I. Ruling Elite's Evolving Concept of Strong State

As de-colonization discourse itself was the product of rational-democratic discourse, hence anti-colonial leaders were presenting the vision of new states as independent state which would not only empower (democracy) but would improve (welfare of people) the living conditions of common man. Pakistan Movement was also based on rational-democratic discourse (empowerment and welfare of its citizens), however, its struggle was not directed against colonial masters but against possible Hindu domination that could deprive the Muslims (in minority areas) from post-independence benefits (empowerment and welfare). That post-independence ominous prospect for Muslims in minority areas and little sensitivities (about Hindu domination) and least exposure to rational democratic discourse in the Muslim majority areas influenced the ruling elite's concept of state.

(a) Sense of Insecurity and Limited Democratic Exposure

AIML and its struggle for Pakistan (Pakistan Movement) were basically the outcome of sense of insecurity of privileged Muslims from Muslim minority areas,

especially North Indian Muslims.[1] That sense of insecurity necessitated the strong man role. While, Muslim majority areas, being free from fear of Hindu domination, were least affiliated with North-Indian Muslims' project, moreover, these areas were characterized by factionalized politics by feudal lords/tribal's chiefs. Thus, least popularity and factionalized politics required subtle but authoritarian management in order to make the movement effective as the common cause of all the Muslims of British India. The ruling elite—mainly from Muslim minority areas—, therefore, being sensitive to factionalized politics and insecurity, was the product of authoritarian structure and culture though worked in broader rational-democratic framework.

The ruling elite, being product of authoritarianism, was not only sensitive to 'perceived' external threats but was also cautious about internal 'disruptive elements.' For that reason elite's priority, instead of empowerment, was to establish order and with regard to economic welfare of people, instead of equitable approach acceptable to all the communities and classes, it being oriented with the Western scholarship, adopted state-guided capitalist development.

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[1] When they migrated to Muslim majority areas presently Pakistan they were entitled as *Mohajirs* (emigrants).

4: I.II. Strong Institutions, Subservient Politicians, and Persistence of Old Social Structure

The preference for establishment of order led to the concept of strong state. However, broader rational-democratic discourse had set the new standard of legitimacy—democratic legitimacy. Hence, elected parliament (political class) was necessary to serve the purpose. The first Governor-General and founder of Pakistan, anyhow was a popular charismatic leader and, therefore, was not completely dependent upon politicians for legitimacy. Moreover, in Muslim majority areas, due to persistence of feudal structure, democratic consciousness was limited while mobilized segment, *Mohajirs*, was already in accord with the elite's perceptions of internal and external 'threats'. Therefore, requirements of democratic legitimacy could be maintained without giving greater role to political class. State's institutions, thus took precedence over need for evolving democratic culture. Therefore, politicians were assigned subservient role.

The politicians of high caliber, with mass support from Muslim majority areas who were at odds with AIML leadership, could be reconciled and supervised for developing rational-democratic society. However, priority of strong institutions necessitated to sideline them as 'disruptive elements.[2] Therefore, politicians of low

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[2] Notables among 'disruptive politicians' were: Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Bacha Khan), A. K. Fazlul Haq (Sher-e-Bengal), Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, G. M. Syed, Mian Iftikhar ud Din.

caliber—who were either docile or shared authoritarian approach with core elite—were being patronized.[3]

Centralized bureaucratic control was established by discarding provincial cadres. Ex-bureaucrats were appointed in provinces as governors—non elected, tutorial.head of provinces. Reports and advices of governors and bureaucrats were instrumental in governing the central and provincial governments.[4] In fact, they were the instruments of control for central government over provincial cabinets while districts were already being managed by the deputy commissioners...centrally controlled civil service officers, equipped with executive as well as judicial powers. Indirect control of provincial and federal cabinets was further complemented by the induction of ex-bureaucrats in the federal cabinet.

After Jinnah, power shifted to next strong man, Liaquat Ali Khan...the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. He became in charge of bureaucratic control while arbitrary powers of the Governor General could be used on his recommendations in his favor. Prime Minister, though, was all powerful but he lacked Charisma which insulated Jinnah from challenges to his authority by defiant politicians. Hence

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[3] For example, Khawaja Nazimuddin and Abdul Qayyum Khan, both politicians patronized by governing elite, were opposite in approach and temperament, the former was a humble politician who, in order to maintain the impression that Bengalis were equal in share of power, served, first, in the capacity of Governor General, and then Prime Minister, under the leadership of (de facto) strong men, first with PM Liaquat Ali Khan and later with GG Ghulam Mohammad, while the latter was a strict and authoritarian Chief Minister of NWFP, now Khyber-Pakhtukhwa, he served the purpose of marginalizing the 'dissidents' *Khudai Khidmatgars*.

[4] Khalid B Syeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, p. 26

compensation to PM's authority was addressed through the passage of Public Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act (PRODA) by the First Constituent Assembly in 1949 that further strengthened the authoritarian control of central government against "corrupt" defiant elements. Thus, need for strong institutions against 'disruptive elements' militated against the possible reforms of the institutions. The subservient role not only maintained but also reinvigorated factionalized politics. As a result, chances of evolution of democratic culture and capacity to accommodate could not develop.

Though, democratic legitimacy could be maintained without giving greater share of power to political elite, however, alienation of political elite could have led to legitimacy crisis. Hence ruling elite, that otherwise was interventionist, restrained itself from affecting the social positions and local interests of feudal lords through reforms. Besides, ruling elite's approach of development was based on the assumption that capitalist mode of production would automatically transform the feudal structure. Thus, need for democratic legitimacy and belief in capitalist mode of production hampered the chances of socio-economic reforms (land-reforms).[5]

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[5] Mian Iftikhar ud Din, as a minister of Rehabilitation in the Punjab Government, proposed land reforms but failed to convince the top leadership on account of their dependence on landed class for the maintenance of legitimacy. As land reforms in East Bengal, where big land lords were from Hindu minority, was introduced but it could not be introduced in West Pakistan, where land-lords were from Muslim majority, for details see Talukder Maniruzzaman, "Group Interests in Pakistan Politics, 1947-1958", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Spring – Sum, 1966

4:I.III. Overlapping National and Institutional Interests, Limited Coercion and Manipulation

As authoritarianism demands more compliance, less dissent; more administration, less accommodation; hence trained bureaucracy took precedence over factionalized politicians in power relations and thus resulted bureaucratic-authoritarian power structure. Induction of ex-bureaucrats in the cabinet resulted in the ascendency of an ex-bureaucrat, Ghulam Muhammad, to the highest portfolio of the state, Governor-Generalship in 1951. Over a period of time authoritarianism blurred the distinctions between state's interest and institutions' interest. As immediate concern of top leadership was the consolidation and survival of new state. Therefore, defense and institutional integrity—euphemism for institutions' interests—became the top priority in resource allocation and military became the most valued institution as the 'guarantor' of the survival of the state against internal and external 'threats'. Despite disproportionate spending in defense and bureaucratic control, maintenance of democratic legitimacy was not problem for authoritarian elite.

That ascendency of ex-bureaucrat marked the completion of gradual domination of institutions as subservient role and factionalism had made parliamentarians docile to the de-facto authority. Thus submissive and factionalized politicians, and limited democratic consciousness, made easier for the Governor-General to maintain the impression of democratic legitimacy by dealing with them coercively.

In such situation when power would play more decisive role than principle, military, the most organized institution that traditionally had been part of power

structure since colonial period, could not be kept out of power politics. Consequently, members of the bureaucratic-military elite, Ghulam Mohammd, Choudhary Mohammad Ali, Iskandar Mirza, and Commander-in-Chief Ayub Khan, were the most influential persons in governing the state affairs.

Less docile second constituent assembly and diminished discretionary powers of the President—a new designation instead of Governor-General, in 1956 constitution—necessitated the change in dealing with political class for maintaining the impression of democratic legitimacy.[6] Iskandar Mirza, hence in contrast to his predecessor Ghulam Mohammd, resorted manipulation rather than coercion for maintaining his authority. Creation of new political party and unstable coalition groups in the parliament helped him to impose his will upon politicians. However, that method resulted in rapid changes in federal cabinet and thus created sense of political uncertainty in the society.

4: I.IV. Deterioration in Democratic Capacity and Loss of Credibility

According to Saeed, "Civil servants who had worked in the districts and provinces had mastered all the methods of manipulating the feudal, ethnic and political factions"....as a result, politicians lost their credibility and prestige in the eyes of public.[7] Still politicians like Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy were available who had the capability to mitigate the ethnic cleavages as well as bridge the gap between

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[6] Second Constituent Assembly was indirectly elected by members of provincial assemblies. In East Bengal opposition alliance, Jugtu Front, sweeped the elections.

[7] Sayeed, op.cit, p. 44.

competing classes by developing cross-ethnic and inter-classes alliance of politicians, but authoritarian structure controlled by non-elected institutions had become intolerant for such democratic moves as Marshall wrote about the removal of Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy as PM: "it sent out off office the only available man with aptitude as a politician and giving reasonable promise of national leadership."[8]

Dominant role of bureaucracy made politicians subservient and thus impeded the chances of capacity building to understand the public issues and problems and their solutions. Manipulation in politics increased the already present tendency of factionalism among politicians who were ready to switch loyalties for their petty benefits.[9] Lack of commitment with principles due to denial of responsible role and thus training was reflected in the changing political loyalties. One such example in the West Pakistan Assembly was witnessed when ML parliamentarians switched their loyalties overnight to Republican Party for the sake of ministerial portfolios.[10] Thus limited capacity to negotiate and compromise democratically further deteriorated. Governing elite assuming the supervisory role, however, could have facilitated the parliamentarians to reach consensus about the rules for democratic governance—

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[8]Charles Burton Marshall, "Reflections On a Revolution in Pakistan", *Foreign Affairs*, 37, January 1959, pp. 251-52.

[9] Along with factionalism, mushroom grooming of political parties out of parent party, ML, was the indication of lack of capability of politicians to be part of same platform with divergent views. As splinter groups within ML had established nine parties till 1949 see Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, p. 81.

[10] Mushtaq Ahmed, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi:1970, p. 127.

constitution—but, authoritarian mind-set was unable to look beyond immediate need of maintaining the order.[11]

As subservient and factionalized political class was serving the purpose of democratic legitimacy, hence, authoritarian elite was not interested in electoral process. Political process and intelligentsia —which provide ideological rationale and organizational skill—thus, became irrelevant.[12] As a result, people with high expectations found their representatives involved in petty issues instead of national problems and at the same time they had no alternative as social status of political elite was helpful in bringing them back to parliament, moreover electoral process had stopped. Consequently, whole democratic process lost its credibility.

4: I.V. Institutional Decline and Bewildered Society

The individuals serving in public institutions were part of the society where traditional features were still prevalent while civil society was nascent, therefore, rational and impartial attitude was not fully internalized in their personalities. Thus, their behavior was influenced by ethnic, tribal, caste, family and personal affiliations without commitment to their rule based jobs. While, during colonial period feelings of being part of superior civilization was motivational force to behave with commitment and according to rule though with colonial arrogance. People were also socialized to be obedient to the 'superior masters'. After colonial period, the feelings of superior

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[11] When ruling elite required legislation, it got done by the members 'incapable of reaching democratic compromise' of constituent assembly. Transfer of power to governor general and objectives resolution are the examples.

[12] Mohammad Waseem, p.120

civilization should have been supplanted by the feelings of serving fellow citizens through ideological slogans/mottos till the achievement of rational and empathetic society. However, ruling elite with the authoritarian mind-set considered any kind of political defiance to their policies as acts of treachery, therefore, itself was in the favor of strict administration—a euphemism for arrogant behavior. Consequentially, commitment level of public servants declined and particularistic behavior was reflected in their behavior. Thus not only did institutional performance decline but institutions became discriminatory and corrupt.

Similarly, society with high level of expectations when observed their representatives involved in non-issues and declined institutional performance, they became frustrated. Consistent ideological program would have given them feelings of pride and integration, however, ruling elite's indifference and inconsistent ideological stances made it bewildered. Thus, society was without any clear direction. Frequent changes in cabinets, due to manipulation by power elite, declining institutional performance, and tactical usage of ideology with changing stances—that diminished the chances of institutionalization, all these factors created the sense of instability and loss of direction.[13]

Thus, the overall deteriorating situation provided an opportunity to the most organized hence most powerful institution to intervene. Thus power shifted from

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[13] Wilcox commented the situation as "Increasingly the society as whole seemed to be without direction" see Wayne Ayres Wilcox, "The Pakistan Coup D'état of 1958", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer 1965, p. 147.

political class to bureaucracy and bureaucracy to military. In other words, power gravitated from disorganized to the organized and from organized to the most organized institution.

4: II. MODERATE PREATORIANISM

Military's intervention was a welcome step for masses at a time when country was facing pervasive instability and civilian political leadership had already lost the credibility. Military's firm control restored the institutional performance as well as hope among the masses. However, it was a deviation from the rational-democratic system.

Though authoritarianism found the opportunity and rationale, however, it was an anomaly for the institutionalized elite which were tuned with rational rules and also had links with western liberal-democracies. Isikandar Mirza, at the time of imposition of Martial Law, therefore, stated, "Country will be governed as close/near as possible in accordance with the 1956/late constitution".[14] While, Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), General Ayub Khan justified the anomaly as:

"They [politicians had] waged a ceaseless and bitter war against each other regardless of the ill effects on the country...[there had been] no limit to the depth of their baseness, chicanery, deceit and degradation."[15] He further reiterated the

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[14] Isikander Mirza broadcast to the nation at the time of imposition of Martial Law on October 8, 1958. See

[15] Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, Vol. 1, Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1961, p. 2.

commitment with democratic form of governance "Our aim is to restore democracy, but of a type that people can understand and work."

4: II.I. Economic Development, Uniformity of Mind and Action and Democratic Legitimacy

Military regime, being authoritarian in nature, assumed that economic development of the country would automatically lead to democratic stable system. Hence regime was more concerned with economic development than democratic development. Modernization perspective, put forward and popularized by western scholarship, was the guideline for Ayub regime for economic development of the country. As Talbot observed, "Pakistan was a laboratory for modernization theory's prescription for 'takeoff' into sustained economic growth through massive infusions of capital directed to industry by government and the establishment of cultural, political, and economic environment conducive to the releasing of entrepreneurial abilities."[16]

The focal point of modernization is socio-cultural transformation, from agrarian society to industrial society, for this reason, regime intended to involve traditional, particularly rural, population in modernization project (cultural transformation and economic development) in a way that economic development would be channeled properly.[17] However, traditional politicians could disrupt the project by challenging the legitimacy of the regime through mobilization of people. Hence in order to

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[16] Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, pp. 170-71.

[17] Some scholars contend that regime's focus on rural population was in fact intended to contain urban mobilization.

accomplish the project, regime must address the problems—social mobilization and legitimacy crisis.

Ayub himself had diagnosed the problems faced by Pakistan as divisive political forces due to parliamentary form of governance. Therefore to him, problem lied in political class operating in 'divisive' parliamentary form of government. That political class presumably exploited the 'naivety' of common man otherwise people were "by nature patriotic and good."[18] Therefore, recommended system should be compatible with the "Genius of the people", that, also, must ensure uniformity in mind and action. Thus Basic Democracy (BD) was designed to serve the purpose i.e., channelization of economic development, democratic legitimacy and uniform governance.[19] BD was also a step towards fulfilling the promise to make country 'real democracy' within a broader perspective of modernization paradigm.[20]

However, real advantage of BD was to maintain democratic legitimacy without being dependent on traditional political elite. As politicians were to show their political intentions prior to contest elections that their political activities would be restricted to the assigned roles (council activities) hence old political class was

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[18] Raunaq Jahan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, p. 64.

[19] BD was a five-tier system of governance. That started from basic units—consisted of ten to fifteen thousand population— union/town council succeeded by tehsil, district and division councils and finally culminated into two Provincial Development Advisory Councils. At least half of the members of higher councils were indirectly elected while rest of the members were nominated by the government officials. Nominating authority/officials, being ex-officio members, were presiding officers of the councils as well.

[20] Stable conditions, institutionalized (controlled democracy) politics, rapid economic growth and improved macro-economic indicators made Pakistan a successful story for modernization scholars see Huntington… Therefore, regime was emphasizing more on its performance based legitimacy than democratic legitimacy.

sidelined and new/inexperienced class became the part of system. Furthermore, not only were political parties banned but in order to keep politicians and political activities under control, Elective Bodies Disqualification Ordinance (EBDO) was issued.[21] Thus a controlled system was established in which immature, hence, pliant new political class was available to authoritarian regime to maintain its legitimacy. Consequently, military regime got ratified an already framed Constitution from the Basic Democrats in 1962. The new Constitution introduced centralized presidential form of governance.

4: II.II. Mission, Patronization, Routinization and Decline

As authoritarian rule was not the denial of legitimacy of democratic form of governance, so intelligentsia, media, and politicians started demanding civilianization of the military rule. With the consolidation of regime, however, initial anomaly had been transformed into mission to make Pakistan stable and developed as modern state for which Ayub's role was 'inevitable'. Thus, the main thrust was to stay in power by maintaining democratic posture. Therefore, BD instead of developing a democratic structure and culture became a personal instrument for staying in power democratically. As a result, BD could not evolve as a rational-democratic system in nature rather 'Basic Democrats' became client to their patron, Ayub Khan.[22] In presidential elections despite Combined Opposition Party (COP)—alliance of all major political parties—in the support of strong candidate Miss Fatima Jinnah (Sister

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[21] Due to pervasive political instability and politicians' loss of credibility, Ayub's ban on political activities was a welcome step for masses.

[22] Ayesha Siddiqa, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, p. 73

of the founder of Pakistan), incumbent President, Ayub Khan got himself elected by majority votes of patronized BD members/councilors who served as members of the electoral college for presidential elections.

Expectations of people in developing societies are always high. Therefore, with the routinization of the rule when instability was a less concerned issue and economic conditions had become relatively better, then forces demanding democratic form of governance got more acceptance and support among masses. Thus BD was not sufficient to maintain democratic posture. Therefore, in order to counter opposition parties that were demanding complete civilianization, military regime needed a political party. Military regime, thus, manipulated in politics and created Convention Muslim League out of traditional political elite class. As objective was not to develop a democratic party but to maintain democratic legitimacy for the 'inevitable role', hence the President instead of creating a rational, principled based political party made Convention Muslim League (CML) as the extension of patronage along with BD.[23]

Strong man's role, and military's institutional discipline though maintained stability and achieved higher economic growth rates, however, exclusive ideology with changing stances and patronage culture (though limited one) failed to convert initial exhilaration of people into consistent attachment with the system.[24] Similarly,

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[23] Ziring thus described CML as a party "which drew its support from those prepared to acknowledge their dependence on the Ayub mantra." see Ziring, *Pakistan*, p. 97

[24] Nawaz has the similar stance that the adjustment between authoritarianism and democratic legitimacy was a paternalistic system of centralized governance. This paternalistic governance

limited coercion that increased commitment of state-functionaries became routinised and gradually institutional performance declined.

As Ayub Khan's rule was not completely rationalized, hence his personal capability to maintain control was equally important. Deteriorating health condition of the President, at the time when routinization and qualitative changes in expectations had already resulted in declining public support and institutional performance, further weakened his grip over military establishment and other public institutions. Increased defense expenditures after 1965 war, reduced foreign aid and poor agricultural crops in two consecutive years (1966, 1967) brought strains on the system.[25] However, regime based on temporary commitment and manipulated legitimacy could not absorb pressure of economic fluctuations.

Sense of colonial treatment in East Pakistan due to little share in power and perceived class inequality in West Pakistan resulted in mass agitations in both wings at the time when effectiveness of state institutions had declined.[26] Thus control of

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militated against the development of institutionalized democracy and decentralization of power hence resulted in the failure of Ayub regime see Shuja Nawaz, *Cross Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p.244.

[25] Wayne Ayres Wilcox, "Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 9, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1968: Part II., Feb., 1969, p. 87.

[26] 68 percent of industrial and 87 percent of banking and insurance assets had concentrated in 22 families. Statement by finance minister Mahboobul Haq

widespread public agitation in both wings was a monumental task for the security agencies.[27]

Thus country once again was at the same stage without making any progress with regard to the development of rational-democratic class, public-service oriented rational institutions and stable society.

4: III. NEO-PATRIMONIALISM

4: III.I. Mass-Mobilization and Ascendency of Popular Forces

Ayub's economic modernization, which focused on growth rather than distribution, resulted in inter-regional and inter-class inequality. Increase in literacy rate created consciousness about this inequality while urbanization, which facilitated communication, shaped this consciousness into collective resentment and agitation. At global level, United States retreat in Vietnam and attendant economic crisis not only affected its commitment to outside world but overall appeal of liberal capitalism. Thus retreat of liberal capitalism at global level, in the context of ideological competition, and local resentment bolstered left-leaning groups in the periphery like Pakistan.

Increase vigor of Issue oriented left-leaning groups, due to favorable situation at global and local level, helped them to form a political party under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and thus transform agitation into mass-movement. Though this

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[27] Ziring, Pakistan, p. 113

movement was against elitism and thus led to populism…made common man relevant to political life, if not always practical then at least in political rhetoric. However, it was not a move towards institutionalizing democratic values into polity and inculcating rationality into society.

4: III.III.   Insecurity and Authoritarianism affecting Reform Agenda

Peoples Party emerged out of this movement as an amalgamation of different left-leaning groups and sympathizers and thus participated into elections as a party which lacked coordination and coherent structure. In the absence of institutionalized mechanism, power and position of competing factions and individuals within party was dependent on the good will of party leader, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Hence emotional affiliation with charismatic leader and authoritarian control over political party was still there to be reflected in the governance of new Pakistan. The understanding of power structure, which he gained through practical experience of working with previous regimes, convinced him that weak politicians either are made subservient to bureaucratic-military oligarchy or simply eliminated from power game. Hence, from the very beginning he aimed at maintaining and maximizing his power. Initially, he as civil martial law administrator and, later on, as prime minister concentrated state powers in himself.

Bhutto's popular support that translated into ballot boxes in 1970 elections and military's lost of prestige due to its defeat in 1971 war led him to the apex of state power. It was the military's humiliating defeat rather than Bhutto's electoral victory

that facilitated his ascent to power.[28] His socialist manifesto, crucial to his electoral victory, prompted him to introduce various reforms. Thus under the socialist agenda, bureaucratic, agrarian, labor and industrial reforms were introduced. However, authoritarian tendency and sense of insecurity prompted him to pursue his reform agenda in a way that also served another purpose of maximization of power for him.

Bhutto, well aware of the fact that military-men, as members of the over developed institution and self-styled guardian of the state, pose potential threat to civilian rule. The remedial measures he adopted were: civilian supremacy ensured in the constitution; punitive actions against transgressor; establishment of new security force to end civilian's vulnerability due to their reliance on military; restructuring military's higher command; and termination of several top ranking officers.

Common complaint against bureaucracy was its colonial posture. In order to address this problem, authoritarian mind-set in Bhutto regime, instead of infusing in them the spirit of being public servant, resorted to intimidation and weakening their position. This authoritarian way of addressing the problem could not rectify the problem rather it created antagonism between bureaucracy and popular forces.

Land reform and other measures like exemption from payment of land revenue for small agriculturists and five marla scheme for landless and artisans did benefit to

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

the peasants and tenants. However, ceiling fixed for individuals instead of family and other loopholes did not eliminate feudalism.

Bhutto's labor policy was meant to address the grievances of urban laborers as they were the vanguard in mass agitation against Ayub government and supporters of new regime. Government's favorable policy, political links of trade union leaders and Bhutto's anti capitalist/industrial rhetoric aroused in them aggressive and embolden behavior. This aggression led them to adopt violent encirclement and agitation against factory owners for the satisfaction of their demands. Instead of developing a mechanism of conflict resolution and culture of peaceful negotiations, government adopted coercive measures through newly established Federal Security Force (FSF).

Similarly, nationalization of industries was a step from private capitalism to state capitalism without altering structural change in economic life. Another manifestation of authoritarian trend was the move from decentralized management of industries to centralized bureaucratic control.

4: III.IV. Democratic Failure

Bhutto's authoritarian way of addressing socio-economic problems, though failed to bring about real structural changes, however, it generated hope and confidence among under privileged groups of society. Thus, his social reform could be considered a step away from exploitative social structure towards more equitable social structure. The real failure of Bhutto, however, lies in his tactics of intimidation and use of force against political opponents and even against defiant party members.

This repressive authoritarianism hampered the growth of a political class valuing democratic norms of tolerance, accommodation, acceptance for each others.

Bhutto regime, handicapped by concentration of power in one person and authoritarian approach, neither could develop institutional structure within party nor democratic culture augmented by vibrant civil society. In addition to this, regime also lacked transparent and accountable mechanism for political transactions. Thus, political institution could not flourish as balancer to over-developed military institution. Similarly, without instilling respect for the principle of civilian supremacy into officer corps, at every level, restructuring of military's higher command was mere a cosmetic remedy. While frequent termination of military's top ranking officers and public criticism on military's previous role were counterproductive steps. Thus, at the time of political crisis...whether indigenous phenomenon or maneuvered by outsiders..., Bhutto's constitutional and administrative measures to keep military out of civilian sphere proved his political naivety.

4: IV. RELIGIOUS PRAETORIANISM: COERCION, DEMOBILIZATION, IDEOLOGY AND PRUDENCE

Bhutto's anti-American stances, with the possibility of making him less acceptable for U.S., and PNA's anti Bhutto movement were the indications of his deteriorating political stature, at local as well as global level. Hence military leadership, with the feelings of being 'mistreated' and frequently 'intervened' by a civilian, found it ripe time to play once again 'guardian' role. However, at the eve of

military intervention, Pakistan was a divided polity. Hence public response about military's take-over was mixed one. Army Chief, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, therefore, after deposing Bhutto regime, adopted the cautious way by giving the impression of playing a reluctant Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) role who intervened in politics, temporarily, to save country from impending threat of destabilization otherwise he was committed to democracy and constitution. However, time to time, reevaluation of initial calculations about expected local and global political developments in the light of actual happenings prompted him to revise strategies accordingly.

The preliminary assessment about Bhutto and his people's party... presumably a declining political force which have lost public support and hence credentials to contend with the most disciplined institution for state control...proved wrong. In cities, wherever Bhutto visited after his release, people came out in large numbers. He was still the most popular leader with brighter chances of electoral victory confirmed by the intelligence repots.[29] Bhutto's popularity, oratorical skills and political acumen combined with PPP's workers experience of launching a successful movement against military ruler Ayub Khan, presented a frightening prospects for interventionists. Hence, benign military rule was not sufficient to avert the ominous prospects.

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[29] Hasan Akari Rizvi, *Military, State And Society in Pakistan,* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003, p. 167.

CMLA adopted the policy of suppression and cooption.[30] PPP workers were to face repressive measures while anti Bhutto elements were to become partners of the military rule. However, left-leaning populist ideological discourse and reforms, since anti Ayub movement and throughout Bhutto era, have generated new orientations in the society...resulting new expectations and standard for a ruler to be legitimized one. Hence, under the policy of suppression and cooption, though, PPP would be suppressed but its popular ideology would be there to create legitimacy crisis for military ruler. Hence, in response to PPP's left-leaning, secular and progressive ideology...a hurdle in establishing legitimacy..., Zia regime needed a counter ideology, suitable to local partners. This ideology, on the one hand, would restructure society in a way that internal legitimacy crisis would be defused.

Zia regime gradually embarked on the ideological program...intended to restructure polity, culture and society, economy and legal system on 'Islamic' lines. Initial episodes of this program, were preemptive measures against the anticipated political mobilization in response to regime's tactical deviation from its stated/proclaimed role.[31] This program, in addition to stave off immediate political crises, was to accomplish a related objective of demobilization of social groups that

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[30] For details see Tanveer Khalid, *Islamization in Pakistan: A Political and Constitutional Study From 1947-1988*, PhD Thesis, Karachi University, October 2004, pp. 216-26

[31] John Esposito, "Islam: Ideology and Politics in Pakistan" in Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (eds), *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics in Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan*, pp.344-45.

were previously mobilized due to progressive ideological discourse and reforms of Bhutto regime.

The strategy for this, Zia deemed appropriate, was to create an atmosphere of fear in 'which no one could dare to challenge the legitimacy of the regime. Hence, military regime initiated the ideological program by promulgating 'Islamic' punishments. The 'Islamic' punishment of right hand amputation was pronounced through Martial Law order No.5 dated July 8, 1977. Later, in February 1979, two months' before the execution of Bhutto, a complete set of punishments...publicly lashing, right hand amputation, stoning to death... for possession of alcohol, theft, adultery was promulgated by four laws entitled *Hudood* Ordinances.[32]

Along with outright use of force and fear, government was resorting to variety of other coercive methods to suppress and demobilize possible resistive groups. Student unions were banned; regulatory mechanisms were enforced to contain political parties and labor unions; while women were socially relegated by discriminatory laws.[33] All these punitive and regulatory measures were complemented by effective use of media. State media, from the very beginning, launched the propaganda campaign to discredit socialism and project 'Islamization'. Private print

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[32] Kennedy evaluated the implementation and social implications of the Ordinance see Carles H. Kennedy, "Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of the Hudood Ordinances ", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 3, March 1988, pp. 307-16.

