# EXPLORING THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIC FAILURES IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS

## Dr. Sarbiland[1], Jamal Ud Din[*2], Tahir Usman[3]

[1]PhD in International Relations from the University of Punjab, Lahore
[*2]Lecturer in Political Science, Government College Daggar, Buner
[3]BS Scholar, Department of Political Science, GC Daggar, Buner

[1]sarbuland001@gmail.com, [*2]jamal.phdps53@iiu.edu.pk, [3]tu453648@gmail.com

**ABSTRACT**

*This research explores the multifaceted causes behind the recurrent failures of democracy in Pakistan, adopting a historical and political lens to uncover systemic impediments. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has grappled with unstable democratic structures, characterized by repeated military interventions, weak political institutions, and a lack of effective governance. This paper investigates the historical roots of these failures, including the colonial legacy, socio-economic inequalities, and the persistence of feudalism, which have collectively hindered democratic consolidation. Additionally, the study examines political factors such as corruption, elite power struggles, and the erosion of public trust in democratic processes. The interplay of judicial complicity and a skewed civil-military relationship further exacerbates the crisis, creating an environment where democratic norms struggle to take root. By analyzing pivotal events, constitutional changes, and electoral practices, this study highlights the structural deficiencies and governance challenges that perpetuate a cycle of instability. The research emphasizes the need for robust political reforms, inclusive policymaking, and the strengthening of democratic institutions to break this cycle and foster a culture of accountability and transparency. This comprehensive analysis provides a nuanced understanding of why democracy remains elusive in Pakistan, offering valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and stakeholders striving to address these persistent challenges and achieve sustainable democratic governance.*

***Keywords:*** *Democratic failures, Pakistan politics, Civil-military relations, Governance challenges, Political reforms*

## INTRODUCTION

Democracy, rooted in principles of public participation, the rule of law, and respect for individual rights, serves as the cornerstone of a just and inclusive society. Since gaining independence in 1947, Pakistan has sought to build a democratic system that embodies these ideals. However, its journey toward achieving stable democratic governance has been marked by persistent challenges. Political instability, military interventions, institutional inefficiencies, and deep-rooted socio-political issues have consistently hindered the development of a robust democratic framework. This paper delves into the historical and political factors that have contributed to the recurring failures of democracy in Pakistan, providing a comprehensive analysis of the obstacles undermining its democratic aspirations (Akhtar, 2009).

Historically, Pakistan's democratic trajectory has been marred by repeated interruptions, particularly through military interventions. The first military coup in 1958 set a precedent for a cycle of short-lived civilian governments followed by prolonged periods of military rule, justified in the name of restoring stability. This pattern eroded public trust in democratic institutions, as successive civilian governments struggled to deliver on governance and accountability. The entrenched influence of the military in political and administrative affairs weakened the institutional foundations necessary for democracy to thrive. Consequently, democratic practices in Pakistan have struggled to gain consistent traction, leaving the system vulnerable to periodic disruptions (Bibi et al., 2018).

In addition to military interventions, Pakistan's civilian political landscape has been characterized by systemic corruption, political patronage, and dynastic politics. Rather than serving as vehicles for public representation, political parties have largely become tools for elite families to consolidate power. This has shifted the focus of politics from public service to personal and familial gains, fostering widespread disillusionment with the democratic process. The inability of political parties to address public grievances or ensure transparency has deepened cynicism among citizens, who increasingly view politics as a platform for exploitation rather than empowerment (Azeem, 2022).

Socioeconomic challenges, such as poverty, illiteracy, and limited access to education and healthcare, further impede democratic consolidation in Pakistan. Large segments of the population remain excluded from active political participation due to economic hardships and lack of political awareness. Without a politically literate and economically stable citizenry, the foundation for a participatory democracy remains weak. These structural barriers prevent the emergence of bottom-up democratic movements and perpetuate disengagement from the political process (Ahmad, 2016).

