

**THE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN:
2002-2018**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
Pakistan Studies

By

MUHAMMAD SALEEM QAZI

Roll No. PHDPS-21-01

Ph.D. Pakistan Studies

Session 2021-2024

Supervised by:

PROF. DR. M. JAVED AKHTAR



**DEPARTMENT OF PAKISTAN STUDIES
BAHAUDDIN ZAKRIYA UNIVERSITY
MULTAN**

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Muhammad Saleem Qazi, a Ph.D student in the Department of Pakistan Studies at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, hereby solemnly declare that the thesis "**The Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan: 2002-2018**" submitted in partial fulfillment of the Ph.D requirement in the subject of Pakistan Studies is my original work. It may also not be submitted to any other university or institution for the purpose of obtaining a degree.

Muhammad Saleem Qazi

FORWARDING CERTIFICATE

It is officially confirmed that Muhammad Saleem Qazi's thesis entitled "**The Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan: 2002-2018**" has been sent to me for further action in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.

Prof. Dr. M. Javed Akhtar
Chairman
Department of Pakistan Studies,
Bahauddin Zakariya University
Multan

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

Muhammad Saleem Qazi's study entitled "**The Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan: 2002-2018**" has been recognized and authorized as partial fulfillment of the Doctor of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies degree requirement.

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. M. Javed Akhtar
Chairman
Department of Pakistan Studies,
Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan

External Examiner-I:

External Examiner-II:

Chairman:

Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Almighty Allah, who inspired men to explore, for completing my research effort. I also appreciate my parents from the bottom of my heart for their prayers and advice throughout my youth, which helped me to do my assignment. I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. M. Javed Akhtar, who not only supported but also assisted me throughout this difficult endeavour, proving to be a light of hope in the midst of my sadness. I owe a debt of gratitude other faculty members who inspired me during class and prepared me for the difficult process of research.

Muhammad Saleem Qazi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Author’s Declaration.....	i
Forwarding Certificate	ii
Approval Certificate.....	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Table of Contents	v
Abbreviations.....	viii
Abstract.....	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Parliamentary Democracies and the Difficulties	5
1.2 Elections and the Problem of Trust.....	6
1.3 Ineffective Political Leadership	7
1.4 Literature Review.....	16
1.5 Statement of the Problem.....	27
1.6 Research Objectives.....	28
1.7 Research Questions	29
1.8 Significance of the Study	30
1.9 Theoretical Framework.....	30
1.10 Research Methodology	32
1.11 Organization of the Study	35
1.12 Conclusion	36
CHAPTER TWO	43
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF FACADE TO GUIDED DEMOCRACY 2002-2008.....	43
2.1 Introduction.....	43

2.2 The Phenomenon of a Military Coup.....	44
2.3 The Response of the Nation.....	46
2.4 The Charter of Democracy: Lessons from History.....	52
2.5 Government's Opponents that Led by General Pervez Musharraf	57
2.6 International Response.....	63
2.7 Arrival of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan.....	67
2.8 Conclusion	72
CHAPTER THREE	78
ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN'S PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY FROM 2008 TO 2013.....	78
3.1 Announcement of the General Elections 2008	79
3.2 Political Parties and their Role in Parliamentary Democratic Process	80
3.3 Energy Crisis.....	82
3.4 Independence of Judiciary	82
3.5 Civil-Military Relations	83
3.6 The Concept of Devolution and its Impact on the Local Government System	87
3.7 Institutional, Legal and Constitutional Reforms between 2008 and 2013.....	95
3.8 The Formation ofParliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR).....	96
3.9 The 18 th Amendment and the Democratic Evolution of Pakistan	97
3.10 Politics Have Changed Hands from the Presidency to Parliament	104
3.11 Neutral and Unbiased Caretaker Governments.....	109
3.12 Aghaz Huqooq-i-Balochistan.....	112
3.13 The process of integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the mainstream.....	113
3.14 The Contemporary Environment of the Media.....	116
3.15 The Economy	120
3.16 Conclusion	122

CHAPTER FOUR.....	130
A MORE TRANQUIL PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN PAKISTAN 2013-2018.....	130
4.1 Preparation for a Calmer Transition	131
4.2 Government under Caretaker Status	132
4.3 The Outcome of the Election	138
4.4 The Post-Election Period	140
4.5 Panama Leaks and the Premature Disqualification of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif	150
4.6 Devolution and Local Government Institutions	158
4.7 The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Also Known as the CPEC	160
4.8 The Preoccupation with The Economy.....	162
4.9 The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): A Critical Analysis via the Lens of Pakistan's Foreign Policy	164
4.10 The subject of discourse concerns Electoral Reforms, with particular emphasis on the Election Act of 2017	165
4.11 The Elections Act of 2017 delineates several noteworthy improvements.	167
4.12 Participation of Women in Political Processes and the Optimization of Voter Registration Procedures	169
CHAPTER FIVE	180
CONCLUSION	180
BIBLIOGRAPHY	194