[33] How so-called Islamization relegated the status of women, see Lucy Carroll, "Nizam-i-Islam: Processes and Conflicts in Pakistan's Programme of Islamization, With Special Reference to the Position of Women", *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. XX, No. 1, March 1982, pp. 57-95.

media was coerced to follow the government's line.[34] Selective use of laws and regulatory mechanisms helped government to bring religious conservative individuals on fore and sideline progressive individuals.

Meanwhile, regime under cautious approach had been reiterating its commitment with democracy though with added emphasis on Islamization. But under the pretext of accountability, Zia postponed scheduled elections twice. However, after the execution of Bhutto, whom Zia considered as potential threat, and consolidation of military rule, regime declared its long-term role to accomplish the self-assumed mission—Islamization.

Parallel to internal consolidation, was another development of global implication, taking place in neighboring country....USSR's invasion in Afghanistan...which made Zia a favorite for U.S. as Pakistan was to play a role of front-line state against communist USSR. Utility of religion was acknowledged by capitalist block as it would help the regime to develop capacity in the state for playing a decisive role in the final phase of Cold War. After these internal and external

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[34] Richter and Gustofson estimated that half of the issues of Dawn news and one-quarter of its letter to the editor, during late October and early December 1979, were being censored. A popular daily newspaper *Morning News* published from Karachi was banned and correspondent of *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Salman Ali, was arrested and sentenced to one year imprisonment on the allegation of reporting 'false stories'. See William L. Richter and W. Eric Gustofson, "Pakistan 1979: Back to Square One", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1979: Part II, February 1980, pp. 188-96.

favorable developments, regime moved from preemptive 'Islamisation' to proactive 'Islamisation' with emphasis on society.[35]

In contrast to previous regimes which considered socio-economic development as the main objective of new state and ideology as the diversionary tactics against 'disruptive elements' till the achievement of developed and stable society, Zia regime, due to internal and external situation, considered ideology as more important than grand plan of socio-economic development. During 1980s, when trend of controlled economy was giving way to liberal-market economy in western scholars, Zia regime also moved towards liberalization but without provoking any socio-economic group. Thus Zia regime adopted the policy of prudence in a way that it became more responsive to potential assertiveness of any group. Foreign aid and remittances increased growth rates but real base of economy could not improve.

Coercion and exclusive ideological discourse though created fear and maintained support base in religious-conservative groups, however, could not

[35] Government took several steps in shaping socio-economic aspects of life of individuals according to its designs. Some of these steps were intended to bring about deep structural changes while some of them were mere cosmetic measures in order to justify its ideological rhetoric. In economic realm, *Zakat* and *Ushr* (religious taxes) were enforced that resulted in establishing Zakat fund, though major contribution came from outside...Saudi Arabia and UAE. For its distribution, an organizational structure of *Zakat* Councils, from local to federal level, was erected. Similarly, 'interest-free Islamic Banking' was introduced. In order to regulate behaviors of individuals, government attempted to promote a distinct ('Islamic') way of life. 'Islamic' values and principles were incorporated in the revised syllabi of educational institutions. Arabic and Islamic Studies were made compulsory subjects while at national level a *Sharia* Faculty (later on Islamic University) was established. In public sector, prayer breaks, during working hours, were enforced while private sector was encouraged to follow suit. An abortive attempt was to prepare a group of volunteers (*Nazimin-i-Salat*) with the responsibility to motivate people for saying prayers and then submit assessment reports to government. See Rizvi *Op.Cit.*,, p. 172.

suppress completely the democratic consciousness developed during previous regimes. Hence, with the routinization left-leaning political groups started asserting through the platform of Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). Human rights and pro-democracy groups in the liberal-democratic world were also mounting pressure on the regime to civilianize the rule. The military regime, with its approach of changing tactics according to the challenge instead of long-term planning and by adopting prudence---avoiding unnecessary provocation and responding timely on the basis of realistic assessment beyond which things might go beyond control---,announced elections just before the start of MRD movement.

Probably, in addition to strategic use of Islam in Afghan war, regime considered Islamization as solution to the problem of ethno-linguistic divides faced by the country.

However, Zia's Islamization exacerbated the ethnic problem. Islamization was not only exclusive ideology in terms of religious sects but also in the sense that it denied local ethnic identities at times when their share of power was minimal while Punjabi Army was in full control of state affairs. Hence, according to Rakisits, smaller ethnic groups considered Islamization as Punjabinization.[36]

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

4: V.   FRAGILE DEMOCRATIC ERA

Governance problems faced by Benazir and Nawaz Sharif governments, during the decade of nascent democracy (1988-1999), were typical of transitional society that had been further aggravated by Zia regime. Since the time Pakistan came into being, liberal democratic and religious conservative discourses have been competing to shape the state and society. Though ruling elite had occasionally been using religious discourse for its legitimacy and strategic interests, however, modern discourse remained standard for debate among elite. Zia's attempts to institutionalize conservative Islam, however, resulted in the domination of religious discourse over modern discourses. Thus, society became a thriving ground for extremism and intolerance. In addition to this, repression in rural Sindh and unmanaged migration of Afghan refugees and Pakistani Pushtoons and Punjabis to urban Sindh sharpened the ethnic consciousness in rural and urban Sindh. Another spillover effect of Afghan Jihad was the easy availability of lethal weapons and drugs. Thus extremist environment, sharpened ethnic consciousness, availability of weapons, and finance through drug trafficking and external states resulted in the violent ethnic and sectarian organizations and other criminal gangs. Hence, organized violence became more entrenched in the society just before the beginning of the democratic period.

Similarly, Zia's de-politicization efforts hampered the development of democratic norms and values. Thus, in 1985 non-party based elections, many among newly elected parliament members were emerging business entrepreneurs, motivated by their personal economic interests. Thus, Prime Minister Junejo could maintain his

support from members of the Parliament by offering them economic rewards...a practice that continued in succeeding periods too. Moreover, Bhutto's execution and Zia's subsequent nurturing of counter PPP force resulted in extreme polarization. Hence, both leaders, Benazir and Nawaz Sharif, in the capacity of either Prime Minister or opposition leader, were motivated by personal vendetta while dealing each other as political rivals. As rules and norms were not internalized, therefore, political opponents could resort to every possible tactic to suppress or destabilize the rivals.

Though, under internal and external constrains, Zia allowed the procedural democracy to flourish, however, in order to indemnify his previous actions and maintain his grip over power structure, he forced parliament to amend the constitution accordingly. Thus 8th constitutional amendment made president all powerful vis-à-vis prime minister, particularly, its article 58 (2) (b), which empowered him/her to dissolve the parliament and elected government. Hence insecurity rooted in the constitutional structure and political culture of expediency and manipulation made elected governments vulnerable. Therefore, weak democracies were to be compromised governments, having little say in major security and foreign policy issues. Consequences of the compromise were to be felt in economic as well as social life of the nation. As conservative religious discourse, directly related to Pakistan's Kashmir policy, would continue to foment extremism; similarly, stranded Pak-India relations and high defense expenditure would be there to affect the economy. Moreover, intelligence agencies had penetrated in socio-political life for military's strategic interests and perpetuation of Zia regime. Thus, democracy started in a period

when norms and rules in society as well as in polity were rarely respected...a climate of lawlessness.

As impression of political stability and foreign aid have been important factors for economic growth in Pakistan, nascent democracies in a climate of lawlessness and structural insecurity were bound to give the impression of political instability and also democratic governments were deprived of foreign aid due to the end of strategic interests of U.S.A in the region. Moreover, debt burden due to deficit financing of military regime, defense expenditures, structural adjustment and de-regularization of economy were bound to affect immediate economic performance of governments negatively.

Democratic era started with greater expectations with continuous reminders by opposition and media about the ungratified demands. As in emotional societies, behavior is determined by emotional affiliation or emotional aversion, hence attached people must support each other irrespective of any rational standard of right or wrong. In political life, emotional affiliation is manifested as two way relation between personalistic leader, patron, and patronized supporters. Hence, both leader and supporters maintain their support to each other irrespective of rational rules and principles. Moreover, since politicians could not internalize the democratic norms and rational principles through practice, and thus were motivated by narrow interests. Due to lack of internalization of rational rules, they were, on the one hand, disposed to work through discretion and, on the other hand, were readily willing to switch

political loyalties, make and break political factions for the pursuance of personal interest.

Nascent democracy that started with great expectations in the face of socio-economic challenges and vulnerability due to structural constrains and undemocratic political culture was to perform a daunting task. However, successive governments became stuck in a cycle of retrogressive processes: As each government started with patronization and/or discretionary rule resulting in the decline of institutional performance, hence providing opportunity to opposition to manipulate the factional politics and collude with the establishment and, therefore, causing the feeling of insecurity in ruling leader which prompted him/her, on the one hand, to further resort to patronization and repression and, on the other hand, to search security through the appointment of favorites on key positions thus further declining performance and clash with real wielders of power would be sufficient to create the impression of instability and failure of government leading to fresh start.

Civil-military bureaucracy, internalized with rules and procedures, though theoretically, considers democracy as legitimate form of government, however, their authoritarian practices find their way in pervasive instability due to perceived incompetence and corruption of political class. Hence their intervention, though an anomaly, is considered as inevitable to save the system and maintain stability. The inevitable intervention to save the state and system, however, soon adopts a missionary posture to consolidate state and society according to the vision of ruling elite. At the time of Zia's sudden death, though mission of consolidation was yet to

complete, but, military's integrity and popularity was diminishing due to its long involvement in civilian affairs. Particularly in Sindh, military rule was causing ethnic grievances and hatred against Punjabi army. While opposition, in contrast to military's diminishing popularity, was gaining public support and thus mounting pressure on the regime. Externally, with the early signs of USSR's defeat in Afghanistan, U.S.A increased its pressure on military regime to civilianize the polity. The military regime wanted to prolong the Afghan Jihad for its perpetuation, but civilian Prime Minister signed the Geneva Accord in order to end the Afghan war. That led to his termination, followed by Zia's mysterious death in plane crash. Thus internal and external situation was not favorable to continue direct military rule and stop the already started civilianization processes. Moreover, military had developed the capacity through constitutional engineering and intelligence agencies to control the polity while remaining behind the scene. Hence, they could allow popular forces to run the state without affecting the stability...maintenance of institutional integrity of military and to less extent bureaucracy, a status-quo in favor of military bureaucratic institutions...and according to their preferred way...continuance of security and foreign policies, and protection of their strategic interests.

PPP, being the most popular but vengeful party, due to the execution of its leader by military regime, could be the challenge to military's preferred way. Hence, in order to prevent PPP to become an unmanageable popular force, tactics of propaganda campaign and political manipulation against it were employed before

elections.[37] These tactics worked as PPP though emerged as single largest party but could not win majority seats in 1988 elections. Moreover, the largest and powerful province Punjab went into the hands of rival political leader, Nawaz Sharif who had been nurtured by military regime, whom PPP leadership considered as an agent of non-democratic forces.

PPP's leader, Benazir Bhutto, therefore, had to come into terms with non-democratic forces for gaining power in the centre. She compromised that acting President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan—an army's trusted retired bureaucrat and equipped with the powers to dissolve government/parliament—would continue as President for five years. Similarly, a retired general and foreign minister during Zia regime, Yaqub Ali Khan, would retain the same post in Benazir government. While a retired bureaucrat, V.A Jaffari, would be appointed as finance advisor. In addition to these, Benazir government would have to take care of military's sensitivities about defense expenditures, military's institutional matters, Afghanistan and Kashmir policies, and nuclear issue.

Though initially, Benazir government had to make compromises and thus faced constrains, but these constrains were not Benazir specific, as successive governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir had to face similar conditions. In order to come out of constraints and consolidation of civilian rule, political class—ruling party and opposition, both—should have strengthened each other by developing democratic

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[37] ISI was employed to form a coalition of right-of-centre parties (IJI) as balancer against PPP. See Iftikhar H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, p. 98.

culture of cooperation and accommodation. However, in Nawaz Sharif's view, Bhutto was responsible for depriving his family of its industrial assets while, for Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif was the agent of Zia military regime who executed his father. Thus, personal vendetta constrained their ability to understand and solve the real problem...military bureaucratic structure and absence of democratic culture.[38]

Thus, democratic era started with strained relations between Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Chief Minister of Punjab as well as opposition leader Nawaz Sharif. Benazir's criticism against Nawaz Sharif in first press conference as Prime Minister and appointment of her party's Secretary General as Governor of Punjab were retaliated by Nawaz Sharif through demands of provincial autonomy and attitude of non-cooperation.[39] Though initially relations with military, apparently, were cordial, however, soon deep contradiction came onto surface when Benazir demanded the change of ISI chief who had been building political coalition in elections against her party and was still involved, allegedly, in destabilizing her government.

Parallel to strained relations with the opposition and military were the loss of support from its allied parties, ANP and MQM, due to inability to change Afghan

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[38] However, both leaders Benazir and Nawaz Sharif, attained maturity by transcending their personal egos when they signed Pact of Democracy during Musharraf rule when both were in exile.

[39] Ziring held Benazir responsible for furthering polarization between the two political forces, PPP and ML, see Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 511-13. While Maluka contend that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Nawz Sharif conspired against the Government see Z. K. Maluka, *The Myth of Constitutionalism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1995.

policy in case of ANP; while pervasive violence and resulting Army crackdown in Karachi alienated MQM. However, patronization and personlalistic discretionary rule affected the institutional performance. As majority of the PPP workers and leadership came from rural and feudal background, they were less tuned with rules and procedures, therefore, they adopted discretion and personal contacts while managing state affairs. Other factors are PPP's rhetoric of people's rule and history of resistance against the domination of rule based institutions. Its leaders and workers consider rules and institutions as rationalized methods to deny people's rule. Thus, they empower themselves by violating rules and procedures. In addition to these, PPP workers had been facing socio-economic hardships and expectations were high to rectify those hardships through rewards. Hence PPP faced the trade off either to maintain its support base by patronization that may led to decline of governmental performance or stick to rules and standard of institutional neutrality and impartiality and loss its support base at least in the immediate future. However, Benazir, probably, was not thinking in terms of trade off. Hence high inflation, unemployment and pervasive social violence indicated the declining institutional performance. These circumstances strengthened the existing perceptions of the military and the President that political class, particularly PPP, is incompetent and corrupt; hence PPP government lost the support of the real centers of power—whatever it had gained.

Hence, declining performance and withdrawal of support by coalition partners provided an opportunity to the opposition to expedite the destabilization of government. Opposition put forward a no-confidence motion in parliament against the government. PPP accused the establishment...President, military and intelligence

agencies...of being in collusion with the opposition to overthrow the government. No-confidence motion, though a democratic move, exposed the lack of commitment of politicians with principles and norms of democracy over narrow personal or factional interests. Both opposition and ruling parties, reportedly, offered economic incentives and bribes to garner the support of parliamentarians.[40] Though government secured the majority votes and thus sustained, however, PPP leadership became more insecure.

Feelings of insecurity and vulnerability prompted PPP leadership, on the one hand, to appoint or promote close ones and favorites on key positions by demoting or terminating the potential opponents; and maximize political support through patronization and economic rewards, on the other.

Benazir's mother Nusrat Bhutto was appointed as senior minister without portfolio, her father-in-law became Chairman of the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee, while her husband also became actively involved in administrative affairs. Thus nepotism and patronization resulted in scandals and stories of corruption. Similarly, Benazir attempted to extend the services of Lt. General Alam Jan Mahsud, so that he might be appointed, later on, as COAS. Such kind of tempering in state institutions created negative feelings in military and Presidency about Benazir government.

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[40] Ziring, *Op. Cit.*, p. 518.

Thus favoritism and nepotism affected the performance and repute of the government. The consequential effect of such steps was the clash with the military and the Presidency, which led to the dissolution of her government.

Nawaz Sharif, an industrialist, with urban background was comparatively well-tuned with the system of rules and procedures. Moreover, his supporters, whether serving in military and bureaucracy or urban educated commercial class, being well-fitted and beneficiary of the system, were the believers of merit and rule base system. Hence, in contrast to PPP, his support base was dependent on maintaining the institutionalized procedures and avoiding outright patronization. Thus Nawaz Sharif started his Prime Ministership with small cabinets though majority of the members were from his own province.

As in Pakistani society rules and rule based institutions are not fully internalized, therefore, personal preferences and links affect government institutional performance by favoritism, nepotism or corruption. Training and leadership though temporarily improve the performance but in the long run social background neutralizes the institutional norms and leadership motivation. While military, being internalized and institutionalized with procedures through rigorous training and unaffected by social values due to limited social interaction, maintains its institutional norms for longer period. Thus, military rule, by combining its institutional strength with coercion, run state effectively over a longer period as compared to civilian rule. Hence, civilian government's strict institutional measures lose vitality after a brief period.

Hence, pervasive violence in rural as well as urban Sindh, sectarian violence in Punjab and narcotics addiction depicted the poor performance of the government. Similarly, economic deregulation and privatization though benefitted industrial class, however, common man was not the beneficiary of these policies but he/she had to bear soaring prices. Moreover, lack of transparency in privatization processes generated many scandals of favoritism, corruption and kick-backs. However, the most dismal performance was in foreign affairs. As military depends on U.S.A for its weaponry system and training, therefore, it gives especial attention to relations with U.S.A While, Nawaz government, due to its rhetoric on self-reliance, paid little attention in addressing U.S.A concerns about drug trafficking and transnational militant Islamic organizations. Thus U.S.A assistance remained suspended during Nawaz period.[41]

As coalition partners, due to divergent perspectives, could not be satisfied on every decision and policy of government, hence, with declining performance of the government, they withdrew their support. While relations with opposition were already strained as government had filed several corruption cases against PPP leadership and, particularly, had put Asif Ali Zardri behind the bars. Military too was dissatisfied with Nawaz on his performance in foreign relations, its partisan approach in Sindh operation and interference in Army's internal matters.[42]

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[41] Rizvi, *Op. Cit.*

[42] *Ibd*, pp. 211-14

When opposition launched a campaign against the government, its support in masses and military had eroded. The opposition's long march, though, could not compel government to resign, however, it generated the feelings of insecurity in Nawaz Sharif.

The appointment of his favorites, on key positions, by an insecure PM, such as appointment of Bragadier Imtiaz as Intelligence Bureau (IB) Chief, Gen. Nasir as ISI Chief and attempt to appoint Gen. Ashraf as new Chief of Army Staff infuriated the President and military establishment---the real power centre. Thus power struggle between PM and President provided the opportunity to military to play decisive role that, ultimately, resulted in the resignation of both, the PM and the President.[43]

4: V.I. Civilian's Sense of Insecurity and Rationale for Military's Direct Role

Initial euphoria about the democratic governance lost very soon due to widening gap between expectations and gratifications. However, limited but sustained commitment with democracy declined gradually. The lowest ever turn out in 1997 elections indicate the indifference of masses and further erosion of public support for democracy.

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[43] The details of the political events, especially Benazir's second term as PM, have been skipped as purpose is not to describe the political history but to present evidences, from detailed political events, in the support of argument that structural constrains and undemocratic culture caused democratic failure.

Figure 1: Voter Turnout Trends - 1985 to 2008
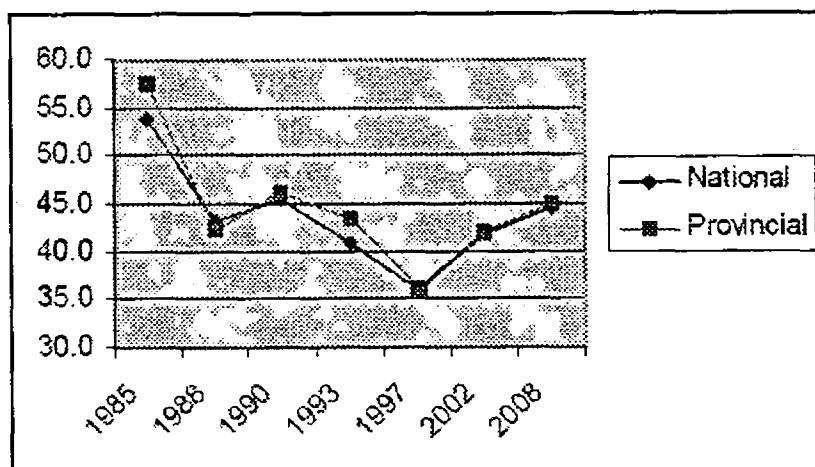
Source: Dawn Election Cell Data

So, in 1999, people, frustrated due to uncertain socio-economic conditions and political instability, were willing to welcome military's interventionist role.

Nawaz Sharif, after winning elections by two-third majority in 1997, first attempted to eliminate structural insecurity. He got 13th amendment passed in the parliament by which President was disempowered to dissolve government/parliament on his/her discretion and bound him/her to act on the advice of Prime Minister. However, the restoration of PM's powers was not sufficient as undemocratic culture in which parliament members do not hesitate to switch their loyalties and defect from their parties for their personal interests was still prevalent. Therefore, another amendment was introduced according to which defection from party line would result in the termination of disloyal member from the parliament.

These constitutional amendments, though made the PM all powerful, but he could not overcome his sensitivities, developed due to deep sense of insecurity, about

potential threats from other centers of power. Hence, instead of institutionalizing the system of checks and balances, he attempted to maximize his powers. Probably, he thought that his effectiveness would be compromised, leading to another failure, due to constraints by other pillars of the state. Hence, he became entangled in a clash with assertive judiciary and its ally the President Farooq Leghari. Neutral role played by military favored him to succeed in the tussle. Thus, President Laghari, instead of facing impeachment, preferred to resign from his post while Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, being a junior judge, was demoted as Judicial Council gave the decision that Chief Justice must be the senior most judge of the Supreme Court.

Clash with military, however, proved counterproductive, not only for Nawaz Sharif but for nascent democracy too. Nawaz Sharif, once, succeeded in compelling COAS Gen. Jahangir Karamat to resign because of his public statement in which he suggested military's permanent role in state affairs. This forced resignation of the Chief generated resentment and sense of humiliation among officer corps, hence they had decided to resist another attempt by civilian leadership. Thus, Nawaz Sharif's second attempt to change COAS Pervaiz Musharraf, after arising mutual differences about Kargil crisis, resulted in the military takeover.

Despite constitutional provisions of civilian supremacy, over a period of time, repeated military interventions and vital role from the side line played by the army have made military dominance an established reality. Its decision to assume direct control of polity, however, depends on internal and external factors. Fear of isolation and sanctions by international community could have refrained military to intervene.

But during 1999 this refraining factor was no more effective as Pakistan had already been facing isolation and sanctions due to nuclear tests conducted in May 1998. Thus, internal and external situation was favorable to intervene. However, immediate cause of takeover in October 1999 by the COAS Pervaiz Musharaf was the tussle of supremacy between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and senior army officers...perceived by them as institutional integrity. According to Talbot, at deeper level it was military's institutional interest that prompted army to take over.[44]

4: VI. ENLIGHTENED AUTHORITARIANISM

Military's dominant role, though, had become an established reality, however at the age of liberal-democracy and when military itself too was tuned with rational authority, its outright overt intervention was still an anomaly. Chief of Army Staff (COAS) Pervaiz Musharraf justified the anomaly as: "the armed forces have moved in as a last resort, to prevent any further destabilization. I have done so with all sincerity, loyalty and selfless devotion to the country with the armed forces firmly behind me."[45] However, he admitted that only democracy is the legitimate/accepted way, "I want to bring real democracy to the country because it is the only way out. I am not

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[44] Ian Talbot, "General Pervez Musharraf: Saviour or Destroyer of Pakistan's Democracy?", *Contemporary South Asia*, 11: 3, 2002, pp. 311 -28.

[45] P. Musharraf, 'Full text of General Musharraf's address', *BBC News*, 12 October 1999, hhttp://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/monitoring/473175.stmi, accessed 4 June 2007.

trying to deceive nor am I indulging in hypocrisy. Democracy is the only way and I

want it."[46]

He further acknowledged the sanctity of the constitution by explaining the

deviation as:

> The Constitution is but a part of the nation therefore I chose to save the nation and yet took care not to sacrifice the Constitution. The Constitution has only been temporarily held in abeyance. This is not martial law, only another path towards democracy. The armed forces have no intention to stay in charge any longer than is absolutely necessary to pave the way for true democracy to flourish in Pakistan....[47]

However, ideological discourse, economic developmental policies and socio-

political reforms---necessary for 'true democracy'---were to carry in a way that would

give international recognition and internal legitimacy to the regime.

Since the end of Cold-war, liberal-market economy and hence structural

adjustment program, privatization and de-regularization were being presented, by

Western scholars, as appropriate ways for the development of new states. Gradually,

liberal agenda of market forces, negative state and vibrant civil society was

incorporated in a single concept 'Good Governance'. Thus good governance as

transparent, efficient, accountable but limited government with competitive economy

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[46] *President's Address to the Nation (05.04.2002)*, http://www.pak.gov.pk/presidential addresses index.htm

[47] Speech by President on 17 October, 1999."Federation of American Scientists", 22 May 2010. In the age of liberal-democracy, Musharraf avoided declaring his rule as Martial-law, however, army's role in civil institutions increased through induction. As one of the news' reporters noted that '1,027 civilian posts [were] occupied by servicemen.' See Staff Report, 'Army has usurped land and civilian posts: lawyer', The Daily Times,5August2003,hhttp://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page¼story_5-8-2003_pg7_26i

(market-economy) parallel to competitive politics (democracy) along with free media and vibrant civil society (NGOs) became an overarching concept. International donor agencies and states set good governance as conditionality for aid to developing states.

Musharraf regime, under good- governance agenda, introduced economic and political reforms. Talbot interpreted Musharraf's approach as:

> that Musharraf is playing to the gallery of international development agencies with their linkage between good governance and development, as much as Ayub sought to secure the largesse of the United States by adopting the ideas of the Development Advisory Service of Harvard University. Certainly, the reformist agenda of the Musharraf regime drew heavily on the good governance discourse articulated in the World Bank's policy statement *Governance and Development* of 1992.[48]

NGOs were given greater role in developmental projects. Some of the active members of NGOs were also inducted in cabinet. Before 9/11, Musharraf regime though succeeded to maintain the impression of stability; however, economic indicators did not show any progress in economic sector. After 9/11 Musharraf regime got benefitted from international community in debt rescheduling, economic and military aid. An important aspect of those benefits was the investment by MNC s in services sector, especially IT sector.

From broader good governance agenda of politico-economic reforms, decentralization and accountability were the core features which authoritarian regime pursued vehemently.

Authoritarian military easily finds fault in politicians being 'corrupt' and 'incompetent' who 'exploit' common man, as Waseem observed "over time, army

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[48] Talbot, *Op.Cit.,*

built the myth of simple, honest, innocent and hardworking masses who were exploited by politicians".[49] Hence, they believe in democracy, but politicians pervert its true form into 'sham' democracy'. With this self-serving rationale, they promise to develop real democracy at grass-root level through decentralization/local government. Musharraf also expressed the same views as, "quite clearly, what Pakistan has experienced in the recent years has been hardly a label of democracy not the essence of it. Our people were never emancipated from the yoke of despotism. I shall not allow the people to be taken back to the era of sham democracy, but to a true one".[50] Mushaaraf regime introduced a plan of decentralization by which locally elected district governments with twelve departments were to be formed.

Meanwhile, initial justification to prevent the state from further destabilization, under authoritative impulse, had assumed a mission to rescue country from the 'crises' in which Musharraf's role was 'inevitable'. After 9/11 belief in that 'inevitable' role had further strengthened. So, decentralization was not only to provide the justification of the mission—to build democracy at grass-root level—but also to provide democratic legitimacy without dealing with hardened politicians as they would be bypassed through local bodies' elections. As local councilors, from small constituencies with relatively low social status (and thus have little influence in local administrative structure), are easily manipulated and controlled. Furthermore, in order

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[49] Mohammad Waseem, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*, p. 11

[50] Speech by President on 17 October, 1999."Federation of American Scientists", 22 May 2010.

to avoid compromises and bargaining with political parties, the regime conducted local-district elections on non-party basis. As a result, local *bradaris*, castes and tribal identities became sharpened. Thus, elections which should have been the process of the development of rational thinking and rational associations, which are necessary for democratic performance, just became counterproductive. Though political parties are dominated by social elite, but the absence of political parties in the elections directly strengthened social elite, in case of Pakistan---feudal lords. Therefore, Power concentrated in the hands of socially influential families, feudal lords.