Ethnic and sectarian divisions have also played a significant role in undermining Pakistan's democratic fabric. Political leaders often exploit these divides to secure power, exacerbating tensions and fragmenting national cohesion. Such divisive tactics hinder the development of a unified political identity, further destabilizing democratic culture. As a result, Pakistan's democracy remains fragile, constantly challenged by internal divisions and socio-political polarization (Abbasi, 2018). By analyzing these historical and political dynamics, this study seeks to illuminate the underlying causes of Pakistan's democratic failures and explore pathways toward fostering a stable and inclusive democratic system.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study applied 'democracy theory' to analyze the underlying causes of democratic failures in Pakistan. This theoretical framework is essential as it provides a foundation for understanding democracy's parameters and indicators, enabling a systematic evaluation of Pakistan's political history and challenges. By drawing from established works on democratic theory, the research identifies key dynamics shaping Pakistan's struggles with democratic consolidation.

Dahl's (1956) exploration of democratic theory highlights diverse approaches, including Medisonian, populist, and polyarchal democracy. Medisonian democracy emphasizes the separation of powers (executive, legislative, and judicial) to prevent tyranny and ensure checks and balances. It warns against factionalism, often fueled by ethnic or sectarian divisions, which has been a recurring issue in Pakistan. Populist democracy advocates for majority rule while safeguarding minority rights, principles often undermined in Pakistan's political landscape, where majority domination and ethnic disparities weaken democratic unity. Dahl's polyarchy model prescribes conditions such as inclusive participation, free elections, and alternative information sources, essential for a functional democracy but inconsistently observed in Pakistan.

O'Donnell (1999) further stresses the significance of competitive, free, and inclusive elections for democratic regimes. In Pakistan, repeated electoral controversies and the exclusion of opposition parties have hindered democratic progress. Additionally, freedoms of expression, association, and access to information, as highlighted by O'Donnell, are critical for fostering political engagement, yet they remain restricted in many

contexts, exacerbating public disillusionment with democracy.

Downs (1958) underscores the economic dimension of democracy, where governments gain legitimacy by delivering public goods and launching development programs. In Pakistan, economic mismanagement and inequitable distribution of resources have fueled public dissatisfaction, undermining trust in elected governments. Similarly, Verma's elite theory of democracy points to the dominance of political, military, and economic elites in decision-making processes. In Pakistan, this elite capture has marginalized public representation, stalling democratic consolidation.

This framework incorporates democracy game theory, offering strategies for political actors in Pakistan to navigate challenges, including reducing military interference, ensuring uninterrupted electoral cycles, and fostering cooperation among political factions. By applying these theoretical insights, the study examines Pakistan's democratic failures and proposes pathways for achieving a stable and inclusive democratic system.

## EXPLORING THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIC FAILURES IN PAKISTAN
### Historical Context:
Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has experienced a tumultuous political history characterized by intermittent democratic promises overshadowed by authoritarian realities. The nascent years of Pakistan's democracy were marred by political instability, with no Prime Minister completing their term, revealing the vulnerabilities of a fledgling democratic state. The first major blow to democracy came in 1958 when General Muhammad Ayub Khan imposed martial law. This marked the beginning of military dominance in Pakistan's political life, a pattern that has persisted over decades (Cheema, 2019).

Ayub Khan's resignation in 1969 led to General Yahya Khan's rule, who oversaw an unsuccessful democratic transition culminating in the secession of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. This traumatic event left indelible scars on Pakistan's political psyche, highlighting the fragility of democratic institutions. Amidst this turmoil, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as a populist leader advocating for democracy. However, his government faced accusations of authoritarian conduct, ultimately leading to his ousting in a 1977 coup by General Zia-ul-Haq. Zia's regime not only entrenched military dominance but also introduced a radicalized interpretation of Islam into the legal and public domains, further complicating Pakistan's democratic trajectory (Jalal, 2021).

The return to civilian rule in the late 1980s was short-lived. The 1990s witnessed revolving-door governments led by the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML), plagued by corruption and political rivalries that eroded public faith in democracy. The 1999 coup by General Pervez Musharraf marked another period of military rule, ending in 2008 with his forced resignation and a tentative return to civilian governance. This cycle of military interventions, weak civilian governments, and evolving governance styles has shaped Pakistan's democratic journey, perpetuating a pattern where democratic aspirations are often thwarted by autocratic crackdowns.