ABBREVIATIONS

PPP:	Pakistan People's Party
PML (N):	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PML (Q):	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam)
COD:	Charter of Democracy
KP:	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
FATA:	Federally Administered Tribal Area
USA:	United States of America
BD:	Basic Democrats
TLP:	Tehreek-i-Labaik Pakistan
CPEC:	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
GHQ:	General Headquarter
NDU:	National Defense University
NUML:	National University of Modern Languages
PIPS:	Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services
HEC:	Higher Education Commission
APA:	American Psychological Association
NWFP:	North West Frontier Province
AL:	Awami League
AML:	Awami Muslim League
KSP:	Kreshak Sramike Party
NIP:	Nizam-i-islammi Party
GD:	Gantantary Dil
KhRP:	Khilafat-i-Rabbani Party
UF:	United Front

EPAML:	East Pakistan Awami Muslim League
UDF:	United Democratic Front
PM:	Prime Minister
IJI:	Islami Jamhoori Ittihad
JI:	Jamaat-e-Islami
JUP:	Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan
JUI:	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam
PDP:	Pakistan Democratic Front
JUI(F):	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman)
LFO:	Legal Framework Order
NDP:	National Democratic Front
PNA:	Pakistan National Alliance
CMLA:	Chief Martial Law Administrator
MRD:	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
RCO:	Revival of Constitution Order
ISI:	Inter-Services intelligence
MI:	Military Intelligence
COP:	Combined Opposition Parties
PDA:	People Democratic Alliance
JWP:	Jamhoori Watan Party
ANP:	Awami National Party
EC:	Election commission
NAP:	National Awami Party
NDA:	National Democratic Alliance
ND:	No Date
MKP:	Mazdoor Kisan Party

NPP:	National People Party
PIF:	Pakistan Islamic Front
MQM:	Mutahida Qaumi Movement
PPP-SB:	Pakistan People Party Shaheed Bhutto
PPP-ZA:	Pakistan People Party Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto
PCO:	Provisional Constitution Order
PPPP:	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary
PTI:	Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf
QWP:	Qaumi Watan Party
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
NADRA:	National Database & Registration Authority
MMA:	Muttahida Majles-e-Amal
FIA:	Federal Investigation Agency
CIA:	Central Investigation Agency
BNP:	Balochistan National Party
CCI:	Council of Common Interest
AIML:	All India Muslim League
MNA:	Member National Assembly
MPA:	Member Provincial Assembly
CM:	Chief Minister
PDP:	Pakistan Democratic Party
NPP:	National People Party
MDM:	Mutahida Deni Mahaz
IDA:	Islamic Democratic Alliance
MQM:	Muthaida Qaumi Movement

APDM:	All Parties Democratic Movement
NSC:	National Security Council
LHW:	Lady Health Worker
PMB:	Private Money Bill
FAFEN:	Free and Fair Election Network
NFC:	National Finance Commission
PCCR:	Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms
FCR:	Frontier Crimes Regulation
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
NAB:	National Accountability Bureau
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
UNCAC:	United Nations Convention against Corruption
TTP:	Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
ECL:	Exit Control List
PAT:	Pakistan Awami Tehreek
APS:	Army Public School
PIO:	Principal Information Officer
NAP:	National Action Plan
JIT:	Joint Investigation Team
FDI:	Foreign Direct Investment
OBOR:	One Belt One Road
SEZ:	Specific Economic Zone
CNIC:	Computerized National Identity Card
RTS:	Result Transmission System
UAE:	United States Arab Emirates
ARD:	Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy

GDA:	Grand Democratic Alliance
PTM:	Pushtoon Tahafuz Movement
IDP's:	Internally Displaced Persons
COAS:	Chief of Army Staff
EVS:	Electronic Voting System
KPI:	Key Point Index
CCI:	Council of Common Interest
PFUJ:	Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
MML:	Milli Muslim League