Local District Governments though were serving the dual purpose of accomplishing good governance agenda and provision of democratic legitimacy to the regime, but real challenge to the legitimacy of regime could be in post 2002 general elections period, had one of the main-stream parties (PPP or PMLN) emerged as major party in the parliament.[51] Therefore, military regime, anticipating the future scenario, intervened in the political parties and through manipulation created a new political party, Pakistan Muslim League Qaid-e-Azam (PMLQ), out of previously ruling party, PMLN. Along with PMLQ, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (United Action

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[51] In order to get legal justification of military's intervention, Musharraf regime, affected the impartiality of Judiciary by compelling judges to take new oath according to Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO). Judiciary though gave verdict in the favor of military's takeover but, in the changed environment, set the time period for transition from military rule to democratic rule. Therefore, general elections were held in 2002.

Front) (MMA) too was there to diminish the chances of main parties to become major party in the parliament.[52]

In the age of liberal-democracy, when, domestically, two main-stream established political parties had the capacity to mobilize people then, instead of outright coercion, regime could rely on manipulation and limited coercion for maintaining democratic legitimacy that was necessary for the accomplishment of self-assumed mission.

Along with anti corruption derive therefore, National Accountability Bureau (NAB) was also used as coercive instrument to demobilize rival politicians or compel parliamentarians to defect from their parties and support the regime. National Accountability Ordinance prohibited 'convicted individuals' from assuming public office for 21 years.[53] In August 2000, Political Parties Act barred 'convicted' politicians from holding party office.[54]

"The government continued to use the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and a host of anti-corruption and sedition laws to jail political opponents or blackmail

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[52] MMA was an alliance of religious parties, allegedly pampered by the regime. The alliance had, temporarily, inflated in size due to conducive environment of increased anti-American sentiments in the society in the context of 'War against terrorism'.

[53] Talbot ibd.

[54] *Ibd.*

them into changing their political stance or loyalties or at the very least to cease criticizing the military authorities."[55]

Local Government and councilors/ Nazims in personal capacity was being mobilized to garner support for Musharraf in the referendum and to get pro-government candidates elected in National and Provincial Assemblies. (Like Ayub's use of BDs).[56] Furthermore, Musharraf like Zia, for maintaining personal authoritarian rule through democratic legitimacy affected the neutrality of judiciary by appointing judges as returning officers during elections, who would take care of the regime's preferences.[57] Nawaz Sharif was exiled, similarly, Benazir Bhutto was not allowed to enter Pakistan.

Thus authoritarian impulse that had assumed missionary posture, for the sake of democratic legitimacy, perverted the good governance agenda—decentralization and accountability—and democratic development.

Military regime, in order to be more attuned with liberal world, adopted the policy of liberalization of Electronic media that initially added to the credibility, internally and internationally, of the regime. Meanwhile, initial high optimism of masses, especially in main stream areas, and level of commitment in public

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[55]SeeHumanRightsWatchOnline,hhttp://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/12/14/pakist9852.htmi, accessed 11 September 2007.

[56] A. Rashid, 'EU condemns "flawed" Pakistan elections', Daily Telegraph, 14 October2002,hhttp://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml¼/news/2002/10/14/wpak14. xmli, accessed 28 September 2007.

[57] Hamid Khan, "Military and Judiciary in Pakistan: October 1999 Onwards", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, Summer 2003, pp. 42-47.

institutions were turning into routinization. Furthermore, for many political analysts and public opinion makers in the country, military regime's alliance with traditional political class and partial and selective use of accountability measures were clear deviation from his initial promises of establishing true democracy and implementing accountability across the board. That deviation affected the image of Musharraf and increased criticism.

Nevertheless, military regime, being more disciplined and hence more coercive maintained the effectiveness and impression of stability. In addition, improved economic situation due to foreign aid and debt rescheduling along with rationalization of policies through effective communication, by Musharraf himself that made criticism less effective against his regime, worked as supportive factors.

With increased criticism, however, over a period of time, qualitative change in public expectations had taken place. That change just needed ripe time and forum to be demonstrated. Therefore, initial indication of economic slow down and lawyer's movement, after the dismissal of Chief Justice by Musharraf in March 2007, proved right time for mass mobilization.[58] Like Ayub's modernization project which facilitated anti Ayub movement, in the same way, Musharraf's liberalized electronic media and cheaper mobile communication facilitated the anti Musharraf movement. Lal Masjid incident further declined Musharraf's legitimacy. Main political parties, PPP and PMLN, also joined the movement and thus added impetus to the movement.

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[58] After a long period of gradual and slow decline, Musharraf's popularity declined suddenly and sharply after the dismissal of Chief Justice and Lal Masjid incidents. See IRI and Gallup Pakistan surveys, quarterly conducted during 2006 and 2007.

Political leadership, especially PPP's leadership, knew the limited utility of mass mobilization against military regime. While USA, over a period of time, through economic and military aid, training and because of the capability to inflict punish by sanctions, had gained somewhat leverage to influence the military regime. Moreover, USA also had been the so-called champion of democratization. Therefore, PPP leadership, along with domestic pressure through mass mobilization, entered into tripartite (PPP's leadership, military establishment and international community) bargained process. As a result, Musharraf agreed to retire from the post of COAS before general elections, which were held in February 2008 after two months delay due to the assassination of Benazir Bhutto.

Mass mobilization at the time of globalization in autocratic societies might be for creating new social order, presumably democratic one, however in transitional societies, multiple factors are involved behind mass mobilization.[59] A section of the mobilized populace may be thinking in long terms for deepening of democracy, however, vast majority come out of frustration because of qualitative change in expectations, that could be sparked by any accelerator...unpleasant incident or sudden economic decline. Same was the case of mass mobilization, during lawyers' movement, against Musharraf regime.

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[59] O Donnel oversimplified the occurrences of mass mobilization in autocratic societies as collective feelings to establish new social order, see Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, p, 54.

4. VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Zia, in contrast to Ayub and Musharaf, was to face the challenge of popular leader equipped with ideological rhetoric. Hence, a variation of governance approach is evident as he had to resort to counter ideology and coercive methods. While coercion level adopted by Ayub and Mushrraf was low; and in the same way ideological rhetoric was also not deep rooted like Zia's extensive ideological programs.

Few scholars believe that it was Zia ul Haq and his colleagues' personal inclination to religiosity which prompted them to launch Islamization project. Cohen analyses the attitudes of Pakistan's Army Officers as generations brought up under particular ideological environment. However, argument here is that personal inclination of Generals gets easily adjusted according to local needs and global environment. As Zia exhorted through writing, in May 1977, to senior officers not to indulge in politics and remain focused on professional activities.[60] However, when internal and external situation became favorable, he opted for politicization with appropriate ideology.

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[60] Mather Ian, "The Soldier who Hanged Bhutto", *The Observer*, April 8, 1979, p. 8. Cited in Tanveer Khalid, *op.ct*, p. 214.

CHAPTER 5

AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNANCE OF

TRANSITIONAL SOCIEY: IDEOLOGICAL

CHALLENGE

Integrative ideology is required for nation-building and institutional building. This integrative ideology does not only facilitate smooth interaction between disparate ethno-linguistic groups but also give them sense of pride necessary for avoiding initial redistributive and service provision problems. Furthermore, it helps to transform authoritarian institutions into true public institutions oriented to serve citizens. Hence, it increases the commitment level of public servants resulting increased state capacity and effectiveness.

However, it should be inclusive with regards to local cultures and must incorporate contents of empathy and rationality. Ruling elite's authoritarian tendency in transitional societies, however, makes them naïve about ideological challenge and they simply adopt ideological stance for temporary purposes.

Multi-ethnic post-colonial states are sometimes termed as new states for disparate ethno-linguistic groups yet to develop new overarching national identity. Though superfluous nationalism helped diverse ethno-linguistic groups to transcend, temporarily, their particular identities for common cause against colonialism.

However, post-independence continuation of unequal share of power in state institutions and uneven economic development since colonial period, at the time of greater expectation of welfare and equality, obliterated nationalistic feelings and reasserted primordial identities. Privileged groups, particularly those who faced identity crisis in terms of cultural identities rooted in the soil, resorted to exclusive abstract ideology for their domination. Thus, lack of appropriate ideology caused conflict between marginalized centrifugal forces and privileged centripetal forces.

In case of Pakistan, religion as ideology provided the rationale for the state so, ruling elites used it instrumentally for their legitimacy. However its changing content according to the needs of incumbent regimes and total disregard of local cultures made it counterproductive.

5: I.   THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Social scientists have mostly been presenting non-theological explanations to understand religious violence; however, recently, theological explanations too, are being employed in this regard.[1] Hanet de Vries contend that religion is always

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[1] Scholars who employ religion to understand violence lack consensus about nature and actual role of religion in fomenting violence. For instance, de Vries and Juergenmeyers believe that religion is always violent, see Hanet de Vries, *Religion and Violence*, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002. Mark Juergenmeyers, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley (California): University of Caliomia Press, 2001; for Daniel Pipes, Bernard Lewis, Jessica Stern 2003 only Islam is violent; however, Galtung contend that religion may be a source of peace as well as violence, see Johan Galtung, "Religions, Hard and Soft", *Cross Currents*, Winter 1997-98 (1997); while Appleby and Philport found in their studies that religion promotes peace rather than violence, see Scott R Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion Violence and Reconciliation*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

violent,[2] Mark Juergenmeyers explains it as cosmic war of good and evil,[3] according to Daniel Pipes ideological incompatibility of Islam with secularism is source of violence, Samuel Huntington sees it as clash of civlizations, while Lifton explains religious violence through cult thinking and apocalyptic mindset.[4] Non-theological explanations treat it as identity mobilization hence scholars contend through different perspectives—primordialist, constructivist, instrumentalist and post-modernists. Recent debate, however, has been narrowed down between greed motives versus grievances and complemented by opportunity structure.[5] Opportunity structure theorists focus on specific changes or events that create a favorable situation for opponents to launch a collective action against the government.[6] Decline of state's capacity to deter mobilization is considered as an important indicator in this regard.[7] It means attribute, greed or grievance, in isolation has limited utility in explaining violent phenomenon until mutual interaction between government and non state actor is understood.[8]

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[2] Hanet de Vries, *op.cit.*

[3] Mark Juergenmeyers, *Op.Cit.*

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

[5] For explanations through grievances see Davies, 1962, Ted Gurr 1970, Buhaug, Cederman and Rod, 2008; For arguments based on greed perspective see Tilly 1978, Collier and Hoeffler 2004, Fearon and Laitin 2003, Hironaka 2005

[6] McAdam 1982, Tarrow 1994, Meyer 2004.

[7] Tilly 1978, Skocpol 1979.

[8] Cunningham, Gleditsch and Salehyan, 2009. Mentioned in Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Andrea Ruggeri, "Political Opportunity Structures, Democracy and Civil War", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47:299, 2010.

In the context of opportunity structure, state capacity, state institutions, regime type and contagion effects have become topics of special interest.[9] Thus factors that enhance opportunities for violence perpetrators— weak institutions, unstable regime types and proneness to external influence...are collectively pooled in a single concept termed as 'fragile state'. Problem of fragility lies in transitionary states which are neither institutionalized authoritarian states nor institutionalized democracies.

Opportunity structure or state fragility though gives plausible explanation about collective action by ethnic or religious groups, but does not explain why particular ideological (here in this case religious) discourse is prevalent and not other.

A closer look at Islamic/Muslim movements—conservative as well as modern reformist—reveals that their centre of origin was Muslim minority areas, particularly North India, where their privileged position was on decline.[10] Thus a variant of relative deprivation theory---that decline of privileged status generates frustration which can lead to social mobilization---provide plausible explanation.[11] Furthermore,

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[9] For utility and problems in employing the concept of state capacity to understand violence, see Hendirx 2010 in David Sobek, "Master of Their Domains: The Role of State Capacity in Civil Wars", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47:267, 2010.

[10] Shah Walliullah's religious revivalist movement, Deoband's religioius Movement, Barailvi movement, Sir Syed's reform movement, All India Muslim League, Jamat-e-Islami, and Tablighi Jammat all started in Muslim minority areas. Syed Ahmed and Shah Ismail though based their struggle from Muslim majority areas, however, they themselves belonged to Muslim minority areas. Similarly Faraizi movement in East Bengal could also be explained by another variant of relative deprivation as majority Muslims were of low status as compared to minority Hindus, besides it was also influenced by revivalists from Muslim minority areas.

[11] Relationship between decline of privileged status and social movement can also be explained by 'Status Strains', a theory of collective mobilization by Lipst and Raab (1970). See, Charles Harper, *Exploring Social Change*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Printiee Hall, 1993, pp. 139-160.

privileged Muslims, with the claims of roots in central Asia or Middle East, have been emphasizing an abstract but distinct identity which was not rooted in the soil where Hindus were in majority. The advent of democratic nation-state that acknowledged and promoted local identities, however, created identity crisis among privileged Muslims that furthered the sense of insecurity. That sense of insecurity generated ideological mobilization. Thus, decline of privileged status combined with ominous prospects of loss of identity in the age of democratic nation-state provide better explanation of ideological mobilization of north Indian Muslims that ultimately resulted in the creation of Pakistan. So, decline of privileged status and identity crisis seem good starting point for the inquiry.

As in transitional society, the values and expectations of democratic nation-state though penetrate but traditional structure still persists; democratic parties though come into being, but personalistic or family hold also remains the feature; institutional elite though accepts democratic-rational structure as legitimate, but authoritarian practice still continues. Hence, in new state where, on the one hand, ideological framework failed to adjust local identities with national identity and, on the other hand, factionalism persisted to defy democratic culture then military bureaucratic elite became instrumental. Instrumentalist elite perpetuated ideological discourse for legitimacy, ethnic problem and strategic purposes.

Since authoritarian elite accepts democratic legitimacy but practice authoritarianism hence it has to present itself as internally legitimate and externally recognized. Thus it has to take into account changing internal and external situation

that could affect its legitimacy or recognition. As a result, it has to adjust ideological stance with changing situations. So, details and emphasis changed according to internal and external circumstances.

In the new state, when old communities with established local identities were emphasizing their cultural symbols and autonomy then communities lacking established identity could avoid identity crisis by promoting centralization of state through ideological rhetoric. Though communities, facing identity crisis were in small numbers, however, they were settled in urban areas that made them more influential than rural local communities (migrants constituted 20% of total population of West Pakistan). Later, members of dominant group, in order to maintain their dominance, also joined the centralized cum ideological project. Similarly, educated middle classes, averse to discretionary form of unstable governance by local politicians, too supported ideological stance along with traditional Pashtoon areas where simple life was compatible with conservative Islam.

Variations in motives to support ideological stance and level of commitment enabled the ruling elite to maneuver ideological rhetoric and thus steer public discourse according to external and internal circumstances in their favor. As a result, Pakistani society became volatile...changing its shape with the change in international politics... whose shape instead of foundational stone could be determined by public discourse.

However, institutionalization of religion in exclusionary way, under favorable circumstances, along with the easy availability of weapons and training resulted in religious violence. Prolonged continuance of religious discourse due to presumed strategic benefits and globally increased religiosity made difficult to restrict it mere tactical use.

In the subsequent pages of this chapter, nature of political mobilization, variation in global politics that affect global ideological discourse, and orientation of Governing elite have been discussed in a way that it explains the elite's ideological preferences and changing face of the society. This explains why society has been remained direction-less and amorphous.

5: II.   GOVERNING ELITE'S IDEOLOGICAL OSCILLATION

5. II.I.   Initial Religious Fervor, Identity Crisis, and Ethnic Assertiveness at the Age of Modern Democratic State

Migrants from minority areas brought with them, in the new state, the thrust for revivalism i.e. establishment of Islamic state on the one hand and, due to focus on literal meaning of religious scripture, sectarian hatred on the other hand.   In the absence of fear of Hindu majority, their religiosity might had been pacified, but, new environment where sons of the soil had their ethno-linguistic identities...rooted in the land..., immigrants faced identity crisis. The identity crisis prompted them to overemphasize the religious bond and religious identity.

In areas that constitute the present Pakistan, people from different sects and religions, over a period of time, had developed mutual recognition and accommodation...necessary for normal relations. Thus Migrants disturbed the normality of local people.

In addition to that, as political leadership and civil bureaucracy from North-India was the most influential group in ruling elite of the new state, hence state facilitated the moderate intelligentsia from Muslim minority areas to steer the public discourse according to their ethos. Thus, one of the impacts on public discourse was the introduction of standardized Islam in contrast to popular Islam.[12]

Initially, in the new state on the one hand, religious fervor was on its peak, particularly among Muslim refugees/migrants and some parts of KPK and, on the other hand, local identities were yet to be reconciled. Leadership though was oriented with liberal constitutionalism but, at the same time, being from Muslim minority areas, was itself facing identity problem in the new state where they lacked electoral constituency. So, they faced the ideological challenge to reconcile religious ideology in a way that it could solve their own identity crisis, pacify the religious fervor, mitigate ethnic assertiveness, and at the same time, would be compatible with liberal democratic perspective of modern state. As governing elite, being the product of transitional structure, though, accepts diversity and difference of opinion as a

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[12] For details about Mohajirs' penetration into state and thus influence, see Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989, pp.112-16.

legitimate right, but practical dissent is believed as illicit motives of some individuals in collusion with external enemies to destabilize the country. Hence need for integrative inclusive ideology as a facilitator for long term restructuring and providing direction to the society is not realized. Since difference of opinion is considered as legitimate hence outright coercion is not the option, therefore, ideology as sophisticated diversion is the appropriate way to deal with the dissent. Thus, elite facing identity crisis though emphasized religion, but thought religious ideology as a way to diffuse, temporarily, possible mobilization of different groups instead a long term project.

In that situation, insecure elite kept on oscillating between liberal democracy and Islam according to the audience. Jinnah, in his first address to members of the Constituent Assembly presented a secular vision of Pakistan, however, in order to mitigate ethnic feelings he emphasized religious bond.[13] On the issue of separation of Karachi, Liaqut Ali Khan, in the same way, resorted religious unity to pacify local Sindhis, but in USA he described Pakistan as a modern Muslim state that on the one hand could deter communism and on other hand could be a model of progressive state for conservative Afro-Asian states. Objectives resolution depicts the duality of ruling elite as it contains both religious as well as liberal elements thus, instead of providing clear direction, it provides space to ruling elite to maneuver it according to their needs

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[13] For Jinnah's secular vision of Pakistan, see *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1948, p.10. However in an address to Sindh bar association at the occasion of Eid-Milad Nabi...Prophet's birthday he said "sacrifice and die in order to make Pakistan [a] truly great Islamic state" cited in Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999, p.279.

as a result ideological confusion continued.[14] That initial emphasis on Islam continued

till the period of Khawja Nazimuddin. As encouragement by him to religious group

reflected in the final proposal of Basic Principles Committee (BPC) caused dismay

among secular group, particularly among civil-military bureaucracy. Hence after

dismissal of Nazimuddin government by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad,

three ministers who were disposed towards religious group could not retain their

portfolios in the new cabinet.[15] Khawja Nazimuddin is also an example of identity

crisis as though he belonged to East Bengal but Bengalis did not consider him as

indigenous Bengali due to his Urdu-speaking family background.[16]

5: III. ALLIANCE WITH USA AND INITIAL RELIGIOUS FERVOR TO MODERN MUSLIM STATE

With the departure of popular leaders, Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, initial

religious fervor also gradually waned. Since they maintained their hold through

bureaucratic control, hence politicians remained factionalized and polarized. Thus,

few years after independence, western oriented civil-military bureaucracy became

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[14] Religious interpretations and liberal-democratic values can be compatible but in case of Objectives Resolution the ambiguity about religious interpretation was not resolved as in Justice Muneer's report one of the causes of Ahmadia riots in Lahore was the failure to interpret religion as compatible with modern time.

[15] F. M. Innes, "The Political Outlook in Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December 1953, pp. 303-317.

[16] Though three early leaders, Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan and Nazimuddin, were not regarded as sons of the soil by the local people, however, Jinnah being a charismatic leader was least inclined to seek refuge in religion for personal reasons as compared to two other leaders.

dominant in power-structure of Pakistan.[17] Military-bureaucratic elite's interest, orientation and affiliation were with western liberal-democratic powers.

Civil-military bureaucracy, trained for either civil administration or military operations, and also being transcendent of electoral constituency was neither facing identity crisis nor the challenge of religious fervor. So, institutional elite was indifferent about ideological question in the new state. Nonetheless, religion as ideology had some utility for military-bureaucratic elite. As their authoritarian rule might be justified through religion; religion could be effective against ethnic problems faced by the state; and ruling elite, being partner of liberal democracies, could use it against possible challenge of Soviet communism. Hence, they continued symbolic and tactical use of religion, though avoided its institutionalization.

New state, Pakistan, not only lacked physical infrastructure but was also facing the challenge of organizational capacity to run the state. Besides, it faced sever economic constrains along with perceived Indian threat. Governing elite, under the influence of authoritarian aptitude, western orientation and institutional interest adopted the approach to address the problems that was also helpful in strengthening and maintaining their institutional domination. Perceived Indian threat was being overemphasized to rationalize high military expenditures which strengthened military

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[17] According to Ayesha Jalal polarization of political elite and international connections of civil-military bureaucracy with London and Washington were crucial factors that weakened the political processes resulting in the domination of non-democratic institutions, see Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, Sang-e-meel Publications, p.54.

at the expense of other institutions and welfare of the people.[18] Perceived Indian enmity though has been permanent feature of public discourse, but emphasis on religion and its interpretation varied according to the context. Thus bureaucratic-military elite being transcendent from electoral politics and free from identity crisis at the time when initial mobilization was on decline and politicians of national stature and political party with nation-wide influence was missing adopted ideological posture that was dependent more on external recognition than internal challenges for economic and military aid.

5: III.1. Authoritarian Elite in Dire Need of Military-Economic Aid and Its Tactical Usage of Islam

Pakistani ruling elite, in dire need of military and economic aid, made many attempts to convince USA that modern Muslim Pakistan could be an eastern bastion against communism, therefore US must support it militarily and economically. Malik Feroz Khan Noon asserted that US should realize that Pakistan is a reality which is non-communistic hence, could play the role of eastern bastion as Turkey plays the role of western bastion, thus, both states must be supported by USA for its own interest.[19] Liaquat Ali Khan in USA went a step ahead by declaring that Pakistan would play the dual role...deterrence against communism and harbinger of

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[18] Ayesha Jalal

[19] Robert J McMahon, "United States Cold War Strategy in South Asia: Making a Military Commitment to Pakistan, 1947-1954", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 3, December 1988, pp.812-840.

progressiveness for conservative societies.[20] Prime Minister Bogra continued the stance when he issued the statement at the conference of Colombo Powers that international communism is a threat to South and South-East Asia.[21] However, according to Saeed, "Ayub was the supreme architect of special relationship that developed between Pakistan and United States".[22] He rationalized the natural alliance of USA and small states like Pakistan by arguing that bigger states Russia, China and even India would be interested in increasing their own sphere of influence rather than USA's, therefore, small states in the region would be the natural partner of USA.[23] He wrote in 1958 that Pakistanis would fight on behalf of the West and gave the idea of "lend-lease" which he explained as "we provide the manpower and you provide us with the means to do fighting".[24] In his address to US Congress he said "the only people who will stand by you are the people of Pakistan".[25]

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[20] Ruling elite though from the very beginning has been seeking support from USA however popular leaders also kept in mind the internal need of ideological discourse. The point of departure of bureaucratic-military elite is its relative indifference from local audience to more tilt towards external recognition.

[21] Khalid B. Saeed, "Pakistan and China and the Scope and Limits of Convergent Politics" in Abraham Meyer Halpern (ed.), *Politics Towards China*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1965, pp.229-261.

[22] Khalid B. Saeed, Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change, Praeger Publishers, 1980, p.50

[23] Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.129.

[24] Mohammad Ayub Khan, "Strategic Problems of the Middle East", *Islamic Review*, July-August 1958, p.12.

[25] Quoted in Saeed, *Op.cit.*, p.50. USA in order to counter Soviet Communism though needed a partner in the region but it ignored Pakistan as it thought that India as the largest democracy and member of free world would be its natural ally. However, India's anti imperialist stance disillusioned USA. Hence Pakistan's support to USA in North Korean War and about San Francisco Peace Treaty influenced its attitude towards Pakistan. See George J. Lerski, "The

Thus in US it was realized that alliance with Pakistan is beneficial not only against communism but also American could expect that Pakistan "can exert moderating influence on the extreme nationalism and anti-Western attitudes of some of the members of these groups"...Muslim states and Afro-Asian block.[26]

5: III.II. Modernization

Western scholars, who had just broadened their world-view by focusing on new states, resorted to modernization paradigm to address the challenge of minimizing gap between developed world and new under-developed states. The diagnosed problem was the traditionalism and recommended treatment was the transformation from tradition to modernity through various strategies. So, military-bureaucratic elite affiliated in terms of interest and orientation with the west adopted socio-economic modernization. Harvard Advisory Group, sponsored by initially Ford Foundation and later on by USAID, had been assisting Pakistani government in this regard.[27] Hence ruling elite either promoted secular vision of Pakistan or, if felt compelled to adopt Islamic posture, they interpreted Islamic state as fully compatible with modern world. ISikander Mirza exhorted "we can not run wild on Islam".[28] Khalid commented about 1956 Constitution as, "a liberal interpretation of Islam was incorporated into the

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Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 8, No. 5 (May, 1968), pp. 400-415

[26] Saeed, *Op.cit.*

[27] Initially Ford Foundation sponsored Harvard advisory group in Pakistan later on USAID also joined the foundation. After 1965 World Bank and USAID were the joint sponsors of Harvard university team.

[28] *New York Times*, February 7, 1955, cited in Tanweer Khalid, *Islamazation in Pakistan, A Political and Constitutional Study From 1947-1988*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Karachi, October 2004, p.160

constitution".[29] Ayub Khan issued Martial Law Ordinance declaring that official name of the country would be Pakistan instead of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.[30]

However, when Ayub regime realized the need to use Islam to defuse the ethnic and regional cleavages, he interpreted Islam as a religion compatible with modern-liberal world view, " our mind is the mind of Islam which is capable of expressing the language of the modern mind…the language of science, the language of economics and language of current affairs".[31] "He believed in an Islam that 'dictated unity and progress' and detested the obscurantist Islam which was divisive and status-quo oriented".[32] He criticized *ulama* as they were clung to religious dogma and remained static, throw mud on those who progress by adopting modern approach.[33] Muslim Family Law Ordinance March 2, 1962 and *Waqf* properties Ordinance 1961 October 23 clearly indicate that the regime wanted to shape traditional institutions of society according to modern line. In 1962 Constitution though Islamic expression and preamble retained, but sentence declaring that authority would be exercised within limits set by Allah was removed.[34] Delegation of authority by him was already removed in 1956 constitution. First amendment restored the original text of Objectives Resolution on account of legitimacy challenge. According to Shafqat,

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[29] Tanweer Khalid, *Op.cit.*, p.162.

[30] *ibd*, p.168.

[31] Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Speeches and Statements*, Vol.1, Karachi, n.d., p.57.

[32] Fazlurrehman, " Islam in Pakistan", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.8, No.4, Summer 1985, p.44 cited in Waseem, p.166.

[33] Ayub Kha,, *Op. cit.*, p.111.

[34] See preamble of 1962 Constitution.

Ayub "strived to orientate the political system along liberal secular lines, and at the same time made an effort to institutionalize the role of Islam in the political system of Pakistan. He symbolized the predicament of the Modernists in Pakistan."[35]

Besides, governing elite's disposition towards West, especially USA, attitudes of Pakistanis in general were favorable about USA. As Brown observed "In Pakistan attitudes were generally good in the early years after independence except for critical moments when Pakistan felt the United States biased against her on technical aid."[36] Similarly, Rosen commented, there was less sensitivity about foreign advisors in Pakistan than India.[37] Even religious parties were striving for establishing cordial relations with USA. Members of JUI were contacting US ambassador for financial support while JI welcomed US diplomats in its annual gatherings.[38]

5: III.III. Amorphous Society

Authoritarian elite's approach of tactical, temporary and diversionary usage of religion instead of long-term consistent ideological discourse for restructuring society kept the Pakistani society bewildered. Military elite's coercive control though initially

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

[36] W. Norman Brown, *The United States and India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 369-370;' cited in George J. Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade *Asian Survey*", Vol. 8, No. 5. (May, 1968), pp. 400-415

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

[38] Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999, p. 291.

created the impression of a consolidating society however routinization of authoritarian regime eroded the temporary optimism. Thus, not only society but state institutions also lost their vitality. Furthermore, Ayub Khan's economic management policy that centered on growth rather than distribution resulted in the concentration of wealth in few families hence generated sense of deprivation among masses. Modernization though could not institutionalize life but it facilitated the mobilization of different groups who were perceiving various kinds of grievances.