## Political Factors:
### Weak Political Institutions
The failure of democracy in Pakistan can largely be attributed to the fragility of its political institutions. This weakness manifests in two critical areas: the lack of robust political parties and ineffective legislative structures. Both elements are interconnected and significantly impact the country's democratic processes.

### Political Parties
Political parties are the backbone of any democracy, serving as vehicles for political participation, representation, and policy-making. In Pakistan, however, political parties have historically been fragmented and dominated by a few major players, notably the PPP and PML. These parties are often characterized by dynastic leadership and top-down organizational structures, which hinder their ability to represent the interests of the broader populace (Ghulam, 2023). Instead of functioning as platforms for inclusive political engagement, these parties often prioritize the

interests of their elite leadership over the needs of ordinary citizens.

## Legislative Frameworks

Pakistan's legislative institutions, including the National Assembly and Senate, have struggled to function effectively. These bodies are hampered by a lack of autonomy, weak oversight mechanisms, and limited capacity to enact transformative legislation. Moreover, external interference, particularly from the military and other powerful stakeholders, undermines legislative independence. This interference prevents the legislature from serving as a check on executive power, leading to hasty policy decisions with poorly considered long-term implications.

The legislative process is further weakened by political rivalries and interests, which often result in gridlock and impede progress on pressing national issues. Frequent changes in government exacerbate this problem, leading to a lack of continuity and institutional memory. As a result, long-term policy planning is neglected, and public trust in democratic institutions erodes.

## Leadership Crisis

Pakistan's democratic challenges are also deeply rooted in its leadership dynamics. The country's political landscape has been shaped by charismatic leaders who often prioritize personal ambition over the development of democratic institutions. Leaders like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, and Imran Khan have dominated the political arena, leveraging their personal appeal to gain public support.

While charismatic leadership can inspire and mobilize citizens, it also poses risks to democratic stability. The dominance of individual leaders often leads to authoritarian tendencies, undermining institutional checks and balances. For instance, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era saw a suppression of opposition voices due to his strong personal influence. This trend of leader-centric politics creates vulnerabilities, as political systems become overly dependent on individual figures rather than resilient institutions. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto in 2007 exemplifies how the loss of a charismatic leader can destabilize the political landscape, leading to violence and uncertainty.

## Socioeconomic Factors:
## Poverty and Inequality

Poverty and economic inequality are significant barriers to democratic participation in Pakistan. Extreme poverty compels individuals to focus on survival rather than civic engagement, limiting their ability to participate in political processes such as voting or attending rallies. Marginalized communities often feel excluded from the political system, perceiving it as unresponsive to their needs. This disillusionment perpetuates a cycle of low political engagement and poor representation. Economic disparities also create unequal access to resources and networks that facilitate political participation. Wealthier individuals are better positioned to engage in politics, while those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds face systemic barriers, including a lack of access to information and transportation difficulties. This disparity further entrenches inequality within the political system, undermining the democratic principle of equal representation.

## Education and Awareness

Education plays a crucial role in fostering political participation and engagement. Higher levels of education are associated with greater political knowledge, civic involvement, and voting rates. Educated individuals are more likely to understand the political process, recognize the importance of their vote, and critically evaluate political information.

However, Pakistan faces significant educational disparities, with urban areas generally offering better educational opportunities compared to rural regions. This inequality leaves large segments of the population at a disadvantage, limiting their ability to participate meaningfully in democratic processes. Uneducated or undereducated citizens are more susceptible to manipulation by political elites, who exploit their lack of awareness to maintain power.

The rise of misinformation and political propaganda further exacerbates this issue. The rapid spread of false or biased information through social media and other channels distorts public perceptions and polarizes communities. When citizens are exposed to misleading information,

their ability to make informed political decisions is compromised, weakening the democratic process.

## Institutional Factors:
### Military Influence
Since its creation in 1947, Pakistan has been heavily influenced by its military, which has played a pivotal role in shaping the country's political trajectory. The first major military intervention occurred in 1958 when General Muhammad Ayub Khan declared martial law, marking the start of prolonged military dominance in Pakistan's political landscape. This military involvement has persisted, evolving into a complex civilian-military relationship where civilian administrations often operate under the shadow of the military's influence.