ABSTRACT

Democracy is widely acknowledged as the preeminent political system in contemporary society due to its perceived superiority, practicality, and inherent justice. Primarily, the establishment of a parliament is an essential prerequisite for the functioning of a democratic system. This institution holds significant authority as it serves as a representative body for the populace. The Parliament serves as the highest legislative authority within the nation. Countries that have successfully implemented a robust democratic system and demonstrate a high regard for their parliamentary institutions are thriving globally. The fundamental components of a democratic system encompass a legislative body, a judiciary that operates autonomously, and an effective executive branch. It is imperative that these three institutions operate within their designated spheres of authority and adhere to the principles outlined in the constitution. In addition to the system, it is imperative to have free and fair elections, political liberty, and freedom of the press as essential components. Undoubtedly, elections that are free from manipulation serve as the fundamental mechanism for guaranteeing the adequate representation of the populace. The democratic system ensures the protection of the well-being of individuals during the legislative process. Pakistan adopted a democratic system of governance within its borders. The Pakistani populace and its political representatives have significantly contributed to the process of democratization. The constitutional history of Pakistan has been marked by the interference of both military and civilian dictators, which has hindered the development of the country's democratic and parliamentary culture. Indeed, it is evident that the prevailing consensus has consistently exhibited a favorable disposition towards military governance, while concurrently acknowledging the recurrent interference of the military in impeding the advancement of civilian-led administrations. This research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the performance of the Pakistan parliament between 2002 and 2018, with the objective of enhancing democratic processes. This thesis examines the role of democracy and assesses the various factors that have undermined the essence of democracy in Pakistan. Additionally, it provides several recommendations to enhance parliamentary democracy in the country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Politicians and other influential people must frequently negotiate and forge alliances to ensure electoral victory and effective governance in a democratic system. Professor Dahl, a prominent academic at Yale, dissected the idea of democracy in all its complexity. It is more accurate to categories such systems as oligarchies, he claimed, because his perspective acknowledges the lack of complete democratization in any substantial real-world organization. The liberalization and openness of these oligarchies are striking features. Oldenburg's (2011) follow-up studies corroborate this position, showing that no country has ever achieved a more sophisticated version of democracy than oligarchy. Core aspects of democratization and democracy include the right to free speech and the use of elections to settle political disputes. It's generally agreed that elections are critical to a functioning democracy. From this vantage point, elections can be seen as the materialization of a democratic framework (Haynes, 2012).

The democratic system in Pakistan has repeatedly shown significant flaws, most of which result from a failure to adhere to the constitutional framework in theory and practise and a disregard for the electoral mandate. Even throughout the aforementioned times of what appear to be democratically elected administrations, the bureaucracy and military often held sway. Between the years 1951 and 1955, a governor general ruled with absolute power. This was followed by a period of instability and contested occurrences of executive power abuse within the democratic system, which lasted from 1972 until 1977. The military authority secretly ruled the country from 1988 to 1999. A civilian administration took over from an autocratic one in 2008 and stayed in power for the whole five years. After free and fair elections were held in Pakistan in 1970, a new window of opportunity opened up for the development of democratic norms and institutions. However, provincial alienation hampered any chance of advancement and led directly to the onset of civil strife. This led to the eastern part of Pakistan breaking away to form its own nation, which is now known as Bangladesh. An intense and counterproductive intervention in the election process ruined a golden opportunity. It was hoped that the 1977 elections would further solidify democratic norms and practices. Unfortunately, widespread social unrest caused by vote fraud made it easier for the

military to reclaim power. Since 1977, the Pakistani military has been steadily expanding its sphere of influence. During the twelve years of elected governments, this impact went much beyond its function as a power broker inside government and occasional assumption of direct authority. It seeped through the social and national fabric of the country as a whole. However, political regime changes in 1988 and 1999, followed by another transition in 2008, have contributed to Pakistan's rising volatility (Baqal, 2010). Civil society and political parties are not able to pose a significant challenge to the military because of the country's power structure. However, a democratically fit system that is broadly supported by the populace is essential for a nation to run at peak performance. More importantly, it is essential that this system be allowed to function, as this will allow for its formation, strengthening, and efficient administration of the nation and its institutions. According to Khan (2009), political instability in a country slows its development. It is crucial to provide the system the freedom to fix its own problems, as flaws are a constant feature of any system. Parliamentary democracy is largely regarded as the best method for expressing the will of the people in today's society, and it is the system that this country has constantly embraced and promoted. After years of autocratic control, the country finally had reason to celebrate when free elections were held in 2008. This marked the beginning of a new era of civilian leadership. Furthermore, the government in question completed its full five-year term, adding weight to its accomplishments. The Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) won the most seats in parliamentary elections held in February 1997, allowing Nawaz Sharif to become prime minister with a strong mandate. Nawaz Sharif was deposed from office on October 12, 1999, after General Pervez Musharraf staged a military coup in the wee hours of the morning. General (R) Pervez Musharraf presided over the military rule during the general elections of 2002, which, like the elections of 1985, took place amid a crisis of legitimacy. Therefore, it was critical for the administration to present a more civilian front. The leader engineered the preparation of elections in an effort to legitimize his authority and pave the way for the eventual handover of power to a civilian administration. This tendency was supported by the behavior of the electorate and the low rate of voter participation. However, we must recognize that the aforementioned elections were a driving force in improving the electoral process in Pakistan (Waseem, 2006). The primary problem with these elections was that they were managed by a military ruler. But it set off a chain reaction that is still going strong in the modern period. Pakistan's electoral history shows a chronic dearth of backing for the growth and maturation of