Therefore, at the time of transfer of power from one military General to another military General, i.e., Ayub Khan to Yahya Khan, military establishment was facing worsening ethnic problem in East Pakistan on the one hand and challenge from resurgent left-leaning groups in West Pakistan on the other. Thus directionless and fractionalized society was ready to be influenced by changing trends in world/regional politics.

5: IV. CONTRADICTORY TRENDS: RISE OF SOCIALIST INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD PARALLEL TO ISLAMIC RESURGENCE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

Retreat of USA, Disillusionment with Modernization

In late 1960s USA too was on retreat from global activism due to Vietnam War. At the same time, scholars and statesmen were also being disillusioned from modernization paradigm as many post-colonial states had achieved impressive growth

rates, but the fate of common man was not changing.[39] Hence internal and external environment of the country was suitable for left-leaning ideologies.

Islam as an Ideology of Pakistan to Counter Dual Challenge

Yahya regime, however, in order to contain mobilization in both parts, Eastern part and Western, considered centrist right-wing Islamic parties as counter force that could neutralize the dual challenge posed by horizontally mobilized ethnic groups as well as vertically mobilized left-leaning class-conscious groups. That is why regime promoted Islam as ideology of Pakistan and co-opted Islamic groups, particularly Jamaat-i-Islami (JI).[40] Members of JI in East Pakistan—most of them were non-Bengali Bihari refugees—were trained and armed by Pakistani army against Bengali liberation forces, Mukti Bahini.[41]

However, outright use of military force [when institution had lost the vitality and society (nation) was directionless] and strategic alliance with Islamic groups by Yahya regime, after denial of land-sliding electoral victory of Bengali ethnic party, Awami League, in East Pakistan, could not deter the secession of East Pakistan as new sovereign state, Bangladesh. Consequentially, military defeat in East Pakistan

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[39] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Goals of Development" in Myron Weiner and Samuel P. Huntington (eds.), *Understanding Political Development*, Harper: Collins Publishers, 1987, pp 3-32.

[40] Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Democracy in Pakistan*, The Instituteof SouthAsianStudies, available at http://www.isasnus.org/20061108conference/papers/Plenary%20Session%20II%20-%20Dr%20Hasan%20Rizvi.pdf

[41] According to Abbas JI and its student wing IJT was involved in violence against Bengali dissidents see, Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror*, London: M.E. Sharpe, 2005, p. 63.

also facilitated the transfer of power to left-leaning PPP that had emerged as major party in erstwhile West Pakistan. Yahya's policy of use of religion, at the time when socialist waive was on rise, proved counterproductive.

5: IV.I.   Bhutto's Islamic Socialism

In West Pakistan, though under socialist waive, left-leaning groups were emerging and gaining support, however dominant groups, especially privileged group(s) facing identity crisis--- but residing in main-stream areas---were still attached with religious identity and influenced by anti-Indian sentiments. Hence at the age of democratic era when socialist tide was on rise (and influencing large parts of the underdeveloped world), and religion along with anti-Indian sentiments was still the source of mobilization as for as influential groups were concerned, PPP adopted eclectic ideological approach that was the blend of democracy, religion and socialism.

Thus PPP's ideologue gave the party motto as, 'Islam is our faith; democracy is our polity; socialism is our economy; and power belongs to people'.[42] However election manifesto was pro-poor and more attuned with socialism as it promised to provide *roti, kapra, makan* (food, clothing and shelter) to every citizen. That eclecticism was also reflected in the Constitution which was framed and approved in 1973 during PPP's first term of government.

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[42] Rafi Raza, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-77*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 6.

(a) 1973 Constitution and Unresolved Ideological Ambiguity

1973 Constitution, instead of resolving the ideological ambiguity, further complicated the issue as it was a catch-all— containing liberal, Islamist and socialist perspectives. Being a consensus hence compromised document, it incorporated Islamic, liberal and socialist perspective at the same time, thus leaving space for instrumentalists to maneuvers it according to their agenda. It is stated in the preamble "sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan is a sacred trust within the limits prescribed by him". However, fundamental rights are also mentioned as standard for law making thus laws inconsistent with fundamental rights would be void.[43] Where it appreciates the "preservation of democracy by unremitting struggle of people against oppression and tyranny"[44], there it is also declared that new order of egalitarian society will be created as exploitation will be eliminated by preventing "concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few".[45]

(b) Resurgence of Islam in the Muslim World

When Bhutto assumed power, post-colonial third world (Muslim world was part of third world) was passing through a wave of anti-imperialism under charismatic leaders. 1970s, however, was the period of Islamic resurgence in the Muslim World. Particularly, Arab World was inclined towards pan-Islamism than pan-Arabism as

[43]see Chapter 1 of part II of the *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973.*

[44]see Preamble of the *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973.*

[45] See Article 38(a), of the *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973.*

Arab's defeat against Israel in 1967 War—which they fought under the leadership of Pan-Arab leaders like Jamal Abdul Nasir—disillusioned Arabs with Pan-Arabism and thus strengthened Pan-Islamist leaders like Shah Faisal of Saudi Arabia. Thus Bhutto, under that resurgent anti-imperial wave, employed Islamic symbolism in domestic affairs and foreign policy. For instance, summit of leaders from Muslim World was held in Lahore, Pakistan in 1974 under the platform of Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). Thus, several linkages were established between Pakistan and oil-rich Arab states. Arab countries permitted Pakistani laborers and professional to work there. In addition to that, they extended financial support to Pakistan through aid and funding in different projects. Substantive part of funding was being incurred for patronization of religious scholars and institutions.

(c) Absence of Single Largest Opposition Party and Emergence of Small Islamic Parties as Counter PPP Force

Though PPP was the major party in West Pakistan but its victory was not complete victory as that of Awami League in East Pakistan. In smaller provinces PPP's performance was dismal, in Khyber Pakhtoon Khaw PPP won only one seat of National Assembly while in Baluchistan PPP could not win a single seat and urbanite Mohajirs too rejected PPP. However, it was the only single largest mass party without parallel single opposition party.

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Table 1: Party Position 1970 Elections

Seats and Percentage of Total Vote Polled

Party	Punjab	Sind	NWFP	Baluchistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Total
Awami League	0 (0.07%)	0 (0.07%)	0 (0.02%)	0 (1.0%)	0	160 (74.9%)	160 (38.3%)
Pakistan Peoples Party	62 (41.06%)	18 (44.9%)	1 (14.2%)	0 (2.3%)	81	0	81 (19.5%)
PML (Q)	1 (5.4%)	1 (10.7%)	7 (22.6%)	0 (10.9%)	9	0 (1.0%)	9 (4.5%)
PML (Convention)	7 (5.1%)	0 (1.7%)	0	0	7	0 (2.8%)	7 (3.3%)
Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam	0 (3.2%)	0 (4.3%)	6 (25.4%)	1 (20.0%)	7	0 (0.9%)	7 (4.0%)
Markazi Jamiat Ulema Pakistan	4 (9.8%)	3 (7.4%)	0 (0%)	0	7	0	7 (4.0%)
National Awami Party	0	0 (0.3%)	3 (18.4%)	3 (45.1%)	6	0 (1.8%)	6 (2.3%)
Jamaat-e Islami	1 (4.7%)	2 (10.3%)	1 (7.2%)	0 (1.1%)	4	0 (6.0%)	4 (6.0%)
Muslim League (Council)	2 (12.6%)	0 (6.8%)	0 (4.0%)	0 (10.9%)	2	0 (1.6%)	2 (6.0%)
PDP	0 (2.2%)	0 (0.04%)	0 (0.3%)	0 (0.3%)	0	1 (2.2%)	1 (2.9%)
Independents	5 (11.8%)	3 (10.7%)	7 (6.0%)	0 (6.8%)	15	1 (3.4%)	16 (7.1%)
Total	82	27	25	4	138	162	300

NAP, erstwhile an alliance of leftists and ethnic groups, could have been the potential single opposition party, but it had lost its leftist constituency to PPP while its ethnic support base in its traditional stronghold pakhtoon areas, too, became reduced to semi-feudal areas of north KPK. In arid areas of southern KPK and Baluchistan's Pashtoon belt where feudal structure was absent and simple life patterns were compatible with conservative Islam, traditionalist Islamic party JUI was successful in making these areas its stronghold. While, in erstwhile princely states in Dir and Swat areas where local power structure was yet to be established after merger of these

states into Pakistan, JI was successful in luring educated individuals to join its ranks and thus consolidate its hold in these areas. Absence of single large opposition party, consequently, made effective check on governments' authoritarian actions and smooth political transaction as difficult tasks. Furthermore, low stature of opposition leaders in front of single dominant personality Bhutto necessitated a united front for better political prospects. Since, ideologically left-leaning PPP was in sharp contrast with right-wing Islamists. Hence Bhutto's ideological rivals were right-wing Islamist parties with support base in some parts of Pashtoon area and among Mohajir community. Though, Bhutto posed himself as champion of Islamic agenda and thus attempted to weaken the constituency of Islamic parties, however, his Islamic legislation, due to contradictory government sponsored socialist propaganda, publically appeared as simply appeasement to Islamic parties. Hence appeasement policy vindicated and strengthened Islamic parties. As a result, opposition alliance of small parties against PPP became dominated by Islamic parties. Industrialist/business class alienated by PPP,s nationalization policies and urban middle class frustrated by gap between expectation and gratification became supporter of opposition alliance dominated by Islamic parties. Thus alleged rigging by Bhutto regime in 1977 General Elections provided the opportunity to Pakistan Opposition Alliance (PNA) to launch massive agitations in urban centers against the regime.

(d) Divided Polity

Since partition, abstract ideological identity and local identities, rooted in the soil, have been competing for recognition and dominance. PPP was not only left

leaning party, but was also the representative of the sons of soil, particularly in Sind. Hence communities facing identity crisis—Mohajirs, Punjabi settlers in non-Punjabi cities and linguistic groups settled in between or surrounded by established ethnic groups like Hindko speakers and to some extent inhabitants of Potohar region— were inclined towards centrist as well as abstract ideological Islam. Therefore, "refugees in Karachi, Lahore and Multan played an important role in the demonstrations against the Bhutto regime".[46] Class and ethnic identities of anti-Bhutto agitators were intertwined as commerce and industry was in the control of Mohajirs and Punjabi settlers. Thus Petty bourgeois rather than industrial labor played effective role in demonstrations.[47]

In general, urbanized educated middle class being tuned with rules and stable governance were also uncomfortable with PPP's discretionary patronized form of governance hence were disposed to right wing centrist parties. However, major mobilization platform were mosques; symbolic use of religion by the regime; constitutional ambiguity; increased contacts with the resurgent Muslim world; and the absence of single moderate opposition party— that facilitated the unity of small, particularly Islamic, parties as a forum for frustrated/ alienated people—, all these factors directed Pakistan from Islamic socialism to Islamization.

However, it does not mean forces of left have eliminated. They were, still in substantial numbers but simply were not on streets due to Bhutto's authoritarianism

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[46] Khalid bin Saeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, Praeger, p.140.

[47] Saeed, *Op. Cit.*, p.143

that hampered the organizational capacity of PPP and labor unions. In spite of this, during agitation against Bhutto labor unions rallied in favor of Bhutto. Even when Bhutto visited major cities after his release, large gatherings welcomed him.

Nonetheless Islamic parties capitalized the situation and converted anti-Bhutto agitation into Islamic movement as *Tehrik-e-Nizam-e-Mustafa* (Movement for Prophet's system). However, it was another major event in international politics taking place in neighboring Afghanistan that pushed it to adopt decisively new ideological face—conservative Islamic Pakistan. Agitations led by Islamic Parties and resulting political crisis in the country provided sufficient rationale to Military Generals to take over the country.

5: V. FINAL PHASE OF COLD WAR AND ZIA'S ISLAMIZATION PROJECT

(a) Progressive-Conservative Divide and Decade of Mass-Mobilization

Since later years (1967-68) of Ayub's rule, Pakistan had been passing through a phase of high mobilization. Resurgence of left-leaning that started against Ayub regime also continued during Bhutto period though became contained in his later years. Urban Mohajirs in Sindh also joined the mobilization, first against PPP Sindh's Government's Language Bill and Quota System, later on a larger anti-Bhutto Movement became transformed into conservative religious movement. Therefore, when Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Zia ul Haq toppled Bhutto Government and took over the control, Pakistan was a divided polity where on the one hand Bhutto and his political party PPP (progressive forces) was still, potentially, vibrant with sufficient

mass-based support and on the other hand religious parities (conservative forces) had just recently demonstrated their capacity to mobilize people in urban centers. Mass-mobilization by aggrieved progressive forces could be a threat for the legitimacy of the military regime. Hence Zia perceived progressive forces as potential challenger to his rule while religious conservative Islamist parties as his political support base...necessary for the legitimacy of his regime.[48] Thus religious conservatives became natural allies of Zia regime. However, trained agitators equipped with ideological rhetoric of people's power in a conducive environment of mass-mobilization could not be deterred, simply, by manipulation and tactical usage of Islam as previous authoritarian regimes did when mass-mobilization and ideological rhetoric was limited. Hence counter ideology and coercion were the appropriate ways to deal the problem.

Therefore regime employed religion as a rationale for coercive punishments and to counter left-leaning progressive ideology. Thus regime demobilized and marginalized progressive forces by punitive and discriminatory laws; through regulatory mechanisms and outright use of force. Strict punishments of publicly lashing, right hand amputation and stoning to death were enforced for possession of alcohol, theft and adultery by an ordinance entitled as Hadood Ordinance. Student unions were banned, political parties and labor unions were contained through

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[48] Though internal and external context favored Islamization in Pakistan however identity crisis thesis is also appealing as Gen. Zia and his top ranking military colleagues (General K.M. Arif, General Akhtar Abdur Rahman Khan) belonged to Muslim minority areas.

regulatory mechanisms or outright coercion. Status of women was relegated by discriminatory laws.

(b) Cold-War and Transnational Bond of Religion

Though initial purpose of Zia's Islamization was to counter the domestic challenge from left-leaning PPP and thus avoid immediate political crisis.[49] However, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 made radical Islam a strategic weapon, against Soviet forces, for capitalist block, led by USA, whose support and recognition was crucial for vulnerable military regime. Thus requirement of internal legitimacy and international recognition...internally and externally favorable environment...prompted the regime to institutionalize the conservative radical Islam. He said, "I want only to emphasize the fact that the ideology of Pakistan is Islam and only Islam. There should be no misunderstanding on this score. We should in all sincerity accept Islam as Pakistan's basic ideology...otherwise...this country (will) be exposed to secular ideologies...."[50]

The strategy for guerilla struggle against communist army was that major portion of finance and recruitment as mujahideen would be contributed by the Muslim

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[49] John Esposito, "Islam: Ideology and Politics in Pakistan" in Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner (eds), *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics in Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan*, pp.344-45.

[50] *The President on Pakistan's Ideological Basis*, Address by President General Zia ul Haq at the inauguration of Shariat Faculty at the Quad-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 8 October 1979. (Islamabad: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, n.d.), p.2. quoted in C. G. P. Rakisits

World. While sophisticated weapons, training and overall supervision would be provided by USA through ISI. Hence to make Afghan war a prime concern of the Muslim world, it was necessary to propagate global Islam in which every Muslim, being a part of Ummah irrespective of his/her country, was tied with other Muslims. So, sufferings faced by Muslims in one county were also equally painful for Muslims residing in other states.

(c) Exclusive Ideology, Penetration of Conservatives and Dominance of Religious Discourse

Since Deobandi-Wahhabi version of Islam...a literalist but exclusive version...was being presented in public discourse as standard version in contrast to eclectic Bralevi version of Islam. Moreover, this version was suitable for government's jihadi strategy due to its literal interpretation of jihad as armed struggle and history of waging armed jihad. Hence Zia regime's Islamization, despite the claims of universality, was based on narrow interpretation of Deobandi-Wahaabi version of Islam.[51] However, rational/modern shape to politico-economic aspects of Islamization project was being provided by Jamaat-e-Islami scholars. Zia regime attempted to restructure society through reshaping education, economy, legal system and culture on Islamic lines.

Thus through Islamization religious conservative individuals, particularly members of Jammat-e-Islami and JUI, were being patronized while progressive

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[51] Rubina Saigol, "Decades of Disaster: Islamization and the Women of Pakistan" in *The Middle East Institute Viewpoints: The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009*

individuals were being marginalized through coercive and regulatory mechanism. Similarly state media was being used to project Islamization and discredit socialism. Private print media was also being coerced to follow the government line. As a result, civic networks associated by religious individuals became prevalent; conservative religious people became entrenched in power-structure and state institutions; and conservative religious discourse became dominant vis-à-vis liberal secular discourse.

The processes of propagation of conservative religious discourse in combination with gradual penetration and ascendency of religious groups in social and power institutions and restriction on alternate view-points...Islamization...was fallowed by inverse processes of deterioration of level of acceptance of alternate perspectives. Religious militant organizations equipped with weapons further strengthened the rigidity in society. Thus a situation developed in which religious-conservatives penetrated in state/society institutions, print media and equipped with weapons became self-assumed authority to declare infidel who simply do not agree with their view-points.

Modern institutions, requirement of democratic legitimacy and alliance with liberal-democratic world restricted Zia regime to destroy the ideological/political opposition, completely, through brutal force like autocratic states where democratic institutions and orientation is non existent. Therefore, despite favorable environment, Zia's Islamization project, being incompatible with the dominant discourses, neither could suppress, completely, liberal-democratic orientation in the society and thus nor

could institutionalize social life on conservative lines. However, Zia's Islamization perpetuated and strengthened ideological divide in the society.

5: VI. STRATEGIC DEPTH, KASHMIR POLICY AND FRAGILE DEMOCRACY

Military establishment, by playing pivotal role in Afghanistan through its intelligence agency ISI, had learned the strategic use of religion on the one hand and had explored strategic depth in Afghanistan on the other as Pakistan's long but narrow width areas were always vulnerable against arch rival India. Thus, emotionally charged military establishment, due to its, presumably, decisive role in USSR's defeat in Afghanistan, reformulated Kashmir and Afghan policies in which radical religion was to play major role. Hence alliance with religious parties as well as religious jihadi discourse continued throughout 1990s.

Democratic governments of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif, though wanted to contain resulting extremism and sectarian violence, but public discourse was so much religious laden that fragile governments were unable to alter it with peaceful discourse. Moreover, in non-democratic culture where political loyalties could be switched for personal/factional gains; ruling and opposition parties were so polarized that immoral/illegal tactics were the norms of the game; consequetally, support of small religious parties was crucial in maintaining or breaking the parliamentary governments.

5: VII: ENLIGHTENMENT MODERATION AND REDEFINING GLOBAL IDENTITIES

After Cold-War era, during the decade of 990s, Military establishment continued the patronization of *jihadi* organizations for its Afghan and Kashmir policies. However, then international system had transformed from bi-polar to uni-polar with the claims of victory of liberal democracy. In that new uni-polar and liberal democratic world, religious conservative posture was an anomaly. But military generals convinced of the strategic utility of religion and newly explored strategic depth could not adjust their strategic approach with prevalent norms of liberal democratic world.[52] Hence during the decade of 1990s Pakistan remained isolated and suspected state in the eyes of international community.

Strategic use of religion in Afghan and Kashmir policies was also affecting Pakistani society by fomenting extremism and sectarian violence. Thus sectarian violence and extremist forces were becoming more pervasive and unmanageable. As Musharraf acknowledged, "sectarian terrorism is going on for years. Everyone of us is fed up of it. It is becoming unbearable,". Hence self-appointed Chief Executive Gen. Musharraf in order to adjust with liberal democratic world and keep the militant organizations within manageable limits adopted liberal and progressive posture. Thus conservative religious discourse with added emphasis on the concept of Ummah/pan-Islamism—religious bond transcendent of territorial boundaries—, that had served

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[52] Pakistan was then, apparently, a democratic state and so real wielder of power sitting behind the scene were least concerned about international recognition.

the purpose in final phase of cod-war as collective, material and human, effort/jihad by the Muslim world in the favor of USA against USSR in Afghan war, was making Pakistan a deviated case from liberal world.

So, in order to adjust with the liberal-democratic world and keep the society within manageable limits, pan-Islamist but conservative religious discourse was needed to be replaced by a progressive discourse. Musharraf, therefore, emphasized the practical manifestation of reason, change and tolerance---a progressive vision of society in which individuals would be struggling for the advancement in science and technology with tolerant attitude in social life.

Immediate after 9/11, though, it would have been difficult for any regime in Pakistan to diffuse American pressure to side with the Coalition partners against Al-Qaida and Talibans, but for a military dictator, seeking international recognition, it was too much. Musharraf took decision to side with the USA, however, at a time when anti-American sentiments and pan-Islamic feelings were intense and widespread in the country; and thus it was easy for religio-political groups to capitalize these sentiments for political mobilization on the grounds that the regime was in collusion with non-Islamic forces to destroy Muslim brothers. Therefore, Pan-Islamic feelings and mobilization could have posed challenge to the internal legitimacy of the regime. Hence, emphasis on territorial nationalism was an imperative to counter the pan-Islamic mobilization. Thus, regime coined the slogan of 'Pakistan first'.

He exhorted religious Ulama 'to curb elements which are exploiting religion for vested interests and bringing bad name to our faith'.[53] In International Islamic Conference on Science and Technology, Musharraf highlighted the importance of Science and technology by contrasting the development level of Japan due to its focus on knowledge and technology with the backwardness of Muslim world because of ignorance: Muslims as one-fifth of world's population possess seventy percent of world's energy resources, but their total GNP is just one-fifth of Japan's GNP. Poverty which Muslim world suffers despite plenty of resources is because of illiteracy. Japan alone has thousand universities while Muslim countries collectively have just 430 universities. So, there is a need to focus on science and technology. He suggested that Muslim world should develop centre of excellence and reserve a fund for scholarship for higher education. The regime's emphasis on education was also according to the recommendations mentioned in USA National Security Report that illiteracy is the cause of terrorism. Musharraf termed his vision of progressive, rational and tolerant society as Enlightenment moderation.

According to Huntington, in post cold-war globalised era human beings would interact at global level where smaller identities will have no meaning hence civilization being a larger identity would define human relations i.e., world politics.[54]

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[53] P. Musharraf, 'General Pervez Musharraf's address to the nation', 17 October 1999,hhttp://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/post_12oct99/musharraf_address_17oct 1999.htmli.

[54] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Many religious Muslim scholars considered Huntington's thesis as conspiracy against Muslims...their emphasis on religious identity, however, itself was a partial vindication of the thesis. Though Huntington's thesis like metaphysical assertions may not be true and may not be wrong, however, at the time when state was losing its autonomy to provide one coherent identity, many pan-Islamists remained vocal for broader Muslim identity with varying degree of acceptance of their views.

In addition, incident of 9/11 created identity crisis for Muslim diasporas in the west as Western countries were no more melting pots. In western societies too, like Muslims, trend towards religious right were evident. Presence of western powers on Muslim lands perceived by many as occupation on the name of International 'war against terror' strengthened broader Muslim identity which was already being propagated by religious groups and accepted by Muslim diasporas facing identity crisis. Natural Calamities like earthquake and flood generated pessimism and conservative outlook and thus provided opportunity to religious scholars to relate natural calamities with 'immoral' and 'non-religious' practices.

Thus, religious discourse continued and reinvigorated since Zia's *Islamization* project, first by Afghan and Kashmir Policies and later on by global redefining of identities. Few scholars consider the clash between Islam and West as clash of different world views, however, it is more cultural/identity as anti-west Islamic religious scholars either fail to give counter ideology or simply give negative ideology....that simply criticize the Western values in order to justify distinct Muslim

identity. Even most of them in practical life follow western mannerism. Moreover, international *jihadi* organizations though have sympathetic feelings—Pan-Islamism---towards each other and have developed collaboration, but their agendas varies according to specific political grievances of their territorial regions.

5: VIII. RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE

5: VIII.I. Culture of Violence: Social Context, Religious Networks and, Conducive Opportunity Structure

Religious discourse started and continued due to the identity crisis of privileged Mohajirs and dominant Punjabis; when patronized and reinvigorated by Zia regime, it set the social context in which violent acts are not only justified but appreciated by the society. Thus violent actions became rewarding. The reward was not limited to elevated social status and appreciation by the segments of the society but it transcended to life after death as well. Thus rational choice theory provides plausible explanatory framework as it contends that actions of the perpetrators of violence are determined by the net-incentives available in the environment.[55] However, social approval of violent behavior can only induce someone in the society to act individually but organized violence requires deep ideological commitment. Ideological commitment, however, does not take place immediately; initially it is affiliation, sense of community or desire for belongingness that determines the entry

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[55] For application of rational choice theory to understand religious violence See Sandler, T., and Enders, W., "An economic perspective on transnational terrorism", *European Journal of Political Economy*, *20*(2), 2004, pp, 301–16.;Also see Iannaccone, L., & Berman, E., "Religious extremism: The good, the bad and the deadly", *Public Choice, 128*(1–2), 2006, pp, 109–29.

of an individual into militant organization followed by, in the later stage, ideological indoctrination.[56] Since social networks are source of belongingness hence their nature is crucial in molding individuals' behaviors. Scholars studying violent behavior are also in agreement that relationship between violent behavior and social networks is robust as one scholar of the field, Noricks, claimed, "If any area of terrorism studies can be said to have reached a level of consensus, it is the role of social networks in contributing to both recruitment and radicalization".[57] Increasing number of religious organizations, since Zia's Islamization, with political, student and militant wings, served as extensive social networks of recruitment and radicalization.[58] Finally it was the availability of weapons, training facilities due to Afghan and Kshmir jihad and state patronization that worked as conducive opportunity structure for religious entrepreneurs to set radicalized members in action. Thus social context, religious networks, and opportunity structure, all these in combination, produced culture of violence.

Variations in targets and strategies by militant groups however can be understood through differences in motivational factors.

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[56] M. Sageman, *Leaderless jihad: Terror networks in the twenty-first century*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

[57] D. M. E. Noricks, "Disengagement and deradicalization: Processes and programs", in P. K. Davis & K. Cragin (Eds.), *Social science for counterterrorism: Putting the Pieces Together*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009 a, available at, http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG849.pdf

[58] For discussion about conflicting approaches and tension between religious and secular NPOs (Non Profit Organizations) see, Muhammad Asif Iqbal, *The Ideological Divide of the Nonprofit Sector in Pakistan,*
Presented at the International Conference of the International Society for Third-Sector Research, Bangkok, July 9-12, 2006

Militant religious groups active in Af-Pak region can be divided, on the basis of motivational factors behind their struggle, in three categories: 1) those who do not have clear vision of restructuring state and society but members in these groups are motivated by hatredness against other sects 2) groups have the objective to restructure state and society...Islamic order 3) in the third category groups though have specific territorial grievances but collaborate with each other due to pan-Islamic feelings and concept of Ummah, sometime, rekindles in them contours of ideal global Islamic Order. In practical struggle, however, the demarcation is more blurred due to overlapping.

Religio-political groups which are not involved in violence directly however help militant groups by philosophizing and making their violent struggle as socially approved acts. Similarly peaceful religious proselytizing groups though do not involve in violence however create religious environment which facilitates recruitment for militant organizations.

5: VIII.II. Sectarian Violence

Though Mohajir brought sectarian hatred and thus disturbed the normalancy, however hatred did not convert to direct religious violence until 1980s except few occasions. One such occasion was the anti-Ahmadia riots in 1953 when initial momentary religious fervor was high and state elite facing identity dilemma was employing religious rhetoric. As in the new state the defining of cultural content for national identity sharpens ethnic consciousness in the same way defining of religious content during Zia regime sharpened sectarian consciousness. When Zia regime

adopted exclusive religious posture in the favor of Sunnis, particularly Deobandi madaris ulama, who had been involved in religious polemics with hatred terminologies and rhetoric, now it was intolerable to accept the socio-political preeminence of the minority Shia individuals and families. Zia's Islamization and Afghan Jihad in the context of fmal phase of cold-war along with regime's internal legitimacy needs blurred the demarcation of internal and external factors, however, Iranian revolution and proxy war between Sunni Arab states vs. Shia Iran are external factors.[59] Iranian revolution created assertiveness in Shia community. Proxy war between Shia Iran and Sunni Middle Eastern Arab states...Saudi Arabia, Iraq, UAE facilitated the availability of weapons and training.

Violence started in those areas where Mohajirs were in sufficient numbers, minority Shias were also in substantive numbers while, Shia families were in privileged position, such as Karach, Jhang and Kuram Agency. In Jhang district, Mukhtar in his study also highlights the economic dimension---as a clash between local Shia feudals and Sunni traders...mainly were settlers/mohajirs.[60] Sectarian violence started in Karachi, a Mohajir dominant area, became pervasive in Jhang, while normalancy in Kurram agency was disturbed by afghan refugees.