This dominance has weakened democratic institutions by eroding the constitutional principle of checks and balances. Even during civilian governments, the military's organized structure and political clout often steer national policies, undermining civilian authority. Public perceptions of political instability and governance inefficiency have further fueled the demand for military intervention, perpetuating a cycle of authoritarianism (Said, 2012).

### Judicial Independence
The judiciary in Pakistan is entrusted with upholding democratic values and ensuring justice, yet its independence has been compromised by political interference and pressures from military regimes. Historically, judicial decisions have often aligned with the interests of powerful elites, weakening its role as a neutral arbiter.

While the judiciary has occasionally acted as a check on executive and legislative overreach, instances of judicial activism have sparked debate. Some critics argue that the judiciary oversteps its bounds, encroaching on the prerogatives of other branches of government. Despite its critical role, the judiciary's effectiveness in delivering accountability and fostering democratic consolidation remains limited due to systemic challenges and external pressures.

## Cultural Factors:
### Political Culture
Pakistan's political culture is deeply influenced by historical interruptions in democratic governance. Repeated military coups and authoritarian regimes have fostered a pervasive distrust in democracy. Many segments of society view military rule as a preferable alternative during periods of political turmoil, further weakening democratic ethos.

Tribalism and sectarianism also play a significant role in shaping political affiliations. Loyalty to tribal or sectarian identities often outweighs national political considerations, leading to fragmented political culture. Politicians exploit these divisions through identity politics, which undermines efforts to build a cohesive democratic movement. This fragmentation hinders the development of a unified political culture rooted in democratic values.

### Gender Dynamics
Gender inequality presents a formidable barrier to political participation in Pakistan. Despite constitutional guarantees of gender equality, sociocultural norms and patriarchal practices limit women's involvement in politics. Women face systemic challenges, including restricted access to education, economic opportunities, and political representation.

Cultural norms often confine women to domestic roles, creating a cycle of exclusion from public life. Traditional expectations force many women to choose between familial responsibilities and political engagement. These barriers not only suppress individual ambitions but also perpetuate the perception of politics as a male-dominated sphere, further marginalizing women from the democratic process.

## External Influences:
### Foreign Intervention
Foreign aid has played a dual role in Pakistan's democratic development. While donor countries and international organizations have funded initiatives to strengthen democratic institutions and civil society, the impact of foreign assistance has been mixed. The dominance of military regimes and elite political structures often undermines these

---

efforts, diverting aid towards sustaining existing power hierarchies.

Conditionalities attached to foreign aid can also create tensions between donor expectations and local political realities. Reforms perceived as externally driven often face resistance from local actors, who view them as infringements on sovereignty. This dynamic complicates efforts to promote democratic governance through foreign assistance.

### Regional Dynamics

Pakistan's geopolitical environment significantly influences its internal governance and democratic stability. Historical rivalries, particularly with India, shape national priorities, often prioritizing defense and security over democratic development. The Kashmir conflict and ongoing militarization contribute to a security-centric mindset that diverts resources from social and political development.

This focus on security is frequently used by political leaders to justify authoritarian measures, restrict civil liberties, and suppress dissent. The regional security context, therefore, not only impacts policy priorities but also reinforces the military's role in governance, further constraining democratic consolidation.

### A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS

Pakistan's struggle with democracy is rooted in a complex interplay of historical, institutional, cultural, and external factors. Military dominance has disrupted democratic processes, creating a governance structure where civilian institutions operate under significant constraints. Weak political institutions, leadership crises, and a fragmented political culture exacerbate these challenges, limiting the effectiveness of democratic governance.

Socioeconomic barriers, including poverty, inequality, and limited access to education, further hinder political participation. Marginalized communities and women, in particular, face systemic obstacles that restrict their engagement in democratic processes. Cultural norms, combined with external pressures from foreign aid dynamics and regional geopolitics, compound these challenges, making democratic consolidation an uphill battle.

Addressing these issues requires a multifaceted approach. Strengthening political institutions, promoting inclusive governance, and enhancing judicial independence are critical steps towards building a resilient democracy. Socioeconomic reforms, including improved access to education and efforts to reduce inequality, are equally important in fostering civic engagement. Finally, mitigating the influence of external and regional factors necessitates a balanced foreign policy that prioritizes national interests while fostering regional cooperation. By tackling these structural and cultural deficiencies, Pakistan can pave the way for a more inclusive and sustainable democratic future, meeting the aspirations of its diverse populace.