democratic procedures. According to Rizvi (2014), the nation's progress has been stunted since certain electoral practices have prevented the growth of a sturdy democratic spirit. The decade between 2008 and 2018 is pivotal in Pakistan's political and democratic history. Three consecutive general elections occurred during this time period, marking a turning point in history. It was also the culmination of the 13th and 14th national assembly' constitutional mandates, which lasted for a total of ten years. Former cricketer turned politician Imran Khan and his Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party took over after the country's elections in July 2018 (Afzal, 2019).

By ousting General Pervez Musharraf's autocratic military regime and installing the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) as the governing party at the national level, the general elections of 2008 marked a significant step forward in the development of democratic elections (Goodson, 2008). A major political group with the second-highest parliamentary representation in Pakistan, the Pakistan Muslim League (N), has decided to join the opposition. The elections are historic because they usher in the first democratic change in Pakistan's political history. After serving its constitutionally required five-year term, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) did much to foster a more democratic culture in the country. Pakistan's parliament was essential in fixing the country's governance problems, safeguarding minority rights, empowering women, and modernizing the economy and the electoral system during the 13th national assembly (2008-2013) (Nazeer, 2018). Furthermore, the parliament effectively implemented the 18th constitutional amendment using a consensual political method. The intent of the amendment was to roll out interim governments at the national and regional levels and to roll back to the original version of the constitution from 1973. The above steps were put into place to ensure fair and transparent elections and to aid in a peaceful handover of power from one political party to another. As a result, as emphasized by Haider (2014), the 13th national assembly placed great emphasis on strengthening democracy.

Elections in 2013 were a watershed moment for democracy in Pakistan. As the peaceful handover of power from the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) following the PPP's constitutional term ended, the aforementioned event marked a significant milestone in the political history of Pakistan. This election cycle was different from others in a number of ways, the most obvious being the involvement of three major political parties. This was a significant break from

the previous four decades, as the political composition of the electorate shifted, lending support to the democratic system as a whole. The aforementioned occurrence in 2008 was a major step forward in the maturation of democracy (Samad, 2017). Problems like terrorism, extremism, and worsening law and order were just some of the issues Pakistan had to face. So, it was a huge challenge to have elections in the midst of all that chaos. But the Election Commission of Pakistan, working with a neutral caretaker administration, successfully staged the electoral system in a harmonious manner, adhering to the principles of legitimate governance. This led to a large number of people participating in elections and showing their support for the continued push for democracy by casting ballots. Pakistan's democratic culture and the political awareness of its population have been bolstered by the country's election process and the peaceful transition of power that followed. As a result, voters now choose political parties depending on how well those parties have performed. This trend shows promise for the future. Raise (2017) argues that if these cultural phenomena is maintained and strengthened over the course of several election cycles, it will help to gradually improve and consolidate the democratic system. In addition to fostering greater competition among political parties and candidates, raising political awareness among voters, promoting gender equality and empowerment, fortifying legal structures, and establishing a routine practice of regular elections within a system of participatory governance, the conduct of these elections has contributed to the advancement of various democratic characteristics (Khan & Sarmad, 2015).

The general elections held in Pakistan in July 2018 marked a significant milestone in the country's 71-year electoral history: the third uninterrupted transfer of power from one elected civilian administration to another (Krity & Sareen, 2018). Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) has come to dominate Pakistani politics thanks to widespread backing from the country's middle class and young people in metropolitan areas. The increased availability of electronic and digital media in Pakistan has contributed to this backing. This allowed the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) to build a national coalition government as well as provincial governments in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan. The PTI's revolutionary programme and its cordial engagement with the military and establishment are largely responsible for the country's recent achievements. Voter participation increased dramatically in successive elections compared to the first general election in 1970. Pakistan's political system has undergone major shifts thanks to the

steady spread of parliamentary democracy and rising levels of voter engagement. Changes in the nation's social, political, and economic landscapes have resulted from these changes (Afzal, 2019).