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[59] Mariam considers Iranian revolution and proxy war between Sunni Arab states and Shia Iran as enabling factors for explaination of sectarian violence in Pakistan see Mariam Abou Zahab, 'Sectarianism as Substitute Identity: Sunnis and Shias in Central and South Punjab', in Soofia Mumtaz, Jean-Luc Racine, and Imran Anwar Ali (eds), Pakistan: The Contours of State and Society (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.79. See also Mariam Abou Zahab, *The Regional Dimension of Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan*

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

Initially victims were religious ulama and individuals of preeminence, but since

early 1990s,---as violence breeds violence hence---revenge and hatred feelings turned

into genocide-like and mass killings. However, collaboration with pan-Islamist and

thus elevation from mere hatred to lofty objective of global war or Islamic order made

sectarian violence a strategic tool to achieve bigger objectives.

Table 2: Sectarian Violence in Pakistan

Year	Number of incidents	Number injured	Number killed	Percentage killed per incident
1989	67	102	18	0.26
1990	274	328	32	0.11
1991	180	263	47	0.26
1992	135	261	58	0.43
1993	90	247	39	0.43
1994	162	326	73	0.45
1995	88	189	59	0.67
1996	80	168	86	1.08
1997	103	219	193	1.87
1998	188	231	157	0.84
1999	103	189	86	0.84
2000	109	NA	149	1.37
2001	154	495	261	1.7
2002	63	257	121	1.92
2003	21	103	100	4.76
	1817	3378	1479	

Source: South Asia Intelligence Review, 'Sectarian Violence in Pakistan'
available at, www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/sect-
killing.htm.

5: VIII.III. Terrorism

a) Social Approval of violence

Since Afghan war, though mind-set of global religious struggle was being nurtured, but patronization and lose control of military over religious groups contained the violence to its sectarian manifestation. Musharraf regime's attempts to keep militant phenomenon within internationally acceptable limits, however, created initial fissures between the regime and religious organizations. Events of 9/11and subsequent 'war against terror' compelled the regime to cooperate with USA to dismantle the militant infrastructure in Afghanistan; which altered friendly feelings of religious groups into anti regime sentiments. Probably, military establishment wanted to revert back to pre-Zia period when use of religion was mere symbolic.[61] However, heavy investment over a long period and perceived vulnerability from western border due to probable increased influence of India induced the regime to adopt cautious and selective approach. Thus, government acted against foreign nationals while keeping intact local militant infrastructure.

Meanwhile, regime's intolerance towards leadership of moderate political parties benefitted religious parties to achieve electoral victory. Though regime intended to steer a new public discourse—enlightenment moderation. However reinvigorated religious discourse after 'war against terror', regime's domestic policy

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[61] Cohen assessed that Pakistan army's officers of Musharraf generation oppose the Islamization of army. See Stephen P. Cohen, *Idea of Pakistan*, Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004 p.194.

of marginalization of moderate forces and lack of commitment to institutionalize it made it a shallow attempt.

In Afghanistan, International Coalition forces by relying on coercive approach neither could win minds and hearts of Afghan people nor could eliminate Taliban and Al Qaida leadership. Similarly, Karazai government too failed to consolidate through institution building. Thus stiff resistance to American and their allied forces by militants in Iraq through suicidal and other guerilla attacks inspired the Afghan resistance forces. As a result, renewed fighting started in Afghanistan.

Parallel to these developments were the growing influence of India in Afghanistan. Thus chances of USA to relinquish Afghanistan in near future due to increase in number of casualties as previous USA history suggests along with the increasing influence of India prompted military leadership to formulate its strategies by keeping in view possible post-US scenario in Afghanistan. Hence for Pakistan preservation of religious militant groups as a counter force against Indian influence in Afghanistan became strategic need especially for post-US withdrawal period.

World-wide economic crisis and inconsistent policy of US in Afghanistan were indication, for strategists, of its probable withdrawal. Hence for strategists, who were thinking in terms of future possibilities, it became imperative to place the country at better bargaining position with regards to post-withdrawal share of influence in Afghanistan and regional responsibilities. So, use of militant asset as bargaining strategy according to the changing situation was an available option.

As militant groups were not a single well organized body rather they were autonomous and large in number. Hence strategic use of militant groups as bargain was an open option available to every actor involved in the region. As a result, both the allies in 'war against terror', USA and Pakistan remained suspicious to each other. However, strategic use of militants by Pakistan, USA, international jihadis and even other regional actors made Pakistan a battleground of bloodiest warfare.

Pakistan became number one victim of suicidal bombings, particularly against security forces, after Lal msjid incident in which government responded heavy handedly to religious clerics of Lal mosque and their followers who were practically trying to implement 'Sharia' in Islamabad. Lal masjid incident caused anger and revenge feelings and thus affected the old partnership. The bloodiest incident turned many militant groups against the regime who were either pro regime, neutral or inactive previously.

Table 3: Annual Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan, 2003-2010

·Year	Civilians	SF personnel	Terrorists/ insurgents	Total
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1,471
2007	1,523	597	1,479	3,599
·2008	2,155	654	3,906	6,715
2009	2,307	1,011	8,267	11,585
2010	119	14	126	259
	7717	2890	14722	25329

Source: http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1299569657_66503137.pdf

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Militant groups became more active, every act of defiance by militant
organization increased the morale of sympathizers/religious revolutionaries, low-level
violence turned into bloody fighting and suicidal attacks. Declining support of the
regime and ambivalence about militants complicated the situation. Hybrid regime's
lack of clarity about appropriate response at appropriate time, due to mixed
approaches---discretionary as well as rational---not only cause ambivalence but also
let the problem grow and perpetrators to become hero.

CHAPTER 6

CENTRALISED GOVERNANC AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic state with diversity of languages and cultures. Major linguistic groups with the claims of distinct ethnic identities are Punjabis, Sindhis, Pushtoons, Balochis and Seraikis. In addition to theses local (sons of the soil) ethnic groups, Mohajirs who are basically immigrants mainly from North-India, Hyderabad Dakkan and Gujrat also demand recognition as a distict ethnic group.

6: I. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Transitional structure, Nation-State Discourse

Previously, in academic and non-academic literature, a group based on common ancestry—race, or common language---has been considered as ethnic group. Horowitz, however defined ethnic group in broadened but more clarified way as a group based on ascriptive identities---tribe, cast, race, religion or language. Though according to this definition religious/sectariah groups fall in ethnic category however in case of Pakistan—and may be in other cases as well—since it is related with contending stances about state ideology hence religious and sectarian violence is dealt

in chapter dealing with state's ideological issues. Thus, ethnic group is different from class which is based on economic status. However in some socio-political relations economic status of ascriptive groups is their predetermine destiny which they enjoy or suffer whole life even generations after generations. For instance Apartheid in South Africa, Cast system in India, such socio-political systems are termed as *ranked* ethnic system.[1]

The initial perspective about ethnic assertiveness was essentiolism that is also termed as primordialism. Essentialism is based on the distinction of human groups on the basis of inherent biological/genetic properties which can generate historical animosities. Inherited characteristics make groups intrinsically different from each other. The essentialists contend that intrinsic differences caused intergroup prejudices and thus primordial/historical animosities keep on recurring time and again. Geertz was among the earliest proponents who introduced the primordialist perspective.[2] However, Conner instituted it on firm philosophical footings as he argued that "man is a national not rational animal" and appeal of common ancestry is more powerful.[3] However, essentialism fails to explain why some ethnically diverse societies are peaceful and others are not.

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[1] Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, pp, 21-24, 41-54.

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

[3] Walker Conner, *Ethnonationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 199-201.

Instrumentalism attempts to give rational explanation in this regard as it contends that elite, for political/economic interests, manufacture and manipulate ethnic identities. However instrumentalists fail to answer, why elite do not use instrumentally other identities, for example class or occupational identities. According to Schelling, members of same ethnic group have convergence of mind with regards to expectations which he named focal point. Hence, due to focal point, it becomes easy for instrumentalist elite to mobilize ethnic group.[4]

Constructivists and Postmodernists however argue that modernity has transformed the nature of human interaction from personal face to face contact at local level to impersonal contacts at large level which have resulted in extra-local consciousness of common ethnicity among masses of same language and culture. Thus, ethnicity as popular manifestation at large scale is the modern phenomenon. Printing press and capitalism are considered as modern ways that facilitated the individuals to imagine their communities at large and extra-local level.[5]

Postmodernists contend that knowledge formation, particularly about social phenomena, affects power relations. Therefore, knowledge elite construct the narrative about social realities that either matches with the pre-existing understanding of power elite or helps them to stay in power. So, power elites promote such narrative

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[4] Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 54.

[5] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983. P. 37-46.

through institutions while alternative narratives are de-emphasized or suppressed.[6] The whole debate of constructivists and post-modernists revolves either around modernity or power-relations for which modern nation-state is the referent point.

In this study, however, it is argued that discourse of nation-state influenced ethnic relations, more than structure of modern state. Discourse about new social order—nation-state, during colonial period especially at the time of anti-colonial nationalist struggle, created social consciousness about basic rights of being treated equal—empowerment and self-rule—and political rights of provision of life necessities—public interest—by the state. However, incomplete structural reforms by colonialists and limited scope of nationalist movements could not affect old social structure to such an extent that new rational democratic structure got consolidated. Hence neither did develop democratic culture of accommodation and recognition nor did overarching common cultural framework.

Governing elite itself is the product of transitional structure, therefore, it contains the feature of authoritarianism as well as features of democratic-liberal personality. Hence due to authoritarian-democratic paradox, governing elite neither accommodates completely, nor consistently coerces. While, ethnic consciousness, because of nation-state discourse in the environment of limited coercion, becomes transformed into political movement—ethnic nationalism.

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[6] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 1969, trans., A. M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Roultedge, 2002.

6: II. UNEQUAL SHARE OF POWER: COMPETING APPROACHES

In the new state when overarching national identity was yet to be developed and elite was still to learn the peaceful norms of common interaction and conflict resolution, the uneven economic development and unequal share of power was bound to create ethnic hatred and rift between central elite and regional elite.

In new state, Punjabis and Mohajirs, with higher literacy rates, were over-represented in civil-bureaucracy and military. In ruling party PML too the situation was not much different. The ascendency of bureaucracy in power-structure entrenched the dominance of Mohajirs and Punjabis. In order to maintain their dominance, Mohajirs' emphasized 'Muslim nationalism' which meant their own language and culture. Mohajir intelligentsia after partition presented themselves as preservers of 'Muslim culture' and steered public discourse according to their values. Punjabis, as another dominant group with language that is close to Urdu with slight variations, also supported the 'Muslim nationalism' as opposed to resurgent but marginalized ethnic groups. Under the patronization of ruling elite, trading families of Mohajir community became new industrialist class, enjoying the monopoly over other less-developed groups.

The ethnic groups from less-developed areas were poorly placed in power-structure. However elite in those areas had experienced a taste of autonomy, while populace, in general, due to increased ethnic consciousness were not willing to accept the dominance of other ethnic groups.

Better prospects of jobs and business in Pakistan's rapidly developing urban centers, particularly Karachi, as compared to Afghanistan's stagnant economy channeled Pashtun's mobility towards Pakistan. They also became well represented in power structure and integrated with Pakistan, at least, economically. Thus, initially Punjabi-Mohajir became the dominant group. Later on Pashtun's influence increased while Mohajir's share of power declined, but Punjabis maintained their disproportionate share in power throughout the history.

6: III. PASHTOONISTAN: DYNAMISM AND RELIGION

6: III.I. Separation to Partner of Power Elite

For British raj, maintenance of direct control over Pashtuns had always been a daunting task due the history of Pashtun resistance against invaders. During first half of the twentieth century the instinct of resistance took ethno-nationalist shape due to nationalist movements in India and nation-building project in Afghanistan. However in contrast to Sind and Baluchistan where tribal/feudal elite was articulating ethnic autonomy for post- colonial arrangements, in KPK minor Khan was leading the anti-colonial movement as big Khans were being patronized and co-opted by colonial masters.

Ghaffar Khan's social movement, *Khudai Khidmatgar*, developed organizational structure and support base. Hence this socio-cultural movement when participated in electoral politics as provincial unit of Congress party, won consecutive provincial elections i.e. provincial election held in 1937 and 1946. However, religious

propaganda in the context of pervasive communal violence, deteriorated its credentials in referendum.

After independence, authoritarian elite adopted repressive measures to demobilize the movement. Ghaffar Khan formed new party named People's Party and in 1958 continued its struggle from the platform of NAP, an alliance of left-leaning regionalist parties. Under state repression, organizational structure and propagation of ambivalent political stance could not sustain vigor. Thus counter propaganda through religious and centrist rhetoric was attracting people.

In KPK along with Pashtuns are inhabited pockets of small ethnic groups like, Chitrali, Kohistani, Goujar etc. while Hindko speakers have their distinct region Hazara. Similarly, cities like Peshawar and Kohat have substantial numbers of Hindko speakers, while Dera Ismail Khan city as well as region is populated by Seraiki speakers. Hence small ethnic groups facing identity crisis were pro-center.

Repeated but prolong periods of arrest and confinement of nationalist leader, Bacha Khan, and coercive measure against its workers hampered the organizational structure of the movement. Ethnic movement itself was missing important components. Though emphasis on distinct culture was there but rationalization of economic grievances was missing. Most important demand had been the change of name of province from NWFP to Paktunkhaw. As much as economic grievances are concerned the nationalist leadership preemptively agitating against the construction of

proposed Kala Bagh Dam which could presumably affect negatively parts of KPK. Furthermore, settlers from dominant groups were non-existent.

The transfer of capital from Karachi to Islamabad and economic opportunities as compared to land-locked Afghanistan facilitated the Pashtun dynamism. As a result, not only they excelled in education, but also became integrated in national economy. Thus they became part of power-structure.[7]

Therefore, failure of the leadership to rationalize economically in the absence of settlers and greater prospects for Pashtuns in the country facilitated the centre's encouraged religious discourse that countered and affected ethnic discourse, successfully. Hence, religious parties became more powerful than nationalist party.

6: IV.   EAST BENGAL: STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY TO SEPARATION

Colonial rule was rationalized by racial and intellectual superiority of colonialists. Hence differential treatment by colonial masters was normal. However, decolonization process and emerging post-colonial state brought about attitudinal changes among people about legitimate rule...replacing superiority with equality; disempowerment with empowerment; alien rule with self-rule. Hence discrimination of any sort would be deviation, rather than routine, that must be resisted.

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[7] Adeel Khan argued that greater share of power to Pushtoons integrated them, however, share of power is a sign (dependent variable) of integration not the cause of integration.

"The Punjabis, the Pathans and the Sindis of the West are of Aryan stock, and tend to look down on Mongoloid races of East Pakistan. The later resent this attitude of superiority and the remote control of Karachi".[8]

Hence authoritarian control of Punjabis and Mohajirs was bound to generate feelings of being alienated and colonized among other ethnic groups thus resulting further sharpening of already existing ethnic orientations. So, in contrast to authoritarian power structure of arbitrary powers, demands for decentralization, autonomy and even separation was on rise.

These feelings of alienation were more visible in East Pakistan. East and West Pakistan, separated by thousand miles of Indian land, were culturally distinct regions, except one commonality of religion, Islam. A member of parliament from East Pakistan highlighted the differences between two regions as:

These two wings differ in all matters, except two things, namely, that they have a common religion, barring a section of the people in East Pakistan, and that we achieved our independence by a common struggle. These are the two points which are common to both the wings of Pakistan. With the exception of these two things, all

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[8] F. M. Innes, "The Political Outlook in Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December 1953, pp. 303-17.

other factors, viz., the language, the tradition, the culture, the costume, the custom, the dietary, the calendar, the standard time, practically every thing, is different.[9]

East Pakistan, though comprised of majority population, was poorly placed in power structure. According to G.W. Chaudhury "the ruling elite was composed of senior bureaucrats, none of whom was an East Bengali".[10] He further elaborated the situation:

Table 4: Military- Bureaucratic Elite in Pakistan 1955-56

Service	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Rank	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Army	14	894	Secretary	-	19
Navy	7	593	Joint Secretary	3	38
Air Force	60	640	Deputy Secretary	10	123
			Under Secretary	38	510

Source: M. Nazrul Islam, Pakistan: A Study in National Integration, pp. 139-141

Every vital decision, whether it related to political or defense or economic or diplomatic matters, was in the final analysis made by the ruling elite, composed of West Pakistani civil and military officers... Even in their own province, all the key

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[9] *The Second Constituent Assembly of Pakistan*, Debates, Official Report, Vol. 1, Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, January 16, 1956, 816 (speech by Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmad) cited in M. Nazrul Islam, p.16

[10] G W Choudhury, *The Lost Days of United Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993, p.6.

posts were held by West Pakistanis who had direct access to the central ruling clique.... There were few social contacts; the West Pakistani officials considered themselves socially superior to the Bengali Muslims, who were regarded as converts from lower cast Hindus.[11]

Centre of power, capital and army headquarters (GHQ), were located in West Pakistan.

During twenty five years, 1947-1971, only one East Pakistani could enter the higher echelons of military elite i.e. to the rank of Lt. General.[12] Only one East Bengali joined the group of 133Muslim officers who opted for Pakistan in 1947. Though Government of Pakistan introduced quota system, however, share of East Pakistani in civil services remained below 1/4th of total jobs till 1971.[13] East Pakistani officers could not get appointed to key positions in ministries concerned with Economic policy making till 1969.[14] Hence bureaucratic control by people from totally different culture also infused with sense of superiority reflected in their actions and conversations would be equivalent to alien rule creating colonial feelings among East Pakistanis. Even this sense of superiority is reflected in the writings of President Gen. Ayub Khan:

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[11] G W Choudhury, *Op.cit.*, p.6.

[12] Khawaja Alqama, *Bengali Elite's Perception of Pakistan, Road To Disillusionment: Uneven Development or Ethnicity*, Royal Book Company, 1997, p.192.

[13] M. Nazrul Islam, *Pakistan: A Study in National Integration*, p.141

[14] KBS, Politics in Pakistan The Nature and Direction of Change, p. 70-71

It would be no exaggeration to say that up o the creation of Pakistan, they had not known any real freedom or sovereignty. They have been in turn ruled either by the caste Hindus, Moghuls, Pathans, or the British. In addition, they have been and still are under considerable Hindu cultural and linguistic influence. As such they have all the inhibitions of down-trodden races and have not yet found it possible to adjust psychologically to the requirements of the new-born freedom. Their popular complexes, exclusiveness, suspicion and a sort of defensive aggressiveness probably emerge from this historical background.[15]

Sense of belongingness with new nation-state develops through culture. Therefore, ideology of state and language policy that shapes cultural values and norms becomes concern for every ethno-linguistic group in heterogeneous society. In addition to this, national language as medium of education and official correspondence affects the prospects of jobs and other economic benefits of different linguistic groups depending upon their prior proficiency in language. Hence unilateral declaration by Jinnah that Urdu shall be the only official language of Pakistan created resentment resulting language agitation in East Pakistan.

Intellectuals and students propagated their views for the recognition of Bengali language along with Urdu through pamphlets and leaflets. Government's heavy handed·response to this agitation caused further alienation among East Pakistanis. Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimudin's reiteration of this unilateral language policy at

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[15] Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 187.

public meeting in the province provoked the frustrated people who were already suffering food shortage due to famine. That resulted in increase mobilization, which political forces demonstrated through strikes and agitations. Use of force by government against strikes and demonstrations resulted several deaths leaving behind feelings of hatred and enmity against ruling ethnic groups particularly, and generally against West Pakistan.

These feelings helped generating separate nationalism based on Bengali language instead common religion, Islam, as explained Jahan, "The language movement created myths, symbols and slogans that consolidated the vernacular elite. It gave them not only a popular common cause but also their firs martyrs. A whole new literary and cultural tradition grew out of the events of February."[16]

Though East Bengal was poorly placed in power structure, however, parliament as a forum, where East Pakistani politicians could vent to their grievances and even mediate with the power centre, was giving, at least, an impression of empowerment and hope to materialize it. Hence parallel to language movement was the struggle for autonomy and representation in the parliament on the basis of population as East Pakistan was fifty four percent of total population in the country. In 1955, an agreement was signed between East Pakistani and West Pakistani parliamentarians that ensured regional autonomy however East Pakistan had to compromise its majority for the principle of parity with West Pakistan in the parliament.

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

Ruling elite from the West took advantage of the division in East Pakistani parliamentarians and got approved first constitution of the country from the Parliament in 1956. In the constitution, though parity principle was maintained, but demand for regional autonomy was ignored in the favor of strong centre. However, Bengali language was recognized with Urdu as official languages and both would replace English after twenty years. Thus, Urdu and Bengali both became recognized as state languages of Pakistan.[17] Constitutional formula, though, could not satisfy the demands of East Pakistanis, however, it kept alive the hope among them that political/parliamentary process could rectify the grievances.

Disruption of political process in 1958, through the imposition of martial law, led to the exclusive rule of civil-military bureaucrats. Since Bengalis were non-existent in top civil-military bureaucracy hence that action was denial of whatsoever share they had in power structure through the Parliament. In the absence of intermediary politicians from East Pakistan, hope for rectification of grievances as well as memories of common struggle were fading away.

At the same time, feelings of disempowerment prompted intellectuals to philosophize separate identity, scholars to rationalize the struggle for new identity, while, poets to emotionalize the attachment with new identity. The literature created by intellectuals, scholars and poets was sufficient to mobilize political activists,

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[17] Ahmad Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan, A Political Study*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications,1995., p. 101.

particularly youth.[18] Governing elite, being oriented with modern democratic nation-state discourse, neither had the capacity nor the will to suppress the alternative discourse.

.Table 5: Differences in Spending Between East and West Pakistan

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in Crore Rupees)	Spending on East Pakistan (in Crore Rupees)	Amount Spent on East as Percentage of West
1950–55	1,129	524	46.4
1955–60	1,655	524	31.7
1960–65	3,355	1,404	41.8
1965–70	5,195	2,141	41.2
Total	11,334	4,593	40.5

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the fourth five-year plan 1970-75, Vol. I, published by the Planning Commission of Pakistan.

East Pakistani parliamentarians continued their complaints of being treated unfavorably in jobs, particularly in military recruitment, and allocation of funds to their province.[19] At the time of independence, both wings were at par in terms of level of industrialization as both had little manufacturing industry, but in 1958, seventy percent industry of Pakistan was located in western wing. Major portion of development funds, 70 percent, and budget, 80 percent, were being spent in West

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[18] The study is an attempt to understand the processes of meaning construction by groups/actors through their perceptions. Therefore, perceived economic exploitation or cultural marginalization have been discussed from the view points of ethnic groups concerned.

[19] see National Assembly Debates, 1962-65.

Pakistan.[20] East Pakistan contributed 65-70 percent foreign exchange earnings but received 30 percent.[21]

Political economists from East Pakistan estimated that within two decade resources worth one billion dollar had been transferred from East Pakistan to West Pakistan which was termed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, as "an intolerable structure of injustice".[22]

Table 6: Social Development in East Pakistan 1947-1966

Increase in Urban Population	Increase in No. of Industrial Workers	Increase in No. of College/University Students	Increase in No. of Professionals: Doctors, Lawyers, Teachers, etc.
102 %	Doubled	Five-fold	Significantly

Source: Compiled from data mentioned in Talukder Maniruzzaman, *Group Interest And Political Changes.*

Government's modernization efforts....improvement in infrastructure, increase in literacy rates, urbanization, communication facilities, print media...facilitated political mobilizers to propagate their messages. Thus grievances and resulting

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[20] Rahiduzzaman, "The Awami League in the Political Development of Pakistan", Asian Survey, 1970.

[21] Gourgey, "Bangla Desh's Leader: Shiekh Mujib," 23 *Venture*, London, No. 7, p. 13. Cited in Ved P. Nanda, "Self-determination in international Law the Tragic Tale of two Cities-Islamabad (West Pakistan) and Dacca (East Pakistan)", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 66, No. 2, Apr., 1972, pp. 321-336.

[22] Quoted in Ved P. Nanda, "Self-determination in international Law the Tragic Tale of two Cities-Islamabad (West Pakistan) and Dacca (East Pakistan)", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 66, No. 2, Apr., 1972, pp. 321-336.

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language identity became wide spread. In 1966 East Pakistan Provincial Secretariat became dominant by local Bengali employees.[23]

Table 7: Improvement in Physical Infrastructure in East Pakistan

	1947-48	1966-67
Road (High Type)	240 miles	2438 miles
No. of Motor Vehicles Registered	3528	56285
No. of Airports	1	Half a Doesen
Manufacturing Factories	Few	65 Jute Mills, several paper mills, cigarette and match factories, pharmaceutical factories, Chemical and Fertilizer factories

Source: Compiled from data mentioned by Talukder Maniruzzaman, *Group Interest And Political Changes.*

Ayub Khan's victory in 1965 presidential election, despite the opposition from all major political parties in East Pakistan, confirmed the propagated powerlessness of Bengalis. However, unity with West Pakistan, for some Bengalis, might be inevitable due to their reliance on it for security against common threat. Hence unwilling toleration of their authoritarianism may be the case. However, 1965 war was the final blow to the rationalization of united country against common threat to survival from

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[23] Talukder Maniruzzaman, *Op. Cit*, P.14.

common enemy, India. As East Pakistan became totally cut-off from West Pakistan upon which she was relying on for its security.[24]

Disillusionment with the idea of common defense made resistance more stiff and attitude more stubborn. Hence that was the time for autonomist political parties and political leaders to take decisive step. Sheikh Mujiburrahman, leader of Awami League, presented his six points in this regard. Which envisaged Pakistan, a state consists of two regions with complete autonomy while centre possessing only two subjects, defense and foreign affairs. Governing elite operating in centralized authoritarian power structure could not tolerate the act of open defiance. However, autocratic military regime, seeking democratic legitimacy, had no clarity about the appropriateness of the use of either effective coercion, at the right time, or accommodation.

Limited coercion and freedom to criticize the regime provided the space to dissidents, like Sheikh Mujib, to build political career by articulating the ethnic grievances and mass mobilization. However, when military government realized the gravity of the challenge posed by Sheikh Mujib through his six point formula, it decided to detain him under defense rules. But the way government handled the matter indicate the bewilderment of the regime. Sheikh Mujib was implicated in a conspiracy case when he was in jail. Furthermore, Ayub government's decision to hold an open trial gave Mujib full publicity among aggrieved Bengalis and thus made him 'overnight hero. Finally, Ayub regime in dire need of democratic legitimacy, due

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[24] G. W. Choudhury, Op.cit. p. 8.

to mass agitations in both wings, could not detain him and had to release Mujib on political grounds; all that vindicated his six points.[25]

Gen. Yahya who had replaced Gen. Ayub in midst of political crisis decided to channelize the political mobilization through accommodation and democratic process. However, prolonged military rule and interventions in political processes by military-bureaucratic institutions had hampered the evolution of democratic culture and thus the development of national political parties having mass support and representation in both the wings. Therefore, 1970, first ever, general elections clearly demonstrated the political division between Eastern and Western wings; and undemocratic culture of non-accommodation. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League almost clean swept in eastern part and emerged as single majority party but without representation from western wing. PPP was a majority party in Western wing but could not win a single seat from eastern wing. Miltary regime could have transferred the power to majority party but exploited the political division and undemocratic culture in order to bargain for preferential arrangements in the future Pakistan. That resulted into political stalemate and military's ultimate decision to launch an army operation in East Pakistan. Pakistan army even at the time of high morale and public support in main-stream areas could not fight, simultaneously, at two fronts ---a civil war in East Pakistan and conventional war with arch rival India. Therefore, governing elite's decision to launch an army operation without public support, especially in East Pakistan, when state institutions too, including military, had morally degraded proved final blow to the unity of Pakistan.

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[25] For details about Agartala Conspiracy Case see *ibid.*, pp. 22-27

6: V. BALOCHISTAN: ELITE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

6: V.I, State Repression, Ethnic Consciousness and Episodes of Resurgence

Area wise the largest province, 42.9 percent of total area, while population wise the smallest province Balochstan—just five percent of pakiatan's total population—is sparsely inhabited by heterogeneous population.[26] Baloch, Pushtun and Brahuis are three major linguistic groups. Baloch and Brahuis share many commonalities of culture, tribal organization, and historical memories hence they claim themselves as one ethnic group, Baloch. Another distinct ethnic group, Pushtun that forms 25% of the province's total population, occupy 20% of province's area in north Baluchistan. While rest of the 80% area, though predominantly Baloch(both Baloch & Brahui) area, is further divided among different socio-cultural groups.[27]

British governance style varied in different parts of Baluchistan according to their needs and convenience.[28] That variation in administration affected the level of development. Settled areas... that were also Pushtun majority areas... were being administered directly through modern institutions hence these areas became more developed; tribal areas...Baloch majority area...by Baloch Sardars; while Baluchistan states...Brahui majority area...were being governed through heads of princely states.