### CONCLUSION

Pakistan's democratic journey has been marked by a complex interplay of historical, political, socioeconomic, cultural, and external factors that have consistently hindered its progress towards a stable and resilient democratic system. Despite moments of optimism, the country's democratic trajectory has remained inconsistent, characterized by interruptions, weak institutions, and a lack of sustained reform. Understanding these challenges is crucial for envisioning a future where democracy can thrive.

Historically, military interventions have disrupted democratic continuity, with long periods of authoritarian rule preventing the institutionalization of democratic norms and practices. This legacy has created a civilian-military imbalance that continues to influence political processes, even during periods of civilian governance. The failure to establish checks and balances between civilian and military institutions has eroded public trust and deepened political instability.

Weak political institutions, fragmented political parties, and a culture of leadership driven by personal ambitions rather than collective progress have further exacerbated democratic challenges. The absence of robust mechanisms for accountability and oversight has allowed corruption and inefficiency to flourish, undermining public confidence in the democratic system. Political rivalries and dynastic politics

have also contributed to divisiveness, preventing the emergence of a unified national political culture necessary for democratic consolidation.

Socioeconomic disparities, including widespread poverty, inequality, and inadequate access to education, have limited political participation among marginalized communities. These barriers prevent a significant portion of the population from engaging meaningfully in democratic processes, reinforcing a cycle of exclusion and disillusionment. Furthermore, the lack of critical awareness and susceptibility to political propaganda have weakened informed decision-making among voters, further compromising the democratic process.

Culturally, tribalism, sectarianism, and entrenched gender inequalities have created additional obstacles to democratic development. Loyalty to identity-based groups often takes precedence over national democratic ideals, fragmenting the political landscape. Gender dynamics, in particular, have sidelined women from political participation, depriving the nation of diverse perspectives and contributions to governance.

External factors, including foreign interventions, aid conditionalities, and regional geopolitical tensions, have also played a significant role in shaping Pakistan's democratic trajectory. These influences often exacerbate internal divisions and create dependencies that undermine sovereignty and democratic autonomy.

Addressing these multifaceted challenges requires comprehensive reforms focused on strengthening institutions, fostering inclusive participation, and promoting education and awareness. Only through a sustained and collective effort can Pakistan overcome these hurdles and achieve the democratic aspirations of its people, ensuring political stability and social progress.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Strengthening Political Institutions**

  Pakistan's democratic stability hinges on the development of robust political institutions. Political parties must undergo structural reforms to transition from dynastic and personality-driven entities to platforms representing diverse constituencies and ideologies. Internal party elections should be made mandatory, ensuring that leadership reflects merit and the aspirations of party members. Similarly, the legislative framework requires enhancement through capacity building for lawmakers, ensuring they have the knowledge and resources to develop policies that address national priorities. Institutional checks and balances must be reinforced, particularly between the executive, judiciary, and military, to prevent overreach and foster accountability.

- **Promoting Civic Education and Political Awareness**

  To empower citizens as active participants in the democratic process, Pakistan must prioritize education, particularly civic education. Introducing curricula that emphasize the importance of democracy, political rights, and the responsibilities of citizens can foster a politically informed electorate. Public awareness campaigns using traditional and digital media can complement these efforts, addressing misinformation and educating voters on their role in a democratic society. Efforts to promote digital literacy are especially critical, as the misuse of social media for political propaganda has become a growing challenge. A well-informed citizenry will be better equipped to hold leaders accountable and make decisions that strengthen democracy.

- **Ensuring Socioeconomic Inclusion**

  Democratic consolidation requires addressing the socioeconomic disparities that exclude large segments of the population from meaningful political participation. Policies that reduce poverty and inequality, such as expanding access to healthcare, education, and social welfare programs, are essential for fostering a more inclusive society. Special attention should be given to rural and marginalized communities that have historically been underrepresented in politics. Economic empowerment programs targeting women and youth can further enhance their participation, ensuring that democracy benefits from the perspectives and talents of all citizens.