1.1 Parliamentary Democracies and the Difficulties

Since the people of Pakistan believe that Almighty Allah alone possesses ultimate sovereignty over the entire Universe, and since they also believe that He has entrusted them with the responsibility of exercising authority within the limits He has set, it follows that this authority is holy. In addition, the people of Pakistan have a deep desire to set up a system of government based on certain values. Democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice are all concepts espoused by Islam, and the State must exercise its rights and authority through representatives of the people who have been lawfully elected.

The aforementioned constitution has come to serve as the basic basis of our democratic system, and its influence appears to have been firmly cemented. All legislators and other public servants must swear an oath of allegiance before they may begin working. In 2008, Pakistan reached a watershed moment in its political history with the installation of its first democratic government, marking the culmination of a long process of transition away from authoritarian military rule. The formation of a supposedly autonomous democratic framework in Pakistan marked a watershed moment in the country's political history and marked the effective conclusion of an entire quinquennial term in office. The current elected legislative assembly, like past parliaments, encountered several challenges, hazards, and instances of political intrusion that weakened its independence (Oldenburg, 2011). A brief summary is offered, with emphasis on many significant challenges.

It's common knowledge that when countries are confronted with authoritarian regimes, members of opposing political parties band together to push for democratic reforms. However, the implementation of democratic principles in Pakistan has met with several challenges, such as frequent governmental conflicts, which have considerably slowed the development of democratic norms within the political landscape of the country. Thus, the non-democratic and inconsistent behaviour of political elites in their pursuit of genuine democracy raises serious concern (Zaka M. R., 2018). Consequently, between the years

1988 and 1999 and between the years 2008 and 2013, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) ruled the country. This allowed the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) to create a government after they won elections in May 2013. It is also true that Mian Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, heads of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), respectively, have fought hard for the return of democratic governance in Pakistan. As a result, democratic ideas have gained greater acceptance in both the public and political arenas (Qazi, 2013). Furthermore, both camps have shown a lack of commitment to protecting the basic rights of the general public, especially those of historically marginalized groups. This includes failing to uphold the rule of law and focusing too little on ensuring people have access to the resources they need to make a living. Lack of democratic principles is not the root cause of crime; rather, the display of dictatorial hubris by leaders and governments is. Despite their rhetoric about restoring democratic ideals, these governments have failed to effectively address the concerns of the public.

1.2 Elections and the Problem of Trust

To be sure, regular organization of elections that are fair and independent from arbitrary limits is a crucial part of a genuine parliamentary democracy. In this respect, the results of Pakistan's elections have been disappointing. So losing groups kept complaining about the unfairness of the elections and both sides accused each other of engaging in fraudulent behavior. Furthermore, it is critical to realise that, while in power, political parties in Pakistan have been seen manipulating election outcomes. The multi-party system's inherent intricacies are largely to blame for the aforementioned situation, making it difficult for any one party to gain an outright majority. As a result, it is not uncommon for countries to form coalition governments in an effort to maintain stable leadership. However, concerns regarding the lack of accountability and openness in the political process are warranted by claims like those of election manipulation (Gauhar, 2008). In academic circles, there is a lot of talk about the disconnect between the public and their elected officials. Given that the military has historically held power in Pakistan, it is fair to say that the vast majority of the country's political leaders support genuine democracy. It's also been pointed out that election campaigns are a prime time for political leaders to reach out to the public in an effort to sway public opinion and win votes. However, once

people reach positions of responsibility, they often seem to distance themselves from the rest of society (Shah, 2014).

1.3 Ineffective Political Leadership

Because of corrupt and incompetent leaders, Pakistan has been unable to make progress in the political sphere. It has been observed with regret that political leaders in Pakistan have a propensity for damaging national institutions through the adoption of reckless policies. Because of this, it is crucial to examine the political leadership's policies and actions in depth to determine whether or not they are aware of the potential implications (Hashmi, 2018). Consistency in behaviour and attitude among political leaders and elites has been cited as a major impediment to democratic progress in Pakistan (Ahmed, 2014). While it is encouraging that democracy has been restored and that efforts are being made to reinforce its foundations, it is disappointing that our political leadership has not done a better job of creating an environment that supports democratic ideals. The use of negotiation, consensus building, and bargaining methods in the creation of policy frameworks has the ability to effectively address conflicts. But it's crucial to recognize that political parties often aid in maintaining rivalries and enacting policies that further polarize society (Kokhar, 2017).