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[26] Balochistan's total area is 222,000 square kilometers while population, according to 1998 census, is 6.5 million.

[27] Tahir Muhammad Khan Identifies six cultural units see Tahir Muhammad Khan, *Siyaasat-e-Balochistan*, PP. 254-55.

[28] See Selig S. Harrison, *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations*, New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981, p. 19.

Tribal area and Baluchistan states due to primitive form of governance could not develop like settled areas.

Elite from those less developed areas had been enjoying internal autonomy at the expense of powerless masses.[29] Younger generation of elite was being educated and trained in elite schools by Britishers. Through education and greater exposure of main stream independence movements, they were not only being exposed to Western ideals of democracy and self-rule but socialist and anti-imperialist ideologies as well.[30] As anti-imperialist socialist ideology accepts and emphasize on right of self-determination for every nationality group. Hence at the time of independence it was more fascinating for internally autonomous educated elite due to brighter prospects of converting limited autonomy into complete autonomy. Moreover, privileged elite, proud of hereditary superiority, was not willing to accept the dominance of 'malleable' and hence 'inferior' majority and developed ethnic groups, though, they had rationalized the supervisory role of colonialists due to their superiority in technology, knowledge, and organization. For anti-imperialist elite Pakistan movement was an imperialist design that might erode their autonomy.

Anti-imperialist elite faced the dilemma between socialist ideology and their local culture. On the one hand they were being attracted by socialism due to focus on

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[29] Ibad Khan discribed the variation of Sardar's influence and level of mass consciousness in different cultural regions while discussing political culture of Baloch areas see Rahmat Ibad Khan, *Impact Of Political Culture On Political Development Of Balochistan*, University of Karachi, PhD Thesis, 1996, pp. 265-66.

[30] Kalat State National Party (KSNP) was formed by Baloch Elite in February 5, 1937 while Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai, a Pashtoon, formed a party "War War Pashtoon" in 1951.

equality and right of self-determination, while, on the other they were equally fascinated by local cultural elements as symbols of their privileged position and reminiscent of glorious past. That resulted in their vague political stances:.. superfluous ideological rhetoric mixed with cultural elements.[31]

With the slight increase in education facilities, urbanization and economic development, few members of masses from tribal society were also became more conscious of their rights. Hence nascent movement against oppressive tribal system was also on the surface. However, more powerful, educated and politically conscious elite was in control to steer political debate in the province.

The tussle between autonomy and centralization first started in Kalat state when it unilaterally declared independence at the time of creation of Pakistan. But, central government forced khan of Kalat, by the deployment of army there, to accept accession. Thus Pakistan took control of Baluchistan and Governor General decided to govern it directly with the help of an advisory council. However, status of Kalat state remained pending, though, for the time being it was semi autonomous.

Kalat state, though a Brohi dynasty, had been enjoying allegiance of Baloch tribes, therefore, was a symbol and historical proof of Baloch identity. The forced

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[31] Reflection of cultural romanticism along with emphasis on socialist ideology see interviews of Khair Bakhs Mari

accession resulted in a revolt led by the khan's brother, Abdul Karim khan.[32] He was arrested in 1950 and sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

Imposed arrangement in Balochistan and pending status of Kalat state could not be satisfactory for regional autonomists and particularly for Khan of Kalat. So, relation between center and state remained under duress. However serious blow for aspirant autonomists and Khan of Kalat was the One Unit scheme in 1955…through which all the western provinces and princely states were merged into a single province, West Pakistan, thus further strengthened Punjabi-mohajir bureaucratic control.

Meanwhile, after his release, Adul Karim Khan had established a political party, Astman Gal, in Baluchistan. Astman Gal and prominent Baloch Sardars joined the newly formed Pakistan National Party (PNP). In the following year PNP became part of National Awami Party (NAP) that was, in fact, an alliance of all Pakistan left-wing parties intended to restructure state.[33] Hence its one of the political plank was to dissolve One Unit scheme. While at the same time Khan of Kalat was still struggling to restore the autonomous status of the state.

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[32] Taj Mohammad Breseeg, *Baloch Nationalism: Its Origin and Development*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2004, pp.238-40.

[33] Rafique Afzal, Political *Parties in Pakistan1947-1958*, Islamabad: Commission On Historical and Cultural Research, 1976, pp. 216-19. Also in Mir Ahmad Yar Khan Baloch, *Inside Balochistan*, pp. 76-77.

Uneasy relations turned into further bitterness and resentment when central government, once again, deployed army in Kalat and arrested the Khan under the allegation of planning a revolt against Pakistan. This time chief of Zehri tribe Nauroz Khan led the revolt, however, he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, while his sons were hanged till death under the treason charges.

Exploration of mineral resources, particularly natural gas, during 1950s in Baluch tribal belt made the belt vital and thus Baloch Sardars instrumental in determining centre-periphery relations. Hence use of force by Punjabi army combined with Punjabi-Mohajir bureaucratic control in Baloch area, when expectations for self-rule were high and Baloch sardars had become instrumenal, generated resentment and hatred among Baluchis.

NAP had already provided the platform to Baloch elite to articulate the resentment into ethnic conscious and spread it to tribal belt. Thus NAP facilitated the shift of centre of resistance from Brohi area to Baloch tribal belt during Ayub period.

Ayub's developmental state, being a more penetrative, increased the number and influence of non Balochis...Punjabis...on Balochi land. Parallel to the penetration of non-Balochis was the attempt to lower down the status of *sardars* (tribal chiefs). Hence intervention by other ethnic group resulted a guerilla...locally termed as parraris... struggle in Marri-Bugti area.

For authoritarian elite, ethnic problem was the result of socio-economic backwardness. So, the pace of socio-economic development increased, though, it was

not at par with the developed areas due to capitalist approach of ruling elite. Increased socio-economic development produced small educated class.

Since, theoretically, state was democratic and liberal hence development of political consciousness through political movement and organization could not be barred. Hence during 1960s Baloch literary society was established that later on, in 1967, transformed into Baloch Student Organization (BSO). The nascent politically well-aware class might have directed its struggle against oppressive *sardari* system, however, the presence of settlers with different culture as 'arrogant' state functionaries prompted them to understand political issues through cultural lens. Thus, ethnic consciousness and desire for autonomy also penetrated among politically aware emerging middle class. While economic rationale in the form of resource exploitation and job opportunities availed by non Balohistanis was already there.

In addition to spread of ethnic consciousness, release of *sardars* by Yahya khan, who had been detained during Ayub period, not only vindicated the political stance of regional autonomy but also elevated the stature of NAP *sardars*. Hence in 1970 election *sardars* and other NAP nominees won eight out of twenty provincial seats.

After the separation of East Pakistan, military transferred power to democratic forces and thus NAP *sardars* got the opportunity to form government in Baluchistan. Since they had traded on the deep-rooted feelings of Baluchis of being ruled by Punjabis, hence, first task of NAP provincial government was to replace Punjabi state functionaries by local Balochistani people. As a result, several thousand Punjabi

employees were sent back to centre. While, Bloch youth's sudden feelings of empowerment and hence boosted ethnic emotionalism was demonstrated through irrational actions of torture and kidnap against the settlers.

However, conflict between centre and the province started when provincial government pursued its second objective... extension of the writ of government for economic development. Though, Baloch elite had consensus over common cause of regional autonomy, however, lacked common framework of rational interaction due to the persistence of tribal factionalism. Hence on the one hand approach of the government was tribal in nature and on the other hand, extension of the writ was perceived by the 'rival' tribes as the effort of the ruling tribes to dominate them. Hence resulted disturbances in some parts.

Centre manipulated these internal contradiction and disturbances for establishing its own hold. NAP government was dissolved on the charges of launching secessionist insurgency against Pakistan. The dissolution of NAP government resulted in tribal resistance in Marri and Mengal areas. The indiscriminate use of force by army, that was desperate for the redemption of its prestige, converted the tribal resistance into Baloch national struggle. According to Harrison 11,500 regular Baloch combatants supported by loosely affiliate 44,000 fighters resisted against strong 80,000 Pakistan Army.[34] PPP government detained the Baloch leaders and tried to pacify the resentment through developmental projects,

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[34] Harrison, *Op. cit*, p.36.

however, guerrilla struggle continued till the termination of Bhutto government by Chief of Army Staff Zia ul Haq.[35]

Though military could not crush the resistance completely, however, it was successful to make resistance leadership realize that army with superior fire power was invincible for the time being. Zia released the Baloch sardars to end the resistance movement. He avoided provoking the Balochis as he instructed the military to maintain low profile.

Meanwhile Afghanistan, which was instrumental in the guerrilla struggle by providing sanctuaries and training camps, became itself battlefield of superpower rivalry.[36] While Zia maintaining control over political activity was promoting jihadi culture. Thus ethnic propaganda could not find place in local discourse.

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[35] 5300 Baloch fighters and 3300 Pakistan Army soldiers lost their lives during four year long bloody conflict. See Selig S. Harrison, "Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan: The Baluch Case", in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith (eds), *Ethnicity*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 298.

[36] Though, main focus here is to study commonalities and variations of responses by ethnic groups which are poorly placed in power-structure against authoritarian way of governance by dominant ethnic group(s) as state elite. However, Pak-Afghan border conflict along Pashtoon and Baloch areas is also important dimension of the ethnic conflicts in Balochistan and KPK. History of conflict goes back to colonial period when British India and Afghanistan signed border agreements. Afghans claim that border agreements were temporary arrangement which they agreed under duress. See Khurshid Hasan, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations", *Asian Survey*, 11, No. 7, 1962. Few scholars analyze Pushtoon Movement in the context of Pak-Afghan border dispute, for instance, Louis Duprre, *Afghanistan*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978, PP. 426-27, 486. Paul Titus links Baluch ethnic movement also with Pak-Afghan border dispute see, Paul Titus and Nina Swidler, "Knights, Not Pawns: Ethno-Nationalism and Regional Dynamics in Post-Colonial Balochistan", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Feb., 2000, pp. 47-69.

After Zia, during 1990s due to socio-economic changes sardars hold became weak. Moreover, they were unable to form a party like NAP for the articulation of resentment. Lastly, but importantly, the elite enjoyed sense of empowerment through representative government.

Authoritarian elite, having simplistic approach, diagnoses economic backwardness as the real problem faced by Pakistan. Even ethnic problem, for them, is due to the collaboration of external enemy and local subversive elements who trade on the economic grievances of people from backward areas. Baluchistan the richest in terms of natural resources as well as strategically located province became vital for Musharraf's military rule in order to accomplish its economic and strategic agenda. Hence mega projects for economic recovery and strategic purposes started there, however, immediate benefits from these mega projects for Balochs was doubtful. Msharraf regime anticipated that 'obscurantist' and instrumentalist sardars in minerals rich tribal belt might create hurdle against mega projects, hence, started establishing military check-posts and cantonments in these areas as pre-emptive measures.

Though Baloch nationalists in 1992, when they were somehow getting share of power as part of provincial [and federal] governments, appreciated Federal Government's initiative to start Gawadar Project. However, this time out of power, perceived the mega projects as an attempt by Punjabis to rob on them. While Gawdar port, that could change the composition of population due to the settlement of non-Balochis, along with military cantonments were the attempts to suppress and colonize the Balochs permanently. Hence resentment and hatred was widespread in

Baluchistan as reflected by Baloch activist, "this is not a national army but an army of the Punjab".[37]

Though resentment was widespread, however, vanguard of the resistance is the tribal area due to the organized structure of tribes possessing arms. Tribal structure, on the one hand, is crucial in maintaining the grip/hold of sardars over their tribesmen, on the other hand, it makes sardars instrumental in dealing with the centre for the province's interest as well as their own. Thus, tribal structure is the convergence of sardars personal interest as well as Baloch resistance movement. Hence penetration of military was the attack on that convergence of interest that provoked Blochs to launch another armed struggles. Keeping in mind the places of potential resistance in Balochistan to Federal Government's economic projects, Musharaf regime planned to construct three military cantonments i.e. one at Gawadar, a prime concern of Baloch nationalists due to the fear of indianization, another in Sui from where gas is extracted and strong Bugti tribes hold the area, while third one at Kohlu which is the Mari tribal area and the centre of Baloch Natiolist resistance and that also possess, reportedly, oil and gas reserves. Indiscriminate use of force and targeted killing of Baloch leadership have converted the struggle for autonomy into a secessionist violent movement.

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[37] Crisis Group Interview From a Baloch Political Activist, Gawadar, 2005 in *Asia Report*, "Pakistan The Worsening Conflict in Balochistan", No. 119, September 14, 2006.

6: VI. SINDH: INDIANIZATION, OCCASIONALLY PART OF POWER ELITE AND CULTURAL AUTONOMY

Cultural Particularism

Sind—the birth place of one of the earliest human civilizations, Mohenjo daro—has been maintaining, throughout the history, its distinct culture and language. Since 18th century, Sindhi had been recognized as official language of court and medium of instruction. While in rest of India, Persian was the official language. Britishers further regularized and standardized educational curricula in Sindhi language to be adopted in non-elite schools. In 1913 AD, when British raj planned to replace Sindhi with Urdu, local elite disfavored the idea. Hence during last days of British rule, official language of court, local journalism, and lower state functionaries was Sindhi.[38]

Though British raj maintained the status of Sindhi language and culture, however administratively, made Sind part of Bombay Presidency. Administrative control of Sind through Bombay Presidency was not direct rule over populace. Feudal lords were the intermediaries between British raj and common man. These intermediaries were repressive and autonomous in local affairs as many rules passed by the Bombay municipality were not applicable in Sind.[39]

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

[39] Sarah·Ansari, " Partition, Migration and Refugees: Responses To The Arrival Of Muhajirs in Sind During 1947-48" in *Freedom, Trauma, Continuities: Northern India And Independence*, eds., D. A. Low and Howard Brasted, Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998, p. 186.

Urban-rural divide in Sind was also communal division of Sind. Muslim majority was populated in rural areas while literate Hindu minority was settled in cities. With the increase in political consciousness parallel to greater opportunities of political participation in Sind, both, Muslim and Hindu elite demanded the separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency.[40] But, deteriorating Hindu-Muslim relations in all India politics, after Non-cooperation movement, influenced the unity of Sindhi Muslim-Hindu elite. Local Hindus now conscious of communal divide became apprehensive about domination of Muslim majority in separate province, hence, resisted the separation. Resistance from Hindus not only united Sindhi Muslim elite but connected them with all India Muslim politics. However, after separation of Sind in 1936, factionalism and autonomous tendencies became the feature of Sind politics.[41]

Hence AIML could not win single seat in Sind (Sindh Ittehad Party SIP won large number of seats). However, local elite could not remain totally indifferent from all India politics that might affect their autonomy and particularism in post-colonial arrangements. So, AIML's resolution of separate Muslim states was more preferable than Congress's centralized control over provincial governments which they themselves had observed after 1937 elections. Moreover, AIML's nominal support

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[40] Sindhi Hindus played leading roles in Sindh provincial conferences which were held for the separation of Sindh from Bombay. Along with Muslim leaders like Ghulam Mohammed Khan Bhurgri and Haji Abdullah Haroon, among Hindus, notable were: Seth Harchandrai, Dewan Himatsingh Gujasingh, Dewan Bahadur Khemsingh, Dewan Lalchand Navalrai, Dewan Murlidhar Punjabi, Seth Harchandrai Vishindas, Rai Sahib Aasardas and Veromal Begraj Sindh.

[41] Samad Yunus, *Op. Cit.*

was crucial in unstable environment in which elite factions were closely competing with each other for personal interests. Thus AIML was successful in maintaining the impression that Sind was an AIML's province. However, things did no go according to the expectations of Sindhi elite as their cultural particularism and autonomy were at jeopardy after the creation of Pakistan.

Centralized Control of Dominant Groups Reflected as Sense of Superiority

Creation of Pakistan not only did change the ethnic composition of urban Sind by replacing Hindu minority with Muslim refugees, mainly from north India, but also resulted in the centralized power structure. In centralized power structure, disproportionally represented Punjabis and *Mohajirs* left little share of power for other ethnic groups like Sindhis. Thus centre was in position to terminate provincial governments and virtually control the province through Punjabi-Mohajir civil bureaucracy. Sindhi elite experienced the serious blow to their autonomy by central elite when Sind government attempted to resist their move of separating Karachi from Sind. Result of the resistance was the termination of provincial government.

Mohajirs were self-proclaimed preservers of values and language of Muslim nationalism. So, in new Muslim nation-state they were the people of 'high culture'. Thus urban Sind dominated by *Mohajirs* turned into centre of different but distinct culture. Moreover, possessors of 'high culture' were not hesitant in showing the superiority of their culture. This superiority relative to cultures, for Sindhis, meant the inferiority of their local culture. Parallel to the consolidation of authoritarian rule of

civil-military bureaucracy was the cultural marginalization of Sindhi culture. One unit

scheme was the denial of separate identity and culture of Sindhis. Ayub's military rule

further attempted to promote Urdu at the expense of Sindhi language.

Articulation of Resentment

As Sind was a feudal society, therefore, mass party could not develop to

articulate the resentment. Moreover, feudal elite was caught in factional rifts. Thus it

was easy for central elite to co-opt the Sindhi political elite through the policy of

carrot and stick.[42] Hence organized political struggle against authoritarian central elite

was missing in Sind. However, educated middle class and intelligentsia expressed

their resentment through cultural associations and movements. Some of the

intellectuals and socio-political activists—nationalists—also started providing

economic rationale to their grievances. With the rise in middle class and literacy, that

expression of resentment became widespread. .....

Nationalists highlighted the economic grievances like 'land-grab' in newly

irrigated land due to Kotri and Gudu Barrages by Punjabi and Mohajir civil-military

officers. As 142,473 acres out of newly cultivable 598,525 acres irrigated through

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[42] A description of ruling elite's coercion and tactics of using Sindhi elite against each other for maintaining its hold is available in Feroz Ahmed, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 72-74.

Gudu barrage was allotted to non-Sindhis, mainly Punjabis.[43] Syed claimed that 75 percent allottee during 1958-1963 were non-Sindhis.[44]

PPP and its leader Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto—himself a feudal lord from Sind—were the vanguard of socialist waive in the country that was influencing people at the time when liberal USA was on retreat from international politics due to Vietnam war and Ayub's modernization project based on economic growth had failed to trickle down its benefits to masses. PPP articulated class as well as ethnic grievances supported by the language of ethno-nationalist discourse in its electoral program. Thus in Sind, PPP was addressing both widespread ethnic grievances as well as sufferings faced by masses due to exploitative feudal structure. Moreover, powerful feudal lords temporarily lost their psychological pressure on common man due to waive of socialism while low political efficacy among masses due to authoritarian governance and feudal structure affected the credentials of Sindhi nationalists in comparison to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who had been the part of ruling elite. Hence ethnic grievances of Sindhis were articulated by a federalist party, PPP, that resulted in its electoral victory in 1970 elections.[45]

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[43] see Herbert Feldman, *The End and the Beginning: Pakistan 1969-1971*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 57

[44] G. M. Syed Sayed, *The Case of Sindh*, p. 146 in Adeel Khan, "Pakistan's Sindhi Ethnic Nationalism: Migration, Marginalization, and the Threat of "Indianization"",*Asian Survey*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Mar. - Apr., 2002), pp. 213-229

[45] Amin even considers PPP's Sindh branch led by Mumtaz Ali Bhutto as part of Jyeea Sindh Movement see Tahir Amin, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors*, Islamabad: IPS, p. 144. PPP won 18 seats out of Sindh's total 27 seats.

PPP Government attempted to rectify Sindhi grievances. A (language) bill in Sindh Provincial Assembly was introduced according to which Sindhi would be a compulsory subject for all students as well as medium of instruction along with Urdu. Besides, attainment of proficiency in Sindhi language was made mandatory for all employees of the Sindh Provincial Government. However recognition of local culture ran counter to Mohajir's status and culture who perceived it as detrimental for the 'Muslim National culture' for which they had suffered and sacrificed.

As share of rural Sindhis in provincial and federal services was low as compared to Urban Urdu speaking Mohajirs, therefore PPP Provincial Government introduced Rural-Urban quota system in Sindh. Urban Mohajirs considered Language Bill and Quota system, both, as an effort by local Sindhis to marginalize them. Similarly Bhutto's introduction of Lateral Entry System in bureaucracy helped Sindhis to increase their share of power in state-structure.

Execution of Sindhi PM, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, by the Army---dominated by Punjabis---created bitterness among Sindhis. Moreover during early 1980s, Sindhis were completely out of power-structure. Zia ul Haq dismissed many Sindhis officers appointed during Bhutto period through lateral entry system or by simply discretion. With regards to political portfolios there were only two Sindhi Ministers in Federal Cabinet. Moreover, Rakisits in an interview from one of the ministers got the

impression that he was nominal head of his ministry without effective powers.[46] Hence when MRD started a movement against military regime, Sindhi grievances broke the external restraints and turned into a bloody reaction. The intensity of the grievances was evident from the fact that all-powerful land-lord who had been tied with the power centre since colonial period were feeling compelled, out of fear, to support the movement otherwise they could lost their hold over masses in post Zia period.[47]

Pirs, hereditary heads of religious shrines, also supported the uprising. One reason was the public sentiments as mentioned above, however, another factor was that their owns interests were at stake as Military regime was promoting a version of Islam that was detrimental to their spiritual hold.[48] Within six months clashes of Sindhi insurgents with 45,000 army men, deployed there, caused 300 deaths.[49]

Grievances are being propagated as:

- Continuous influx of internal migrants as well as foreign migrants....pashtoons, Punjabis, Biharis, Afghnis, Bengalis..

- Marginalization of culture

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[46] C. G. P. Rakisits, "Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan Under President Zia: The Government's and the Opposition's Approaches", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 61, No. 1, Spring, 1988, pp. 78-97

[47] *Ibd.*

[48] K. B. Sayeed, "Impact of Islam: Democratic and Foreign Policies of Muslim States", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2, April 1985, p. 432.

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

- State oppression during MRD movement ... 1983 and 1986

- Unfair allocation of funds

- Water distribution

- Plans to construct Kalabagh Dam and Thal Canal to deprive Sindhis from their due share of water

- Construction of Military cantonments in Sindhi areas in order to suppress them

- Fake census to show Sindhis as low in number so that their share in National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies and Government jobs be decreased.[50]

In Sindh though resentment was/is widespread however feudal structure hampered the growth of nationalist movement. For Sindhis PPP as federal party that also addressed Sindhi grievances and had more credentials to come into power (due to low political efficacy people vote that party/leader which already had been part of power-structure) has been a more rationalist choice than nationalist parties. Besides Sindhis, at least in interior Sindh, have attained cultural autonomy as Sindhi language is the medium of official and private correspondence.[51] Thus social structure, occasional opportunities to come into power through federal party, and cultural autonomy restrict the nationalist movement to turn into violent struggle or mass mobilization.

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[50] WSC...ISSUES FACING SINDH 2003

[51] According to Rahman the graduates of Sindhi language have greater prospects of job than the graduates in other local languages see Rahman, *Ethnic Studies Report, Op.Cit.*

6: VII. MOHAJIR: IDEOLOGICAL REFUGE TO CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Muslims from minority areas, particularly from North India where they were in privileged position, had always been looking towards Muslim majority areas whenever they faced the challenge to their preeminent position. In order to improve their bargaining position and strengthen them in Hindu majority areas, their intelligentsia had been articulating and presenting a discourse that Muslims of sub-continent are a monolith body of same identity and value system—Ganga-Jamna civilization.[52] Hence for them, their culture and language was the representative of all Muslims of sub-continent. AIML was their project to safeguard their interests through All-India politics. When they migrated to Muslim majority areas, presently Pakistan, they were entitled as Mohajir (emigrants).[53] In new state being well-placed in power-structure—as they were over represented in ruling party ML and civil-bureaucracy—they were able to standardize their language and culture. Thus public discourse in Pakistan has been steered by intellectuals from their own community.[54]

For Mohajirs being the preserver and possessors of Muslim nationalism...language and culture..., assertiveness of local culture was the reflection of narrow thinking of local people who were unable to realize the sacrifices made by

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[52] Besides North India, Hyder Abad Dakkan was also centre of 'Muslim' civilization.

[53] Majority of the Urdu speaking migrants settled in Karachi (then capital of Pakistan) and its adjacent city Hyderabad.

[54] Both, first Governor-General of Pakistan and first Prime Minister of the country belonged to this (Mohajir) community. However, their real strength was their disproportionate share in civil-bureaucracy.

Mohajirs for greater cause. Their privileged position in power structure and business activities helped them to strengthen and maintain their hold in urban Sind and thus promote their culture. In order to counter local assertiveness they opted for centralization and religious ideology. In electoral politics Mohajir community had been supporting religio-political parties like JI and JUP or centre of right ML in competition to centre of left PPP.

Gradual Decline

Ayub Khan's take over and thus dominance of military over civil bureaucracy affected their privileged status in power structure and business community as their share in military establishment was for less than Punjabis and Pashtoons.[55] Capital shift from Karachi to Islamabad further deprived them of influence, that they had wielded in Capital Karachi. However, serious blow to their preeminence was the competitive politics in 1970 that provided opportunity to suppressed locals to rectify the share in power structure through quota system and emphasis on local culture.[56] During Bhutto period, thirteen hundred and three Mohajir officers were either retired, or reduced in ranks or terminated.[57] While thorough lateral entry system, most of the officers inducted in federal services were 'sons of the soil'. As from Punjab number of officers inducted through lateral entry system was 1519, from Sindh 650 mostly

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[55] During Ayub Khan's period new industrial zones was developed in Punjab, Faisal Abad and Lahore.

[56] Out of 19% quota in Federal jobs for Sindh province, 7.6% was reserved for urban Sindh (Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukker where Mohajirs were in majority) while 11.4% from rural Sindh.

[57] Charles H. Kennedy, *Bureaucracy in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 80.

from the rural areas; from KPK 451; while from Balochistan the number of officers was 60.[58]

Table 8: Ethnic Representation in Federal Bureaucracy, 1973-86

Ethnic Group	Number of Bureaucrats per Year					
	1973		1983		1986	
	All	Senior	All	Senior	All	Senior
Punjabi	49.3	53.5	54.9	55.8	55.3	57.7
Pathan	10.5	7	13.4	11.6	12.6	12.1
Sindhi	3.1	2.7	5.4	5.1	7.2	6.7
Mohajir	30.1	33.5	17.4	20.2	18.2	18.3
NA	2.6	1.3	3.6	3.4	1.4	1.5
AJK	1.8	0.5	1.9	0.9	1.7	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Charles H. Kennedy, "Managing Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Pakistan", *Regional Politics and Policy*, Spring 1993, no. 1, 138

In contrast to less-powerful local identity groups, struggling for rectification of deep grievances, which started their assertiveness from cultural manifestations,

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[58] Asaf Hussain, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan*, Folkestone: Dawson, 1979, p. 149.

Mohajirs as privileged group facing the ominous prospects of loss of their privileged status started their assertiveness by articulating perceived economic/jobs grievances though later incorporated cultural elements as well.

Influx of Internal Migrants and Hobbesian State of Nature

Wave of internal migrants from Punjab and KPK and even Afghan refugees to Karachi generated fear of loss of dominance and even preservation of 'high culture'. Now access to state institutions for community advantage was not limited only to Mohajirs.[59] Punjabis and Pashtoons were equally influential in manipulating the situation of non-regularization and state patronage for personal benefits. Cultural, political and economic penetration of internal migrants was a nightmare for Mohajirs' self-imagined Muslim nationalism that was, in fact, the rationale for their high culture, and politico-economic status.

Table 9: Intecensal Increase in Karachi's Population (1951-1981)

Year	Total Population	Intercensal Increase	Average annual growth
1951	1,137,667		
1961	2,044,044	79.7%	6.05%
1972	3,606,746	76.5%	5%
1981	5,437,984	50.8%	4.96%

Source: Population Census Organization (Pakistan) and Statistics Division, 1981 Census

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[59] According to Kennedy since 1973 to 1986 Mohajirs' share in senior governmental posts declined from 33.5% to 18.3% and decline in share of overall governmental jobs was from 30.1% to 18.2 % see Kennedy, *Regional Politics and Policy, Op. Cit.*

When other groups, Punjabis and Pashtuns improved their position in power-structure then religion as ideology was serving the same purpose of justification of the dominance but this time of new groups, Punjabis and Pashtoons. Hence religion as ideology had lost its utility in helping Mohajir community to stave off identity crises and to maintain its privileged status. Rather, religion as ideology in fact became the rationale for Mohajir's deteriorating share of power, therefore, religion was no more serving the interests of Mohajir community. Particularly of lower middle class that either had been serving in state institutions or wielding influence on their behalf in non-regularized businesses like property/land dealings.[60] Similar was the case with centralization of power as when it was in their favor they stressed it while when it became against their interests they demanded provincial autonomy.