- **Enhancing Gender Equality in Politics**
  Increasing women's representation and participation in the political sphere is crucial for a more inclusive democracy. Legal quotas for women in legislative assemblies and political parties should be enforced and expanded where necessary. Programs aimed at empowering women to participate in politics, including leadership training and mentorship initiatives, can help dismantle cultural and institutional barriers. Gender-sensitive policies must also be implemented to create an enabling environment where women can engage in politics without fear of discrimination or violence. Ensuring equal opportunities for women will enrich the quality of decision-making and governance.

- **Curbing External Interference and Enhancing Regional Stability**
  External factors, including foreign interventions and regional instability, have historically undermined Pakistan's democratic development. Strengthening foreign policy to assert national sovereignty while maintaining constructive international relations is essential. The government must invest in diplomatic initiatives that promote regional stability, particularly with neighboring countries. This includes fostering cooperative frameworks to address shared challenges such as terrorism, climate change, and economic development. By reducing dependency on foreign aid and aligning its foreign policy with national democratic objectives, Pakistan can mitigate external pressures that hinder democratic progress.

## REFERENCES

Ahmad, S. (2017). Electoral Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan. Pakistan Journal of Political Science, 32(3), 489-502.

Ahmad, S. (2018). Challenges to Judicial Independence in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis.

Ahmed, D. Z. (2014). Musharraf's Democracy and 2008 Elections in Pakistan. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, vol.5(14), 475-480. doi:10.5901/mjss.2014.v5n14p474

Ahmed, S., & Khwaja, S. Z. (2013). Pakistan - A Struggle with Democracy. International Journal of Social Ecology and Sustainable Development, 4(1), 108–114. https://doi.org/10.4018/jsesd.2013010106

Ahsan, A. (2003). Pakistan since independence: An historical analysis. The Muslim World, 93(3-4), 351-371. https://doi.org/10.1111/1478-1913.00027

Akhtar, N. (2009). Polarized Politics: The Challenge of Democracy in Pakistan. International Journal

Amnesty International, (2020). Pakistan: Human Rights Under Attack. Amnesty International.AND IMPLICATIONS. Journal of Islamic Studies, 23(2), 165–198. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26201037

Aslam, S. (2017). Media Freedom and Censorship in Pakistan: Historical Perspectives. Journal of Political Science, 45(2), 345-360.

Aurat Foundation. (2019). Annual Report, 2018.

Azeem, S. (2022, June 16). 18th Amendment to the Constitution. Paradigm Shift. https://www.paradigmshift.com.pk/18th-amendment-to-the-constitution/

Bahadur, K. (2002). Democracy in Pakistan: Crisis and Conflicts. Delhi, India: Har-AnandPublications.

Balouch, A. (2016, October 16). The mystery that shrouds Liaquat Ali Khan's murder. DAWN.COM. https://www.dawn.com/news/1213461

Baqal, H. (2010). Transition to Democracy in Pakistan. International Journal of Social Sciences, 4(2),70-95.

Bassiouni, M. C. (2006). Democracy its Principles and Achivement. Islamabad: Inter-ParliamentaryUnion.

Batool, F. (2022). Political crisis in Pakistan: is democracy responsible? ESPR's Political Science Blog

Bibi, F., Jameel, S., & Jalal, S. U. (2018). What Is Democracy? Challenges For Democracy In Pakistan. Global Politic Review,3(1), 66–75. https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2018(iii-i).07

Bibi, F., Jameel, S., & Jalal, S. U. (2018). What is democracy? Challenges for democracy in Pakistan. Global Political Review, 3(1), 66-75.

Bildook, K. (2012). Consistency Influence in Parliament: Countering the Centre. Canada: UBC Press. Choudhury, G. W. (1958). Failure of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. Parliamentary

Brookings. https://www.brookings.edu/articles/pakistans-always-troubled-democracy-is-on-the- brink-once-again/

Center for Peace and Development Initiatives. (n.d.). About Us. Retrieved from https://www.cpdi-pakistan.org/

Cheema, A. (2019). Pakistan's Political Economy: Threading Through Challenges and Opportunities. Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, S. P. (2004). The Idea of Pakistan. Brookings Institution Press.

Darr, A. (2018). The Rise of Internet Television in Pakistan: The Changing Landscape of Media Consumption. Palgrave Macmillan.