One more thing that makes democratic regimes vulnerable is that the elite can't seem to agree on anything. One of the most important things that can be done to help build democratic institutions is to have people in positions of power and privilege take part in those efforts. They only pretend to be democratic in order to gain political power. Rather than foster an environment that promotes tolerance towards opposing political factions, those in positions of control often execute measures that cultivate inflexible and authoritarian mindsets. According to Mariam Mufti (2020), people who do this are breaking the law and contributing to societal divisions. According to Sial (2011), parliamentarians and political parties who are entrusted with the responsibility of upholding the efficacy of democratic processes are to blame for the public's dissatisfaction with democracy as a form of governance.

Judicial, military, and democratically elected governments fought each other more frequently between 2008 and 2013. According to Kokhar (2017), the military and security services, in tandem with an activist judiciary, have repeatedly hampered the state's

efficiency by undertaking actions outside of their purview. According to Kokhar (2017), the relationship between the PPP-led Federal Government, the military and security apparatus, and the judiciary has been tumultuous and complicated since 2008. There have been significant upheavals in the course of this partnership, which has upset the institutional dynamics of a Parliamentary democracy. Increased friction was evident in the contacts between the civilian judicial system and the civilian military. The judiciary took a proactive stance and made unprecedented use of the 'suo motu' clause to address a wide range of concerns, including accusations of corruption, appointments to the civil service, economic matters, and violations of human rights (Lodhi, 2012). As a result, the judiciary has expanded its purview to include the parliament's administrative bodies, even when doing so would violate a specific constitutional requirement. As a result, the above factors have increased friction between the judiciary and other state agencies, increased the burden on the court system, and clouded the meaning of parliamentary sovereignty. The court also voiced concern over government nominees to regulatory bodies (Hashmi, 2018).

The Musharraf government in Pakistan took a lot of heat for the military meddling in politics. After Musharraf's ouster, General Ashfaq Kayani took over as Chief of Army Staff (COAS), and he promptly issued a statement reiterating the military's promise to stay out of politics. Asif Ali Zardari's prominence within the party, which included the office of prime minister, paved the way for him to assume the de facto head of state position. PPP legislators' strong support indicated a political climate conducive to a civilian administration exercising genuine and unchecked authority. The individual took on an imposing stance. According to the National Reconciliation Order of 2007, the individual in question was given amnesty, clearing him of all charges. To streamline the electoral process and ensure the participation of the two significant political parties, Benazir Bhutto and former General Pervez Musharraf reached the aforementioned decision through negotiations. However, the nature of this amnesty was short-lived. After the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) was enacted, it was met with widespread criticism and was pronounced null and void from the start. Tragically, unwarranted military interventions hampered the ability of the civilian government to function autonomously (Hashmi, 2018). Instances of disagreement between the civilian administration and the military have weakened the authority of the former. The

aforementioned scenario is illustrative of the inherent unfairness of Pakistan's parliamentary democracy.

It is the state's primary responsibility to ensure the safety of its people and their possessions under a parliamentary democracy. Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge the significance of the judicial system and the police in this setting. Ineffectiveness in keeping the peace, supporting the rule of law, and ensuring order have plagued democratic administrations since their inception. This has led to a worrying increase in extremism and terrorism, which has damaged Pakistan's reputation both at home and abroad. In addition, political parties' roles as instruments for doling out favours and mobilising the populace are crucial to the success of Pakistan's parliamentary democracy. It follows that changing the "role of political parties as agents of interests and proponents within the legislative institution" (Lodhi, 2012) is crucial to the challenge of political leadership. It is unfortunate that political leaders are more likely to favour authoritarian inclinations and measures than they are to promote democratic tolerance, rule of law, and the adoption of behaviours, policies, and values that allow opposition parties to function (Huntington, 2012). The following guidelines have the potential to increase the efficiency and longevity of parliamentary democracy.