Hence, when young students from middle and lower middle class of Mohajir community who were active in student politics through a religio-political organization, Islami Jamiat-e-Talba (student wing of JI), acquired consciousness of bleak prospects in future due to quota system and penetration and encirclement by powerful ethnic groups, they became disillusioned with religious ideology. In addition to declining job prospects, rapid migration of local ethnic groups and Afghan refugees to Karachi who were less 'sophisticated' in dealings and more willing to adopt

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[60] Lack of institutional capacity and patronage culture provided space to non-state groups to work as state-functionaries for provision of public goods and regularization of life. The view-point that non-state informality affected socio-political life in Karachi has been presented by CRISIS team see Azmat Ali Budhani, Haris Gazdar, Sobia Ahmad Kaker, Hussain Bux Mallah, "The Open City: Social Networks and Violence in Karachi", *Working Paper no. 70-Cities and Fragile States -*, Crisis States Working Papers Series No.2 March 2010.

militant posture created an environment where ethnic bond was necessary for survival.

Thus a process started there in which individuals became attached with their ethnic communities and situation demanded to support community member whether right or wrong. Thus perpetual fear and violence due to interethnic fighting like Hobbesian state of nature necessitated the emergence of ethnic militant organizations...a state within state....ruled by Hobbesian Prince.

Thus politically active Mohajir students formed, on ethnic basis, All Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization (APMSO) on Jun 11, 1978 under the leadership of Altaf Hussain. Altaf Hussain, ex-student leader and founder of APMSO, later on March 18, 1984, formed an ethnic political party, Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), in order to restore the preeminence of Mohajirs in government jobs. Conversion from relgio-political posturing to ethno-political posturing through a young but unknown leader initially got little approval by Mohajir community. However widespread inter-communal violence after a bus accident in which a Mohajir girl student was killed due to a Pashtoon driver's hasty driving in April 15, 1985 facilitated the new party to mobilize and gather mass support. MQM won municipal elections in Karachi and Hydrabad which were held in 1987. After a year in 1988 National Assembly Elections, MQM emerged as third largest party with thirteen seats in the National Assembly.

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Table 10: Statistics from Karachi Riots

Type of Damage	Year				Total
	1985	1986	1987	1988	
Number of Riots	608	917	880	201	2606
Civilians Killed	56	185	56	61	358
Civilians Wounded	114	489	408	344	1355
Police Personnel Killed		2	6	4	12
Vehicles Burnt	213	162	156	68	599
Shops Burnt	23	460	261	65	809
Houses Burnt		396	62	39	497
Banks Burnt		26	7	4	37
Curfew Days	48	47	80	178	353

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

Strong.Organization and Instrumentalist Nature of Violence

MQM political activists either had been the part of well-disciplined hierarchical organization JI (or its student wing, Islami Jamit Talba) or at least had observed its organizational structure closely. Moreover influx of internal migrants generated the feelings of encirclement and fear among Mohajir masses. Hence MQM leadership having prior organizational knowledge operating within the climate of inter-ethnic hatred and fear where formal state-structure was week—a conducive environment for strong ethnic bond and organizational control—became successful in erecting a militarized organizational structure. It was the lower middle class that lost the monopoly to accesses to state institutions hence it became vulnerable. Thus major support as workforce for MQM came from unemployed lower middle class young

men.[61] Free availability of weapons virtually made the urban Sind Hobbesian state of nature where strategy for survival was self-help of communities. Hobbesian state of nature in local literature is depicted as "Kalashnikov culture" which Zahid considers as "euphemism for the gradual destruction of all norms of civilized behavior".[62]

MQM organized on the principle of well-defined chain of command and operating in an environment where state was less penetrative and weapons were easily available it became an awesome force that can afflict punishments to its adversaries or dissidents and can give rewards to its supporters—a state within a state. As Verkaaik, an alyst who studied urban violence in Sindh, noted:

> The practice of forcing people to pay voluntary donations (bhatta) to party members had spread widely. Within the neighborhood, MQM workers acted as the legislative, executive, and judicial powers all in one. They strongly dissuaded people to consult state institutions such as the city court in case of conflict and advised people to come to them instead. Some people found the MQM way of administrating justice a lot quicker and more just than the way of the state, but others complained that justice continued to be as arbitrary as ever.[63]

Initial organizational capacity was directed against rival ethnic groups however after electoral politics MQM employed its organizational capacity for bargaining in national politics. Organizational capacity as bargaining chip created sense of vulnerability in fragile incumbent governments. As a result, a tussle started between incumbent governments that wanted to decimate the MQM's organizational capacity

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[61] Malik, Op. Cit.

[62] Shahid Zahid, "License to Kill", The Herald, August 1989, p. 58

[63] Oskar Verkaaik, Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 167.

and on the other hand MQM that wanted to maximize its organizational strength for maximum benefits. Thus urban Sindh witnessed pervasive violence which was instrumental in nature. Embolden MQM even did not show restraints against the real wielder of power—armed forces.[64]

Thus state within a state became a threat for civilian government as well as for armed forces. Hence in order to restore the writ of the state armed forces launched 'Operation Cleanup'. MQM due its organizational capacity and guerilla warfare tactics, though suffered heavy losses, however, sustained its resistance over a period of four years (1992-1996). Five thousand people died in that urban guerilla war.[65]

6: VIII. COMMON PATTERN

The discourse of self rule and equal treatment during de-colonization process, in the context of nation-state, and nation-state-structure itself made individuals conscious of their relative position in the new-structure vis-à-vis others. For every one measure of relative position in the state, preferential or differential, is not individual but collective position of one's group. Individual may find himself/herself in broad range of groups...associational, class, and like. However, in post-colonial societies neither class-consciousness nor associational groups are developed; hence immediate option is pre-existing group...that is primordial ascriptive identity. As in traditional societies, particularism is the defining feature of social interaction hence 'other' is a

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[64] MQM workers kidnapped and beat an army officer, Major Kaleem.

[65] Azhar Abbas, "Future Shock", *The Herald*, March 1996, p. 46a

broad category dividing families, casts, tribes, religious sects and ethnic groups. However, ethnic group is the recognized category since colonial period. Hence in new state ethnic group provide the basis of who is part of self and who is other. Though this post-modernist view-point partly explains that why ethnic, in some cases religious identities, are the master identities/cleavages, however, focal-point—that members of the same ethnic group have natural psychological synchronisation with each other, while psychological disharmony with the members of other ethnic groups, particularly when they interact at bigger level i.e. in cities—complements our understanding that why members of same ethnic groups feel comfort with one another as compared to other ethnic groups.

In Pakistan too, the division between self and other started from psychological disharmony, as dominant ethnic groups behaved with others with the sense of superiority reflected in their actions and words. Members of less-powerful groups were also averse to individuals of different psychological make-up, hence psychological aversion with others and psychological synchronization with each other created the group feelings. These group feelings were initially expressed through cultural symbols, Bengalis first demand was the recognition of their language and culture. Similarly in Sind and Balochistan cultural associations preceded in their nationalist struggle. Though regional elite were in conflict with the dominating centralist elite, particularly in Balochistan, however, nationalist struggle as mass movement first took cultural shape. Bacha Khan's *Khudai Khidmat-gar* in KPK was also initially a cultural and social movement.

Though cultural expression strengthened the group feelings and prepared for united struggle against the perceived domination, however, it was not sufficient to mobilize people. Therefore, scholars rationalized their nationalist movement by highlighting economic exploitation of dominant groups. In East Bengal, scholars and economists provided voluminous details about economic exploitations of East by Western part. In Sind G M Syed and other nationalists highlighted economic exploitation by Punjabis. In Balochistan exploitation of natural resources, particularly natural gas, was being presented as examples of exploitations by Punjabis. Pushtoon ethnic movement lacked economic rationalization that affected its capacity to mobilize people.

Thus cultural expression and economic rationalization of the nationalist movement made it easier for nationalists politicians to articulate resentment and mobilize people against centralist elite.

Hence, a common pattern of evolution of nationalist movement is visible, started from psychological disharmony to cultural expression leading to economic rationalization and finally political manifestation. These stages are not clearly demarcated and there are many overlapping developments in all of the above mentioned stages. However, distinct phases, though vague, still can be observed.

However, Mohajir (refugees), an urban and privileged group, in contrast to local groups that were struggling for rectifying their grievances, struggled in maintaining its position. Hence pattern of urban and privileged group was different. Initially they

attempted to maintain their status through religious ideology, however, when other groups, Punjabis and Pushtoons, improved their relative position in the power-structure, then centralist religious ideology was meant to justify the rise and dominance of other groups; hence for Mohajirs, particularly for middle and low middle classes, religious ideology lost its utility. Therefore, they had to adopt ethnic posture for maintaining and gaining benefits. However, being urban and privileged, they directly started their ethnic struggle with economic demands as they first agitated, as separate ethnic group, against Quota system introduced by PPP's Sindh Government in order to bring local Sindhis at par with advanced Urban Mohajirs. Economic rationalization was fallowed by political articulation in which they demanded that Mohajirs should be recognized as fifth ethnic group.

Mohajirs as urban privileged group did not follow the pattern like local grievance groups. Mohajirs adopted ethnic posture when religious ideology lost its utility for maintaining privileges Thus pattern of rural as well as grievance ethnic group is different from urban privileged group.

6: IX.. DISTINCTIVE FACTORS

Ethno-national movements though more or less followed the same pattern of evolution however intensity (how much members are committed with the cause) and level of mobilization (number of individuals affiliated with the movement) of all these movements varied. Pushtoons gradually became integrated, Bengalis disintegrated, Balochis neither separated nor integrated as evident by episodic incidents of violent

clashes with the centre, Sindhis though remained resentful due to marginalization/indianization however ethnic mobilization remained limited with one occasion of direct violent clash with the centre. Hence factors that distinct these ethnic movements from one another in their responses to the domination of other groups are necessary to understand the conditions of stability, if not peace.

Distance and Variations from the Main-Stream (Ethnic consciousness)

The defining factor is to what extent dominant group is similar or different from one's own group, especially in terms of values and culture. More the commonalities the less intense the feelings of otherness while more the differences the stronger are the feelings of otherness. Since dominant group(s), being central in power-relations, become(s) the main-stream group(s) of the state. The distance from main-stream not only determines the affiliation and aversion of individuals with the state but writ of the state as well. Hence level of ethnic consciousness and thus chances of integration/disintegration of ethnic groups depend upon how much group is close or away, geographically as well as in terms of norms and values, to the main-stream.

AIML was the project of Muslims from Minority areas, particularly from North India where they were in privileged position, for securing their rights (privileged status) through the claims of separate identity, Muslim identity. In order to improve their bargaining position and strengthen themselves, they presented Muslims of sub-continent as one monolith body of same identity and value system. Hence for them, their culture and language was the representative of all Muslims of sub-continent. In

new state being well-placed in power-structure as they were over represented in ruling party ML and civil-bureaucracy, they were able to standardize their language and culture as public discourse was being steered by intellectuals from their own community.[66] Punjabis were also disproportionally represented in civil-bureaucracy and military. Moreover their language was not much different from the language of North Indian Muslims, Urdu. Besides, Punjabis were quick in learning and adopting the language of power, Urdu.[67] Thus Mohajirs and Punjabis, being the dominant groups, became the main-stream groups in terms of power, culture/language and value system.

Karachi was declared as capital of the new state and soon it became Mohajir's city as majority of refugees (Mohajirs) decided to settle there. During 1960s, however, Military ruler shifted capital from Karachi to Punjabi populated area and new city Islamabad. While centre of real power, Military's General Head Quarter (GHQ), was already there in Rawalpindi. This capital transfer also benefitted dynamism of Pushtoons as now they were geographically close to the main-stream.

The Bengalis were totally different from West-Pakistani ethnic groups and North-Indian Muslims except one commonality, religion. Even religious understanding and its manifestations varied from one another. The geographical distance further hampered the chances of mutual interaction and development of

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[66] Both, first Governor-General of Pakistan and first Prime Minister of the country belonged to this (Mohajir) community. However, their real strength was their disproportionate share in civil-bureaucracy.

[67] Haneef Raamay

common grounds. Hence ethno-nationalist movement in East Bengal was more intense and wider in scope because for Bengalis domination of Punjabis and Mohajirs were equivalent to alien rule.

Baloch areas are considered as remote parts of Pakistan as they are at distance from main-stream geographically as well as in terms of culture and values hence writ of the state and affiliation with the state is weak in Balochistan. Pushtoons though in terms of language and culture are at distance but geographically are close to the main-stream. This geographical proximity provided them to excel in education and thus improve their position in services.

Sindhi language also belongs to same family as that of Punjabi and Urdu, Indo-Arian languages, however, its historical distinct character make Sidhis more conscious about the cultural domination by main-stream. Hence resentment and ethnic consciousness in Sindh is strong. However through language bill Sindhis are successful in interior Sindh to communicate officially and informally in their own language. As language of court, print and electronic media is Sindhi.

Dominant group as settler (Resentment)

The distance from the main-stream though determines the level of ethnic consciousness however physical presence and direct interaction with dominant group is continuous reminder of subjugation. Members of the dominant group may be as state functionaries, permanent settlers on cultivable lands or urban settlers controlling the economy of the region. For dominated group the status of members of the

dominant groups as powerful state functionaries or controller of the economy is particularly source of resentment. Hence the presence of members of the dominant group as settler is the determining factor about ethnic resentment and hatred.

Punjabis and Mohajirs have been the settler in East Bengal, Sindh, and Balochistan. In East Bengal though in provincial secretariat the number of local Bengalis gradually increased and non-Bengalis decreased but till 1971 the economy was still in the control of non-Bengali industrialists and commercial classes. In Sindh and Balochistan the settlers were not only the owners of the cultivable lands but were controlling the economy. In interior sindh, however, local state-functionaries are now Sindhis. While in KPK settlers are non existent.

Social Structure (Ethno-national mobilization and Chances of Violent Clashes)

In order to transform resentment and hatred into potent political counter force either through mass mobilization or capacity to counter center militarily are necessary. Here in this study social structure seems as determining factor in both the options. In East Bengal, feudalism (majority were Hindus) was abolished by provincial legislation in 1951 hence middle-class professionals assumed the political leadership. Thus in the absence of local exploitative structure, it was easy to direct people's grievances against external domination of West Pakistan. Central elite also faced the challenge to control mobilization through local authority structure due to the absence of feudalism that could be used instrumentally. In Sindh though level of resentment was also high but feudal structure prevented the development of ethnic

mass party. For central elite, it was easy to keep the resentment within manageable limit through selective cooption and selective coercion of Sindhi feudal elite. While in Balochistan, armed tribal organization emboldened the nationalists to retaliate centre's military operations.

Enabling Factor: external Support

Though social structure facilitated the mobilization or militant retaliation however external support—as safe sanctuaries, training facilities and weapons availability—enable the ethnic movement to arm, organize and prolong it. External support thus transform sporadic low level guerilla struggle into full fledge organized armed resistance with the capacity to continue over a long period. In case of East Bengal Indian support to Bengali resistance forces (Mukti Bahini) helped to organize and prolong the struggle. Similarly Afghanistan's support to Baloch fighters enabled them to continue their violent struggle over a period of four years.

Risk Factors: Geographical Terrain

Recent research in the context of opportunity structure is giving importance to geographical location and terrain. Hard mountainous terrain on the one hand compels people to be tough for survival and on the other hand it makes difficult for centre to implement its writ. Hence mountainous tribal belt along Afghan border and Balochistan's remote areas have always been thriving grounds for armed struggle, especially guerilla warfare.

6: X. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Elite from centrally dominant groups due to authoritarian style of governance could not accommodate ethno-nationalist elite. Since less-developed provinces and districts lack rational-institutions manned by local people and also particularistic pattern of behavior still persists that hinders interaction at public level on the basis of principle and merit. As a result, performance of the democratically elected provincial governments declines with serious challenges of law and order. Elite from dominant groups, ruling at the centre, instead of facilitating provincial governments in capacity-building and rational transformation exploit the situation, due to authoritarian aptitude, to strengthen its hold. Baluchistan is the obvious example in this regard. Instead of cooption and accommodation, governing elite focus on economic development. However, economic development implemented by members of dominant groups as technical expert and executive is considered as further encroachment. That development, in fact, facilitates ethnic mobilization due to improved transportation and communication infrastructure.

Due to limited coercion, ethnic discourse highlighting grievances continue. While, governing elite due to authoritarian-libertarian paradox remains ambiguous in dealing with the ethnic assertiveness. Thus indecisiveness, delay in applying coercion and appeasement vindicate the stances of ethnic elite that gives impetus to their movements.

Governing elite's authoritarian aptitude and acceptance of liberal-democratic norms as legitimate on the one hand alienate groups which have less or no share in power on the other hand this duality also provide thriving ground to ethno-national movements. The evolution of the movement starts from psychological aversion to cultural expression followed by economic rationalization to the culmination of political manifestation as mass mobilization or violent clashes. Distance from the main-stream determines the level of ethnic consciousness, presence of settlers from dominant groups converts it into resentment while nature of social-structure determines the transformation of movement into mass mobilization or retaliation as violent clashes. While external support is enabling factor.

Study also finds that if an ethnic movement is handicapped by economic rationalization and absence of settlers than central elite can facilitate its dynamism to coopt into power even if structure is institutional authoritarian and thus gradually supplant ethnic discourse with its preferred discourse.

Ethnic violence due to grievances is not related with declining state capacity rather state suppression causes violence though it may be manifested when state's capacity is weak. In most cases, central elite provoked violence while grievance groups mere reacted the outright suppression. In case of Pakistan, democracy and ethnic violence, based on grievances of local ethnic group, do not have positive correlation. During democratic periods violence decreased, except Bhutto period that too, can be considered as authoritarian as much as provinces were concerned, particularly Baluchistan.

However violence related with declining privileged status as well as urban phenomenon is instrumental, related with declining state capacity that also affects democracy.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7: I.   APPRAISAL

Limited colonial reforms, partial exposure to rational-democratic discourse due to colonialism and Pakistan Movement though changed expectations and attitude about the responsibilities and legitimacy of state, but could not bring about structural changes. Rigid social structures still persisted, therefore upward mobility was limited which was necessary for developing a vibrant civil society—intellectuals, journalists, professionals infused with rational values. Ruling party PML also could not penetrate into the society and thus failed to develop direct contacts with the masses and, hence, it remained dependent on traditional community leaders. Rigid social structures, weak civil society, ruling elite lacking consensus about common framework of interaction, and absence of common (national) ethos were all indicating that requisites of democratic governance in the new state were missing. Top leadership was not only constrained by the prevailing structures but themselves were the product of those social structures. Therefore, governing elite on the one hand was inclined to authoritarianism and on the other hand was convinced of the legitimacy of rational-

democratic order. For authoritarian elite, it was difficult to look beyond the immediate structural realities.

Since colonial period, the nation-state was being rationalized as an organization for the well-being of individuals through economic development by maintaining law and order. In this context, new discourse (empowerment and welfare) was creating expectations that independent state would help individuals to attain the living standards as enjoyed by western citizens. Thus, newly independent states assumed the task of gap minimization between the developed world and the developing world. In this regard, governing elite, being oriented with western values, adopted the strategies that were recommended by western scholarship...capitalism.

Authoritarianism also influenced governing elite's concept of socio-political order. The governing elite, being product of authoritarianism, was not only sensitive to 'perceived' external threats but was also cautious about internal 'disruptive elements'. Hence, instead of empowerment, elite's priority was to establish order. Thus, authoritarian aptitude prompted the ruling elite to concentrate powers by centralization in order to maintain order in the society. Hence, the bureaucratic institutions got precedence over democratic politics. Under authoritarian inclination, centralization itself later became prime objective of governing elite. Governing elite, thus, ignored the problem of uneven development and inequality in share of power.

However, liberal-democratic discourse generated the consciousness in individuals about the right of being empowered. This consciousness was being

expressed through variety of opinions due to differences in orientations and background of citizens. Thus, diversity challenged the authoritarian uniformity with the potential of mass-mobilization.

Governing elite, however, itself considering that democracy was the legitimate form of government as well as it being linked with liberal democratic powers at the age of democracy, could not brutally suppress freedom of expression. Ruling elite tried to adjust democratic legitimacy and authoritarian practices. Thus, factionalized politicians were retained within power-structure for democratic legitimacy, though in subservient role, by avoiding intervention in their local status.

However, social groups with little share in power or segment of the society dissatisfied with the authoritarian style of governance due to nation-state discourse might have been provoked by politicians who could not be controlled by manipulation/limited coercion. So, the governing elite needed ideology to neutralize the anti-authoritarian discourses. Since religious identity was the basis of partition of united India, it became ready-made ideology for thwarting any challenge to authoritarian elite, its emphasis and interpretation, however, depended upon the nature of local challenge, compatibility with international development discourse and suitability to western powers for the recognition of authoritarian elite.

Governing elite, being from Muslim minority areas, was facing identity crisis at the time when post-independence religious fervor was high in some parts of the country, particularly in Mohajirs, and local ethnic assertiveness could have been

mobilized. Thus, ideological challenge was to reconcile religious ideology in a way that it could solve its own identity crisis, pacify the religious fervor, mitigate ethnic assertiveness, and at the same time would be compatible with liberal democratic perspective of modern state. For authoritarian elite, inclusive ideology would have been anti-thesis to their authority and concept of state. Thus, only available option for governing elite was to keep on oscillating between liberal democracy and Islam, according to the audience.

Thus, popular leadership's preference for order resulted in the entrenchment of bureaucratic-authoritarian power structure. Bureaucracy maintained democratic legitimacy by either limited coercion or manipulation of parliamentarians. Subservient and factionalized politicians were serving the purpose of legitimacy, so electoral process was least priority that resulted in the decline of political organization and interest articulation.

Civil-military bureaucracy with the tendency to look into political matters from the administrative perspective and also being transcendent of electoral constituency was neither facing identity crisis nor the challenge of religious fervor. Hence, institutional elite was indifferent about ideological question in the new state, though it employed religious rhetoric tactically against ethnic and socialist groups.

Manipulation in politics not only hampered the chances of democratic development but further deteriorated politicians' limited capacity to accommodate each other. Subservient role of politicians, indifferent and inconsistent ideological

stances affected the credibility of democratic form of governance; resulted in the decline of institutional performance; and placed society in a bewildered situation. Thus, overall deteriorating situation provided the opportunity to the most organized hence most powerful institution to intervene. So power shifted from political class to bureaucracy and bureaucracy to military. In other words, power gravitated from disorganized to organized and from organized to the most organized institution.

From the backdrop of pervasive instability and uncertainty, the military intervention was a welcome step for masses in the main-stream areas. Military regime, being authoritarian in nature, assumed that economic development of the country would automatically lead to democratic stable system. Modernization as prevalent development discourse, and concept of uniformity guided regime's political and ideological policies. Keeping in mind the modernization perspective, Ayub regime introduced Basic Democracy (BD). BD was to provide legitimacy in a way that rural transformation and economic development would be achieved. But self assumed mission of authoritarian leader needed a personal support base in order to stay in power. Hence, BD became a system of patronage. With the routinization of rule, increasing expectations and manifestations of ethnic grievances necessitated further patronage, and tactical usage of religion. Ayub regime based on temporary commitment and manipulated legitimacy, however, could not absorb pressure of economic fluctuation. Thus, lost of vitality and public support gave way to ethnic and class grievances to be expressed in mass-mobilization. Strong man's role and military's institutional discipline though maintained stability and achieved higher

economic growth rates, exclusive ideology with changing stances and patronage culture (though limited one) failed to convert initial exhilaration of people into consistent attachment with the system.

Gen. Yahya, successor of Ayub Khan, however, attempted to contain class and ethnic mobilization in both wings through religious ideology but that was incompatible with the prevalent socialist discourse and demands of inclusiveness, so it proved counterproductive and resulted in the disintegration.

Bhutto's electoral victory was based on popular socialist agenda, but religion was also an important factor in politics, as dominant groups, especially privileged group(s) facing identity crisis but residing in main-stream areas, were still attached with religious identity and influenced by anti-Indian sentiments. Thus, Bhutto's ideological rhetoric was a blend of socialism, democracy and religion with anti-Indian stances. So, the constitution was also a catch-all document due to eclecticism and due to compromises. Being a consensus hence compromised document, it incorporated Islamic, liberal and socialist perspective at the same time, thus leaving space for instrumentalists to maneuvers it according to their agenda.

Bhutto's authoritarian tendency and sense of insecurity prompted him to pursue his reform agenda in a way that also served another purpose of maximization of power for him. As a result, substantive structural changes could not take place.

That was also the period of religious resurgence in the Muslim World. The absence of a single large opposition party facilitated the opportunity to small Islamic

parties to lead opposition. People with high expectations and hence dissatisfied with the performance of Bhutto government also supported the opposition along with commercial class that had grievances due to nationalization program. However, Bhutto's rhetoric of empowerment of common man and reforms had created a mass support base for PPP. Thus, Pakistan became a divided polity.

Bhutto regime, handicapped by concentration of power in one person and authoritarian approach, could neither develop institutional structure within party nor democratic culture augmented by vibrant civil society.

Anti-Bhutto movement led by Islamic parties after allegedly rigged elections convinced military command that Bhutto's political stature, at local as well as global level, had declined. Hence, military leadership, with the feelings of being 'mistreated' and frequently 'intervened' by a civilian, found the time ripe to play a 'guardian' role once again. But military elite later realized that Bhutto was still popular though anti-Bhutto groups were also substantive in number. So, the military regime had to rely on anti-Bhutto conservative religious groups. Progressive and mobilized groups, however, still could agitate and challenge the authority of interventionist, Zia ul Haq. The CMLA thus adopted the policy of suppression and cooption. Progressive forces were to be suppressed and conservative groups were to be patronized.

But, that policy was not sufficient to defuse legitimacy crisis as PPP's popular ideology would remain as a permanent challenge to authoritarianism. Thus, regime employed religion as counter ideology. After consolidation, military regime moved

from preemptive 'Islamization' to proactive 'Islamization', while external environment was also favorable as religion was to be used as strategic weapon against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in the context of second phase of Cold War. Zia regime, due to internal and external situation, considered ideology as more important than a grand plan of socio-economic development.

Religious discourse, suppression of alternative discourses, patronization of religious groups and availability of training and weapons resulted in extremism. Similarly, Zia's de-politicization efforts hampered the development of democratic norms and values. Bhutto's execution and Zia's subsequent nurturing of counter PPP force resulted in extreme polarization in politics.

In addition to that, repression in rural Sindh and unmanaged migration of Afghan refugees and Pakistani Pashtoons and Punjabis to urban Sindh sharpened the ethnic consciousness in rural and urban Sindh. Another spillover effect of Afghan Jihad was the easy availability of lethal weapons and drugs.

Nascent democracy that started with great expectations in the face of socio-economic challenges and vulnerability due to structural constrains and undemocratic political culture was to perform a daunting task. However, successive governments became stuck in a cycle of retrogressive processes: As each government started with patronization and/or discretionary rule resulting in the decline of institutional performance hence providing opportunity to opposition to manipulate the factional politics. and collude with establishment, hence, causing the feeling of insecurity in

ruling leader which prompted him/her, on the one hand, to further resort to patronization and repression and, on the other hand, to search security through the appointment of favorites on key positions thus further declining performance and clash with real wielders of power would be sufficient to create the impression of instability and failure of government leading to fresh start.

Constitutional amendments though made the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, all powerful; however, he could not overcome his sensitivities, developed due to deep sense of insecurity, about potential threats from other centers of power. Hence instead of institutionalizing the system of checks and balances he attempted to maximize his powers. Thus, clash with military proved counterproductive, not only for Nawaz Sharif but for nascent democracy as well.

Despite constitutional provisions of civilian supremacy, over a period of time, repeated military interventions and vital role from the side line played by the army have made military dominance an established reality. However, outright intervention depended on internal and external situation. Initial euphoria of masses about democratic governance had lost due to widening gap between expectations and gratifications. Fear of isolation and sanctions by international community could have refrained military to intervene. However, during 1999 this refraining factor was no more effective as Pakistan had already been facing isolation and sanctions due to nuclear tests conducted in May 1998.

Military Chief, Pervez Musharraf, after taking over democratic government, realized the need to adjust religious discourse with grand liberal-democratic discourse as it would make him more acceptable to liberal-democratic world by altering perceptions about Pakistan as rouge state to enlightened state. Religious jihadi conservative discourse was also fomenting unmanageable extremism and religious violence in the country. Hence, Musharraf presented more compatible ideological construct—enlightened moderation.