Democracy Blog: Evolution of Democracy in Pakistan. (n.d.). Civic Information https://pakvoter.org/democracy-blog-evolution-of-democracy-in-pakistan-2/

Democracy in Pakistan. (2020). Gallup Pakistan: http://gallup.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Democracy- in-Pakistan.pdf

Ekins, R. (2014). Restoring Parliamentary Democracy. Cardozo Law Review, 39(4), 997-1017.

Fruman, S. (2011). Will the Long March to Democracy in Pakistan Finally Succeed? Washington,D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Gauhar, A. (2008). Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press. Haynes, J. (2012). Routledge Handbook of Democratization (illustrated ed.). New York: Routledge.

Haider, M. (2019). Dynastic Politics and Patronage Networks: The Case of Pakistan. South Asian Studies, 34(2), 245-262.

Haqqani, H. (2005). Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military. Carnegie Endowment.

Hashim, A. (2018, July 27). Imran Khan's party first but needs to form coalition. Al Jazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/7/27/khans-pti-wins-most-seats-as-eu-raises-concern-over- poll-process

Hashmi, R. S. (2018). Parliamentary Democracy and the Issue of Institutional Jurisdiction in South Asia (The Case of Pakistan). Journal of Political Studies, 25(Special Issue), 133-146.

Hathaway, O. A. (2002). Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference? The Yale Law Journal, 111(8), 1935–2042. https://doi.org/10.2307/797642

Hoodbhoy, P. (1991). The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan." Pakistan Horizon, 44(4), 75-86.

Hossain, A. A. (2012). ISLAMIC RESURGENCE IN BANGLADESH'S CULTURE AND POLITICS: ORIGINS, DYNAMICS

https://issrapapers.ndu.edu.pk/site/article/view/56/31

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, (2020). Annual Report, 2019.

Human Rights Watch, (2021). World Report 2021: Pakistan. Human Rights Watch.

Huntington, S. P. (2012). The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century. Norman.

Hussain, Z. (2018). The Battle for Pakistan: The Bitter U.S. Friendship and a Tough Neighborhood. Yale University Press.

Iqbal, A. (2017). Parliamentary Oversight in Pakistan: Issues and Prospects. Journal of Political Science, 44(2), 301-316.

Iqbal, A. (2018). Strengthening Parliamentary Oversight: Challenges and Prospects. Journal of Governance and Policy, 45(2), 301-316.

Iqbal, A. (2019). Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects. Journal of South Asian Studies, 6(1), 123-138.

Iqbal, A. (2019). Promoting Democratic Governance: International Perspectives and Challenges. Global Governance, 35(4), 589-602.

Islamabad: National Assembly of Pakistan.

Jahangir, Asma. (2018). The State of Human Rights in Pakistan. Oxford University Press.

Jalal, A. (2002). Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective. Cambridge University Press.

Jan, F. (2010). Pakistan: A Struggling Nation-State. Democracy and Security, 6(3),237–255. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48602672 Journal of Democracy Promotion, 23(3), 456-471.

Kakar, B., Waheedullah, S., & Sultan, R. S. (2017). Challanges and Limitations of Democracy in Pakistan for Promoting Peace and Stability. WALIA Journal 33(1), 21-25.

Kamran, T. (2008). Democracy and Governance in Pakistan. Lahore, Pakistan: South Asia Partnership Pakistan.

Khalid, M. T. (2018, June). Parliament: A symbol of protecting rights and will of the People. Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services, 5(6), 21-24.

Khan, F. A., & Khan, A. S. (2020). Analyzing attitude towards democracy in Pakistan using world values survey. Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis, 12, 125-143.

Khan, H. (2009). Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan (2nd ed.). Lahore, Pakistan: OxfordUniversity Press.

Khan, M. H. (2010). Pakistan: A personal history. Random House.

Khan, M. S. (2016). International Support for Democratic Governance in Pakistan. Pakistan Journal of International Relations, 49(2), 301-316.

Khan, N. (2015). Electoral Irregularities and Democratic Deficits in Pakistan. Journal of South Asian Studies, 3(1), 145-167.