1. According to the claim made by the representative, free, fair, and transparent elections are of paramount importance under a democratic system of government. The purpose of these elections is to give the people a real say in who represents them in the legislature and whether or not they approve of the job the government is doing. The government should be responsible for enacting the people's will as a whole. This will make sure that everyone is safe, that everyone has an equal shot at success, and that everyone may participate fully in political and social life.
2. To be transparent is to adhere to the fundamental idea of making all government actions and decisions on matters of public concern easily accessible and easy to understand. In addition, the media must be given the freedom to remark on or criticise these issues.
3. Individuals, including those who represent the interests of civil society, must be actively engaged and involved for accessibility to be achieved. Parliament's responsibility includes making itself as accessible as possible to the public and prioritising their interests and well-being. Politicians and government officials

have a responsibility to make themselves as accessible to the public as feasible.

4. A basic principle of democratic government is accountability, the idea that those who hold positions of authority should be held responsible for their actions and results during their terms in office. Accountability of elected officials to the electorate is crucial in the current political climate because it increases openness and trust in the democratic process.
5. Last but not least, the elected government's laws and operational systems must prove effective. No independent and powerful interest groups, external entities, or established hierarchy should undermine, obfuscate, or condition the primacy of elected authorities. Institutions must scrupulously conform to the limits that have been imposed on them. It is of the utmost significance that the laws passed by parliament be followed by the government. It is crucial that corporate and government practises are consistent with democratic ideas and values. This research project analyses how Pakistan's parliamentary system affects the growth and development of democracy in the country. Parliament safeguards the rights of its constituents and plays a pivotal role in crafting a constitution that values diversity and inclusion (Ahmed, 2014). It is, in short, a reflection of the public's hopes and dreams. Legislation and societal/economic change play essential and prominent roles, and so have considerable sway.

The Constitution was established in 1973 and adopted after the revolt in October 1999. Incorporation into the United States Constitution was the formal means through which the First Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1791. This led to the 1868 ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The majority of the latter amendment was put on hold in 1977, only to be reinstated in December 1985. The aforementioned measure was put on hold by the military government following the 1999 coup. After legislative elections in November 2002, however, some of the rights were restored. In a similar vein, in June 2001, General Pervaiz Musharraf, who was at the time the Army Chief of Staff, dissolved parliament along with the legislatures of four provinces. All of the above happened under a military dictatorship that had been in power since October 1999. As a result of the current situation, President Rafiq Tarar has resigned, allowing General Musharraf to take office. In April 2002, a vote was held to confirm General Musharraf's five-year presidency. Elections for the National Assembly were held in October 2002, and the resulting legislature was characterised by a hung legislature. The parliamentary

representatives of the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) won 63 seats, while the Pervaiz Musharraf-backed Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML-Q) won 77 seats. The Commonwealth observer team, however, confirmed that the election held on the designated day was valid. Despite the government's numerous safeguards, there are differing views on whether or not the electoral process is fair and impartial. A senior member of the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q), Mir Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali became Prime Minister of Pakistan after being elected in a free and fair election. Additionally, Chaudhary Amir Hussain, a PML-Q member, was elected as the National Assembly Speaker. The political groups in opposition and General Musharraf are at odds due to the implementation of the legal framework order. The President's ability to remove the Prime Minister and dissolve Parliament, as well as his dual roles as Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan, are at the heart of the ongoing conflict. Because of this, the political process has stalled. Since the legislature was effectively paralysed, executive orders became the primary vehicle through which the government exercised its authority. The opposition to the Legal Framework Order was spearheaded by the Muttahidda Majlis-e-Amal (MMA). The PML-N, the PPPP, and a number of smaller political parties came together to form a coalition in opposition to the current government and with the goal of restoring democratic governance. However, the coalition's effectiveness was diminished by the absence of exiled leaders Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, and then further weakened by the untimely death of Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP). General Musharraf, on the other hand, was able to secure a vote of confidence from the two legislative chambers and the four provincial assemblies in January 2004. The CMAG ministers agreed to reinstate Pakistan to the Commonwealth Council in 2004. The decision was made because of Pakistan's commendable progress towards establishing and strengthening democratic governance. Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain was appointed as Prime Minister till July 2004 after the resignation of the previous leader in June 2004. After Hussain won an assembly seat, the previous Finance Minister, Shaukat Aziz, became the new Prime Minister. General Musharraf announced in public in December 2004 that he planned to remain Chief of Army Staff and President of the country until 2007, if elections were held. In light of the Supreme Court's deliberation on whether or not Pervaiz Musharraf could serve as president while also being Chief of Army Staff in October 2007, Musharraf was widely recognised as the election's unofficial victor. Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) leader Benazir Bhutto, who had been living in exile, returned to Pakistan after the country's presidential elections

were concluded in October 2007. A suicide bomber attacked the convoy when it was travelling from the airport to Karachi. The victim in question managed to survive the aforementioned attack, but the bombing resulted in serious injuries and even deaths for many others.