For democratic legitimacy and economic development programs, he employed dominant international development discourse—good governance as transparent, efficient, accountable but limited government with competitive economy (market-economy) parallel to competitive politics (democracy) along with free media and vibrant civil society (NGOs) became an overarching concept. Thus decentralization as district governments was introduced.

Under authoritative impulse, however, he had assumed a mission to rescue country from the 'crises' in which Musharraf's role was 'inevitable'. After 9/11 belief in that 'inevitable' role further strengthened. As a result, need for personal support base for legitimacy made the program as system of patronage, while, regime's accountability derive through NAB lost its neutrality.

Thus, plan of gross-root 'real democracy' though served the purpose of legitimacy, it deteriorated democratic development. Similarly, policy of selective use

of force against "terrorist organizations" at the time when religion was also redefining identity proved a shallow 'enlightened moderation'.

Governing elite themselves considering that democracy is the legitimate form of government as well as it being linked with liberal democratic powers at the age of democracy, can not brutally suppress freedom of expression. Ruling elite tries to adjust democratic legitimacy and authoritarian practices. However, task of adjustment of incompatible features compels them to adjust their policies, ideological stances and level of coercion or manipulation according to ever changing local and global environment/situation. This results into bounded rationality that leads to inconsistent ideological stances and inconsistent coercion. Therefore, ambiguity, indecisiveness, adhocism become the features of governance. As a result, society changes with the changes in global politics and at every turn in global politics it seems that society is without any direction.

However, this approach exacerbates the problem as sentiments, in the form of ethnic assertiveness or ideological consciousness, incompatible to authoritarian structures keeps on growing without being properly addressed, particularly during socio-economic modernizations.

Thus, governing elite, in order to reconcile the contradictory features, has to adjust frequently their politico-ideological stances according to the changing internal and external contexts.

Hence instead of consistent ideological discourse, changing ideological stances become the approach; instead of rational-democratic class, patronized class become necessity for democratic legitimacy, while instead of capacity building at regional level, the persistence of traditional structure become rationale for centralization. Moreover, authoritarian tendency hamper the full accommodation, while, liberal-democratic conviction restrain them to adopt consistent coercion.

7: II.   PATTERN OF FLUCTUATION

State's effectiveness depends on institutional performance while institutional performance is dependent on the commitment which comes through internalization of value of the institutional structure. In rational-democratic-structure internalization of rational values results into institutionalized behavior. Training and institutional environment though can make employees to some extent rational but they are the part of traditional society as well. Hence effects of training are limited. Since transformation of society to new value system is long-term and gradual process. Hence meanwhile society and institutional employees need emotional commitment that comes through ideological discourse but that should be inclusive in terms of local culture groups and exclusive in terms of value content...rationality and empathy. That ultimately will lead to internalization of rational values and institutionalized behavior.

Period of High Optimism in Main-stream and Ambivalence in Periphery

Military chief being oriented with rational system adopts reluctant posture. However, people, particularly, from main-stream—frustrated due to civilian rule— welcome the intervention and being emotional consider military chief as a strong man who would bring order through coercion (against 'wrong doers'). Thus expectations of order create the high optimism which is reflected through high morale. Thus strong leader, high morale and element of coercion bind the masses in main-stream areas and that results into higher level of compliance. This combination of strong man with the capability to coerce and transitory optimism generates high commitment among employees serving in the state institutions. As a result performance and effectiveness of state increases.

Ethnic groups which have low share in power become cautious and ambivalent as new regime pledges to address the grievances but does not incorporate them in vital decision-making. As the regime consolidates they start feeling being marginalized though effectiveness of state limits their mobilization. Media and public opinion in the main-stream, in the environment of optimism/high morale also do not take their grievances seriously.

Consolidation and Missionary Posture

The reluctant military chief initially rationalizes his intervention as an inevitable deviation from the constitutional form of governance, for the restoration of order. In the environment of high public support, however, he gradually expands his agenda

and makes the intervention as legitimate by manipulating judiciary and suppression of potential rivalries and control of media and makes it in the eyes of public as an established reality. With the consolidation of regime, military authoritarianism finds new missionary role. Thus, authoritarian leader starts considering him as inevitable to accomplish the mission. In order to accomplish the 'mission', he needs ideological program and democratic support base by bypassing the traditional politicians. Ideological program and democratic restructuring are done according to the context.

However, being affiliated and oriented with western democracy and liberty, he can not coerce the criticism out rightly. Thus democratic criticisms start challenging its legitimacy.

Routinization

Initial high morale and commitment of employees do not maintain as in the absence of internalization and institutionalization, strong leadership effect along with coercion and tactical/incompatible ideological program play temporary role. Morale of people and commitment of public servants also lose vitality. With the routinization, democratic discourse also becomes more critical about the legitimacy of the regime. Similarly, ethnic discourse start highlighting ethnic grievances. External pressure to democratize also mounts. Though regime faces legitimacy crisis however military's institutional discipline still maintains stability.

However, missionary authoritarianism in order to avoid legitimacy crisis, when coercion is of little use, considers political manipulation as appropriate option. Old

traditional political elite become convenient option. The alliance with politicians however affects its credibility as those are considered by main-stream as part of problem. This alliance and routnozation also give space to patronage and ascriptive identities. That results nepotism and corruption, though under control. In order to diffuse ethnic assertiveness and democratic discourse, they also emphasize exclusive ideological discourse which presents ethnic assertiveness as illegitimate while authoritarianism as a mission.

Thus, regime starts democratization for its legitimacy and recognition. However, manipulation in politics helps maintaining status-quo, results low political culture, patronization one group and suppression and demonization another group results into polarized politics and manipulated electoral results cause low political efficacy.

Decline

During military rule though relative order and economic stability is achieved but qualitative change in expectations also occurred. Now people want more equity and democratic rights. Thus, routinization facilitates democratic discourse and public criticism against the regime. Routinization and appeasement to political elite also affects the commitment level that results into decline in institutional performance. At that time ethnic assertiveness also become more vigorous.

Thus, opposition becomes more vibrant while, people become more alienated, hence any sparking event may lead to mass-agitation. People, therefore, feel

disillusionment about manipulative rhetoric and ineffectiveness of state further creates the feeling of bewilderedness. Thus, ethnically fissures and ideologically directionless society becomes ready to be influenced by dominant ideological discourse, ethnic assertiveness, and even by criminal gangs.

7: III.. STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINS FACED BY DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

Military's low morale, declining institutional integrity, mounting public as well as external pressure compel the military to accelerate already civilianization process though manipulated one. Finally, internal command facilitates the bargained transfer of power to civilian government. Ethnic fissures, declining institutions, lack of fellow feelings, and qualitative change in expectations make the governance a daunting task.

However, real vulnerability of democratic regimes is the power structure in which military has over-riding power and sometimes uses its overdeveloped power through the presidential office which they already make constitutionally powerful. Thus, structural as well as constitutional constraints make civilian regimes insecure. Military Establishment makes another preemptive measure through intelligence agencies in order to prevent any party to achieve decisive victory. The structural insecurity further aggravates in the presence of undemocratic culture and factionalism as party members can switch their loyalties under pressure or greed. Thus structural and cultural insecurities prompt democratic leaders to adopt patronage and affect the neutrality of state-institutions by placing favorite persons on key positions.

Civilian leaders being vulnerable try to accommodate every group as for as ideological discourse is concerned, particularly powerful groups and even they own establishment's discourse. Thus society does not take proper shape and remains amorphous.

Civilian leader being part of traditional culture adopts patronage, due to feelings of insecurity and already polarized politics hamper the development of democratic norms of interaction between ruling leader and opposition leader. Thus, discretionary and patronage form of governance and strained relations with opposition affects institutional performance. Centralist and middle class conservatives, particularly public servants and privileged identity crisis groups which also control media are always dissatisfied and least tolerant to popular forces.

Moreover, civilian governments do not have disciplined organization and coercive power like army hence commitment level in public institutions and morale in mainstream declines very soon in the case of democratic regimes. As a result, performance of government and affiliation with democracy declines. Furthermore, media in the mainstream and opposition leader keeps on reminding about the widening gap between expectations and gratifications. Declining public support, critical media and opposition and possible collusion of opposition with powerful establishment create intense feelings of insecurity that prompts democratic leader to secure him/herself through further patronage and attempts to get appointed loyal persons on key positions and employs repression against political opposition. That leads to disillusionment in public and ineffectiveness in democratic governance.

Though, local ethnic groups become partner during periods of democracy, but urban ethnic groups and religio-ideological groups exploit the ineffectiveness for their interests and similarly social violence also increases during civilian rule.

7: IV. FINDINGS

1)   Values and structures of both traditional-authoritarian order and rational-democratic order exist simultaneously in Pakistan.

2)   Governing elite is the product of social structures.

3)   Lack of requisites for rational-democratic order in the society provides justification for the continuation of authoritarianism.

4)   Authoritarian inclination prompts the governing elite to look into governance problems through the lens of uniformity and authority. Hence, they can not realize the need to incorporate in their governance approach the people's desire of empowerment, generated due to liberal-democratic discourse, which can be expressed in diversified forms by individuals from different background and orientations.

5)   Governing elite being under the sway of rational-democratic discourse attempt to maintain the legitimacy in rational-democratic terms while authoritarian intervention is justified as inevitable but temporary deviation until the achievement of conditions for 'real' democracy.

6)   Authoritarian inclination, however, transforms the temporary deviation of military elite into a missionary posture that needs to be justified in rational-democratic terms.

7) In order to accomplish the 'mission'—modern-developed state, Islamic state, enlightened-modern Pakistan—, military elite needs ideological discourse and initiation of democratization processes for maintaining the impression of democratic legitimacy.

8) The task of maintaining democratic legitimacy while practising authoritarianism compel the governing elite to keep on adjusting their politico-ideological stances according to the context—local political situation and changing international development discourse; capitalism, modernization, controlled economy, free-market economy, and good governance. Thus, need of continuous adjustment compels them to take decisions by taking into account only the immediate scenario—bounded rationality.

9) Due to bounded rationality, governing elite adopt adhocism and remain ambiguous about the appropriateness of decisions and policies.

10) Authoritarian inclination and influence of liberal discourse place the governing elite in authoritarian-libertarian paradox. Due to authoritarian-libertarian paradox, they neither adopt consistent coercion nor complete accommodation.

11) As evolution of democratically mature political class is a long-term process, therefore authoritarian elite perverts democratization into a system of patronage which serves the immediate purpose of legitimacy.

12) Since inclusive ideology legitimizes the claims of share in power of every group which can not be acceptable for authoritarian elite. Hence, they either adopt exclusive ideology or remain indifferent about ideological issues.

13) In regions, the persistence of traditional structure affects performance of local rational-democratic institutions. As this deficiency provides justification for centralization and intervention to authoritarian elite through federal institutions, hence need for developing rational capacity at local level remains unaddressed.

14) Dominance and discourse of dominance is more ethnic in nature than class orientation in transitional state like Pakistan.

15) Groups facing identity crisis, particularly those which previously have been privileged one, and groups enjoying substantive share in power favor centralization and support exclusive ideology.

16) As governing elite itself acknowledges the people's right of democratic freedom, hence rational-democratic discourse critical to their rule, ethnic discourse highlighting grievances, and religio-ideological discourses incompatible to regime's preferences continue influencing the target population.

17) Main impetus behind nation-wide mass mobilization is qualitative change in expectations, when temporary vitality of institutions and people's optimism have already been eroded. The fluctuations in economic growth and particular political incident can work as accelerators in this regard.

18) Mobilization of local ethnic groups has been caused by central elite's provocation while mobilization of privileged urban group is instrumentalist in nature.

19) Except initial episodes of sectarian violence which was based on hatred, religio-ideological violence is instrumentalist in nature.

20) Urban educated middle class, mostly from privileged groups, though talk about democracy however it soon becomes intolerant to popular forces which are in most cases local identity groups.

21) Discourse is steered by pro-centre urban groups

22) Forces which bring change through agitation and forces which bring change by vote are different.

23) Military, bureaucracy, politicians, intelligentsia, urban educated class, every group consider other group(s) responsible for the problems faced by Pakistan

24) Rationale for the security state is to accomplish a noble objective/mission against perceived adversary evil. This missionary spirit is also transmitted to upward mobile educated classes without institutionalization of suitable role. As a result they become critical and least tolerant towards weak democratic regimes.

The grievances of rural ethnic groups and political crises are actually rooted in exclusive-authoritarian style of governance when control of authoritarian elite is strong but, are manifested when state's effectiveness is on decline and society loses its optimism. However mobilization of privileged urban groups and religio-ideological groups is directly related with state-weakness. Therefore opportunity structure perspective is partly true in the case of transitional states, like Pakistan.

7: V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1) Intelligentsia should adopt Holistic approach in their analysis as it could persuade different groups to work together and find collective solutions. In addition to this, holistic approach can weaken the military's rationale to intervene in the politics.

2) Politicians and intelligentsia should promote welfare state discourse. Besides humanistic argument, the cost-benefit analysis, in this liberal-democratic globalised world when weak but security states are considered rogue states, can help convince the decision-makers to change their approach

3) For the transitional phase till the achievement of rational structures free from exploitation, inclusive-nationalism/ideology should be employed for the creation of feelings of fellow-citizens among people and for the maintenance of commitment level of public servants.

4) As the prevailing conception in the society is that respect is earned by education, wealth, power and so on. That is why the individual who fails to earn respect can be treated as inferior. This conception rationalizes the domination and authoritarian behavior in the society. Therefore, the concept that every one irrespective of cast, ethnicity, class, education is respectable by birth should be promoted by the state and intelligentsia

5) Upwardly mobile urban middle classes though have access to channel of communication to express their frustration and create the impression of instability; however, they are not the part of main-stream political parties. Hence, they should be

co-opted by political forces. In public sector universities, either religio-political groups or ethnic groups instead of main-stream political parties are dominant. Thus, young educated students remain dissatisfied with democratic regimes. That must be addressed by main-stream political parties.

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APPENDIX-I

Ideological Perspectives in the Constitution

Preamble

Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone, and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

And whereas it is the will of the people of Pakistan to establish an order :-

Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures;

Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

Therein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights, including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air, shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity :

Now, therefore, we, the people of Pakistan,

Cognisant of our responsibility before Almighty Allah and men;

Cognisant of the sacrifices made by the people in the cause of Pakistan;

Faithful to the declaration made by the Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, that Pakistan would be a democratic State based on Islamic principles of social justice;

Dedicated to the preservation of democracy achieved by the unremitting struggle of the people against oppression and tyranny;

Inspired by the resolve to protect our national and political unity and solidarity by creating an egalitarian society through a new order;

Do hereby, through our representatives in the National Assembly, adopt, enact and give to ourselves, this Constitution.

PART II
Fundamental Rights and Principles of Policy

7. Definition of the State

In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires, "the State" means the Federal Government, [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], a Provincial Government, a Provincial Assembly, and such local or other authorities in Pakistan as are by law empowered to impose any tax or cess.

Chapter 1. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

8.   Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of fundamental rights to be void.

(1) Any law, or any custom or usage having the force of law, in so far as it is inconsistent with the rights conferred by this Chapter, shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.

(2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights so conferred and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of such contravention, be void.

(3) The provisions of this Article shall not apply to :-

(a) any law relating to members of the Armed Forces, or of the police or of such other forces as are charged with the maintenance of public order, for the purpose of ensuring the proper discharge of their duties or the maintenance of discipline among them; or

(b) any of the

  (i) laws specified in the First Schedule as in force immediately before the commencing day or as amended by any of the laws specified in that Schedule;

  (ii) other laws specified in Part I of the First Schedule;

and no such law nor any provision thereof shall be void on the ground that such law or provision is inconsistent with, or repugnant to, any provision of this Chapter.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph (b) of clause (3), within a period of two years from the commencing day, the appropriate Legislature shall bring the laws specified in [Part II of the First Schedule] into conformity with the rights conferred by this Chapter:

Provided that the appropriate Legislature may by resolution extend the said period of two years by a period not exceeding six months.

Explanation :- If in respect of any law [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] is the appropriate Legislature, such resolution shall be a resolution of the National Assembly.

(5) The rights conferred by this Chapter shall not be suspended except as expressly provided by the Constitution.

9.   Security of person.

No person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with law.

10.   Safeguards as to arrest and detention.

(1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest, nor shall he be denied the right to consult and be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice.

(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before a magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest, excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the nearest magistrate, and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a magistrate.

(3) Nothing in clauses (1) and (2) shall apply to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

(4) No law providing for preventive detention shall be made except to deal with persons acting in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, or external affairs of Pakistan, or public order, or the maintenance of supplies or services, and no such law shall authorise the detention of a person for a period exceeding [three months] unless the appropriate Review Board has, after affording him an

opportunity of being heard in person, reviewed his case and reported, before the expiration of the said period, that there is, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention, and, if the detention is continued after the said period of [three months], unless the appropriate Review Board has reviewed his case and reported, before the expiration of each period of three months, that there is, in its opinion, sufficient cause for such detention.

Explanation-I: In this Article, "the appropriate Review Board" means,

(i) in the case of a person detained under a Federal law, a Board appointed by the Chief Justice of Pakistan and consisting of a Chairman and two other persons, each of whom is or has been a Judge of the Supreme Court or a High Court; and

(ii) in the case of a Person detained under a Provincial law, a Board appointed by the Chief Justice of the High Court concerned and consisting of a Chairman and two other persons, each of whom is or has been a Judge of a High Court.

Explanation-II: The opinion of a Review Board shall be expressed in terms of the views of the majority of its members.

(5) When any person is detained in pursuance of an order made under any law providing for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, [within fifteen days] from such detention, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order:
Provided that the authority making any such order may refuse to disclose facts which such authority considers it to be against the public interest to disclose.

(6) The authority making the order shall furnish to the appropriate Review Board all documents relevant to the case unless a certificate, signed by a Secretary to the Government concerned, to the effect that it is not in the public interest to furnish any documents, is produced.

(7) Within a period of twenty-four months commencing on the day of his first detention in pursuance of an order made under a law providing for preventive detention, no person shall be detained in pursuance of any such order for more than a total period of eight months in the case of a person detained for acting in a manner prejudicial to public order and twelve months in any other case:
Provided that this clause shall not apply to any person who is employed by, or works for, or acts on instructions received from, the enemy [or who is acting or attempting to act in a manner prejudicial to the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof or who commits or attempts to commit any act which amounts to an anti-national activity as defined in a Federal law or is a member of any association which has for its objects, or which indulges in, any such anti-national activity.]

(8) The appropriate Review Board shall determine the place of detention of the person detained and fix a reasonable subsistence allowance for his family.

(9) Nothing in this Article shall apply to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien.

[10A. Right to fair trial:

For the determination of his civil rights and obligations or in any criminal charge against him a person shall be entitled to a fair trial and due process.]

11.   Slavery, forced labour, etc. prohibited.

(1) Slavery is non-existent and forbidden and no law shall permit or facilitate its introduction into Pakistan in any form.

(2) All forms of forced labour and traffic in human beings are prohibited.

(3) No child below the age of fourteen years shall be engaged in any factory or mine or any other hazardous employment.

(4) Nothing in this Article shall be deemed to affect compulsory service:-

(a) by any person undergoing punishment for an offence against any law; or

(b) required by any law for public purpose provided that no compulsory service shall be of a cruel nature or incompatible with human dignity.

12.   Protection against retrospective punishment.

(1) No law shall authorize the punishment of a person:-

(a) for an act or omission that was not punishable by law at the time of the act or omission; or

(b) for an offence by a penalty greater than, or of a kind different from, the penalty prescribed by law for that offence at the time the offence was committed.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) or in Article 270 shall apply to any law making acts of abrogation or subversion of a Constitution in force in Pakistan at any time since the twenty-third day of March, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-six, an offence.

13.   Protection against double punishment and self incrimination.

No person:-

(a) shall be prosecuted or punished for the same offence more than once; or

(b) shall, when accused of an offence, be compelled to be a witness against himself.

14. **Inviolability of dignity of man, etc.**
    (1) The dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable.
    (2) No person shall be subjected to torture for the purpose of extracting evidence.

15. **Freedom of movement, etc.**
    Every citizen shall have the right to remain in, and, subject to any reasonable restriction imposed by law in the public interest, enter and move freely throughout Pakistan and to reside and settle in any part thereof.

16. **Freedom of assembly.**
    Every citizen shall have the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of public order.

[17. **Freedom of association:**
    (1) Every citizen shall have the right to form associations or unions, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan, public order or morality.

    (2) Every citizen, not being in the service of Pakistan, shall have the right to form or be a member of a political party, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the sovereignty or integrity of Pakistan and such law shall provide that where the Federal Government declares that any political party has been formed or is operating in a manner prejudicial to the soverignty or integrity of Pakistan, the Federal Government shall, within fifeen days of such declaration, refer the matter to the Supreme Court whose decision on such reference shall be final.

    (3) Every political party shall account for the source of its funds in accordance with law.]

18. **Freedom of trade, business or profession.**
    Subject to such qualifications, if any, as may be prescribed by law, every citizen shall have the right to enter upon any lawful profession or occupation, and to conduct any lawful trade or business:
    Provided that nothing in this Article shall prevent:-
    (a) the regulation of any trade or profession by a licensing system; or
    (b) the regulation of trade, commerce or industry in the interest of free

competition therein; or

(c) the carrying on, by the Federal Government or a Provincial Government, or by a corporation controlled by any such Government, of any trade, business, industry or service, to the exclusion, complete or partial, of other persons.

19. **Freedom of speech, etc.**

Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, [commission of] or incitement to an offence.

[19A. **Right to information:**

Every citizen shall have the right to have access to information in all matters of public importance subject to regulation and reasonable restrictions imposed by law.]

20. **Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious institutions.**

Subject to law, public order and morality:-

(a) every citizen shall have the right to profess, practise and propagate his religion; and

(b) every religious denomination and every sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain and manage its religious institutions.

21. **Safeguard against taxation for purposes of any particular religion.**

No person shall be compelled to pay any special tax the proceeds of which are to be spent on the propagation or maintenance of any religion other than his own.

22. **Safeguards as to educational institutions in respect of religion, etc.**

(1) No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own.

(2) In respect of any religious institution, there shall be no discrimination against any community in the granting of exemption or concession in relation to taxation.

(3) Subject to law:

(a) no religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any educational institution maintained wholly by that community or denomination; and

(b) no citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution receiving aid from public revenues on the ground only of race, religion, caste or place of birth.

(4) Nothing in this Article shall prevent any public authority from making provision for the advancement of any socially or educationally backward class of citizens.

23. Provision as to property.

Every citizen shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan, subject to the Constitution and any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the public interest.

24. Protection of property rights.

(1) No person shall be compulsorily deprived of his property save in accordance with law.

(2) No property shall be compulsorily acquired or taken possession of save for a public purpose, and save by the authority of law which provides for compensation therefore and either fixes the amount of compensation or specifies the principles on and the manner in which compensation is to be determined and given.

(3) Nothing in this Article shall affect the validity of :-

(a) any law permitting the compulsory acquisition or taking possession of any property for preventing danger to life, property or public health; or

(b) any law permitting the taking over of any property which has been acquired by, or come into the possession of, any person by any unfair means, or in any manner, contrary to law; or

(c) any law relating to the acquisition, administration or disposal of any property which is or is deemed to be enemy property or evacuee property under any law (not being property which has ceased to be evacuee property under any law); or

(d) any law providing for the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period, either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property, or for the benefit of its owner; or

(e) any law providing for the acquisition of any class of property for the purpose of

(i) providing education and medical aid to all or any specified class

of citizens or

(ii) providing housing and public facilities and services such as roads, water supply, sewerage, gas and electric power to all or any specified class of citizens; or

(iii) providing maintenance to those who, on account of unemployment, sickness, infirmity or old age, are unable to maintain themselves ; or

(f) any existing law or any law made in pursuance of Article 253.

(4) The adequacy or otherwise of any compensation provided for by any such law as is referred to in this Article, or determined in pursuance thereof, shall not be called in question in any court.

25. Equality of citizens.

(1) All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.

(2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex [*].

(3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.

[25A. Right to education:

The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law.]

26. Non-discrimination in respect of access to public places.

(1) In respect of access to places of public entertainment or resort not intended for religious purposes only, there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

27. Safeguard against discrimination in services.

(1) No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth. Provided that, for a period not exceeding [forty] years from the commencing day, posts may be reserved for persons belonging to any class or area to secure their adequate representation in the service of Pakistan: Provided further that, in the interest of the said service, specified posts or services may be reserved for members of either sex if such posts or

services entail the performance of duties and functions which cannot be adequately performed by members of the other sex [:]

[**Provided** also that under-representation of any class or area in the service of Pakistan may be redressed in such manner as may be determined by an Act of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament).]

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall prevent any Provincial Government, or any local or other authority in a Province, from prescribing, in relation to any post or class of service under that Government or authority, conditions as to residence in the Province. for a period not exceeding three years, prior to appointment under that Government or authority.

28. Preservation of language, script and culture.
Subject to Article 251 any section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose.

The Constitution of Pakistan

PART II (contd)
Fundamental Rights and Principles of Policy
CHAPTER 2. PRINCIPLES OF POLICY

29. Principles of Policy
(1) The Principles set out in this Chapter shall be known as the Principles of Policy, and it is the responsibility of each organ and authority of the State, and of each person performing functions on behalf of an organ or authority of the State, to act in accordance with those Principles in so far as they relate to the functions of the organ or authority.
(2) In so far as the observance of any particular Principle of Policy may be dependent upon resources being available for the purpose, the Principle shall be regarded as being subject to the availability of resources.
(3) In respect of each year, the President in relation to the affairs of the Federation, and the Governor of each Province in relation to the affairs of his Province, shall cause to be prepared and laid before [each House of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly, a report on the observance and implementation of the Principles of Policy, and provision shall be made in the rules of procedure of the National Assembly [and the Senate] or, as the case may be, the Provincial Assembly, for discussion on such report.

30. Responsibility with respect to Principles of Policy.
(1) The responsibility of deciding whether any action of an organ or authority of the State, or of a person performing functions on behalf of an organ or

authority of the State, is in accordance with the Principles of Policy is that of the organ or authority of the State, or of the person, concerned.

(2) The validity of an action or of a law shall not be called in question on the ground that it is not in accordance with the Principles of Policy, and no action shall lie against the State or any organ or authority of the State or any person on such ground.

31. Islamic way of life.

(1) Steps shall be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam and to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

(2) The state shall endeavour, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan, :

(a) to make the teaching of the Holy Quran and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran;

(b) to promote unity and the observance of the Islamic moral standards; and

(c) to secure the proper organisation of zakat, [ushr,] auqaf and mosques.

32. Promotion of local Government institutions.

The State shall encourage local Government institutions composed of elected representatives of the areas concerned and in such institutions special representation will be given to peasants, workers and women.

33. Parochial and other similar prejudices to be discouraged.

The State shall discourage parochial, racial, tribal, sectarian and provincial prejudices among the citizens.

34. Full participation of women in national life.

Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

35. Protection of family, etc.

The State shall protect the marriage, the family, the mother and the child.

36. Protection of minorities.

The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.

37. Promotion of social justice and eradication of social evils.

The State shall:

(a) promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;

(b) remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;

(c) make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit;

(d) ensure inexpensive and expeditious justice;

(e) make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work, ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for maternity benefits for women in employment;

(f) enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan;

(g) prevent prostitution, gambling and taking of injurious drugs, printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements;

(h) prevent the consumption of alcoholic liquor otherwise than for medicinal and, in the case of non-Muslims, religious purposes; and

(i) decentralise the Government administration so as to facilitate expeditious disposal of its business to meet the convenience and requirements of the public.

38. Promotion of social and economic well-being of the people.

The State shall :

(a) secure the well-being of the people, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, by raising their standard of living, by preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production and distribution in the hands of a few to the detriment of general interest and by ensuring equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants;

(b) provide for all citizens, within the available resources of the country, facilities for work and adequate livelihood with reasonable rest and leisure;

(c) provide for all persons employed in the service of Pakistan or otherwise, social security by compulsory social insurance or other means;

(d) provide basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing. housing, education and medical relief, for all such citizens, irrespective of sex, caste, creed or race, as are permanently or temporarily unable to earn their livelihood on account of infirmity, sickness or unemployment;

(e) reduce disparity in the income and earnings of individuals, including persons in the various classes of the service of Pakistan; [*]

(f) eliminate riba as early as possible [; and]

·[(g) the shares of the Provinces in all federal services, including autonomous bodies and corporations established by, or under the control of, the Federal Government, shall be secured and any omission in the allocation of the shares of the Provinces in the past shall be recitified.]

39. Participation of people in Armed Forces.

The State shall enable people from all parts of Pakistan to participate in the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

40. Strengthening bonds with Muslim world and promoting international peace.

The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.