Khan, R. (2022, 09 14). Quality of democracy in Pakistan. TheExpress Tribune: https://tribune.com.pk/story/2376479/quality-of-democracy-in-pakistan

Kokhar, N. I. (2017). Civil Military Relations in Pakistan: Musharraf's Era (1999-2003). Islamabad: Ph.D Thesis, Department of International Relations, National Defence University Islamabad.

Kronstadt, K. A. (2008). Pakistan's Scheduled 2008 Election: Background. Congressional Research Service. Washington: CSR Report for Congress.

Laghari, S. (n.d.). Democracy in Pakistan: Root Causes of weak democratization system in Pakistan. Lodhi, M. (2012). Pakistan Beyond the Crisis State. Islamabad, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

Mariam Mufti, S. S. (2020). Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy (illustrated ed.). USA: Georgetown University Press.

Mustafa, A. (2014, August 21). Culture of feudal impunity. Al Jazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2014/8/21/pakistans-fight-against-feudalism

Niazi, K. H. (2013). Rules and Procedures and Conduct of business in the National Assembly 2007.

Pakistan Institute of Legislative Devellopment and Transparency. (2013). 5 year of 13th National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.

PILDAT. (2018). 5 year of 14th National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Devellopment and Transparency.

PIPS. (2013). Five years of 13th National Assembly of Pakistan 2008-2013. Islamabad, Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.

Political Science, 71(2), 635–649. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42753723 Press.

Qazi, W. (2013). The state of democracy in Pakistan. International Journal of Education and Research, 1(1), 1-16.

Rahman, T. (2014). Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality, and Polarization in Pakistan. Oxford University Press.

Rasheed, A. (2018). Challenges to Democratic Consolidation: The Role of Extremism in Pakistan. South Asian Journal of Politics, 19(2), 345-360.

Rasheed, A. (2019). Judicial Independence and Rule of Law in Pakistan: Current Challenges and Future Prospects. South Asian Journal of Legal Studies, 20(1), 123-138.

Rasheed, A. (2019). Political Dissent and Crackdowns: Challenges to Democracy in Pakistan.

Rehman, I. A. (2019). Pakistan under Siege: Extremism, Society, and the State. Oxford University Press.

Rehmat, A. (2014). Press Freedom in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Reporters Without Borders, (2020). World Press Freedom Index 2020. Reporters Without Borders.

Retrieved from https://www.pildat.org/about-pildat/

Rizvi, H. A. (2006). Democracy of Pakiatan. Lahore: State of democracy in South Asia.

Sahar Shafqat, N. S. (2020). Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy (illustrated ed.). USA: Georgetown University Press.

Sandhu, A. (2009). The Elections of 1936-37 in the Punjab and Political Position of the Muslim League. Pakistan Vision, Punjab University, Lahore. 10.

Sareen, S., & Shekawat, S. (2022, 09 15). The state of democracy in Pakistan. Observer Research Foundation: https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/the-state-of-democracy-in-pakistan/

Sayeed, K. B. (1959). Collapse of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. Middle East Journal, 13(4),389-406.

Shafqat, S. (1998). Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building. The Pakistan Development Review, 37 (4), 281-298. https://thepdr.pk/index.php/pdr/article

Shafqat, S. (1998). Democracy in Pakistan: Value change and challenges of institution building. The Pakistan Development Review, 37(4), 281-298.

Shah, A. (2014). The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan. Harvard University Press.

Sial, A. Q. (2020). Sovereignty of People-Pakistan: A Case Study. South Asian Studies, 26(1), 117-130.

Siddiqa, A. (2007). Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy. Pluto Press.

Siddiqa, A. (2020, April 15). Pakistan's hybrid 'civilian–military' government weakens democracy. East Asia Forum. https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/01/21/pakistans-hybrid-civilian-military-government-weakens-democracy/

Waqas, M., & Khattak, M. (2017). Democracy in Pakistan: Problems and Prospects in Making Informed Choices. International Journal of Social Sciences and Management, 4(1), 9-11.

Warraich, A. N. (2019). The Legislative Proess. Karahi. Retrieved from https://mpdd.punjab.gov.pk/system/files/The%20Legislative%20Process---3.pdf

Yusuf, H. (2016) Pakistan's Civil Society: The Politics of NGO Empowerment. Journal of Democracy, 27(1), 148-162.