In response to critical national issues, General Musharraf proclaimed a state of emergency in November 2007, which led to the temporary suspension of the constitution by a constitutional declaration. Protesters, political opponents, and media members were all detained in the Musharraf case. In addition, major commercial television networks were compelled to implement news blackouts. In addition, eight Supreme Court Judges, including Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary, were imprisoned, banned from leaving their homes, and ultimately fired for refusing to acknowledge the PCO's legitimacy. But pressure from abroad mounted to get the country back on track with its constitution and the set timeline for free and fair parliamentary elections. On November 22, 2007, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) met in Kampala, Uganda, where they spoke with Pervaiz Musharraf and ultimately decided to suspend Pakistan's participation in the Commonwealth Councils. The suspension was contingent on the restoration of democratic rule in the country and the establishment of basic legal norms. President Musharraf has appointed Mian Muhammad Soomro to the positions of interim Prime Minister and Chief Justice. General Musharraf became president for a five-year term after the state of emergency was lifted in December 2007, at which time he also stepped down as Chief of Army Staff. For the second time that year, Nawaz Sharif, exiled leader of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), was granted permission to return to the nation. Benzair Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif had both publicly declared their candidatures for the upcoming legislative election by the end of November 2007. But on December 27, 2007, in Rawalpindi, an assassin put an end to Benzair Bhutto's life. The aforementioned tragedy occurred as she was leaving a political event, leading to widespread outrage throughout the country. As a result, Bilawal Bhutto is now widely recognised as Benazir Bhutto's political heir apparent. During Bilawal's time at school, Benzair Bhutto's husband, Mr. Zardari, led the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) as its co-chair. Because of this, national elections that were supposed to take place in January were pushed back.

In the parliamentary elections of February 2008, 44% of eligible voters cast ballots. Even though no one party won a plurality of seats, opposition groups were able to capture a majority of them. Examples include the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) winning 125 seats against the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz's (PML-N) 91 victories. On the other hand, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) won 25 seats to the Awami National Party's 13. Former President Musharraf's (PML-Q) political party, which received a total of 53 seats in the election, has suffered major setbacks, including the resignation of several ministers. However, Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) created a coalition administration that included the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP). The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) resumed its activities in 2008 with a first meeting held in London on May 12. The group decided on a course of action for the discussed issues after much discussion. In order to meet its commitments to the core principles and values upheld by the Commonwealth, the government of Pakistan has taken aggressive efforts. The statement claims that Pakistan has been readmitted as a full member of the Commonwealth. General Pervez Musharraf resigned from office in August 2008 after receiving warnings from the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP). The threat of impeachment proceedings in the legislature was the subject of these warnings. After President Musharraf resigned in September 2008, Co-chair of the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) Asif Ali Zardari became the next president of Pakistan. The ensuing presidential elections ultimately propelled him to power. While Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddique, the nominee for the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), received 153 votes and Mushahid Hussain Syed, the nominee for the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q), received 44 votes, Zardari received 481 votes in total, winning the election. After the elections, the PML-N decided to break away from the ruling coalition that included the PPPP, MQM, JUI-F, and ANP.

Immediately following the conclusion of the presidential elections, nine ministers from the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party resigned. The lawmakers of the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP) were blamed for the mass resignations because they were seen as unconcerned about bringing back judges who had been removed during a state of emergency in 2007. But the above action led to the dissolution of the ruling coalition government of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP), allowing for the formation of a new government of the PPPP, the

Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F), and the Awami National Party (ANP). In late February 2009, the Supreme Court of Pakistan affirmed Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif's disqualification from taking office. Consequently, Governor's rule was imposed in the Province of Punjab, with Nawaz Sharif joining the lawyer's movement and his brother Shahbaz Sharif becoming Chief Minister. The lawyer's movement was working hard to get the Chief Justice back on the bench. The government released a public announcement in March 2009 regarding the reinstatement of the dismissed Chief Justice due to the likelihood of widespread social unrest. They also called for a thorough review of the Supreme Court's decision to remove the Sharif brothers from power. Therefore, in May 2009, the Supreme Court delivered a verdict that reversed the lower court's decision, restoring Mr. Shahbaz Sharif to his position as Chief Minister of the province of Punjab. According to Adeney (2012), Nawaz Sharif's convictions for hijacking and terrorism, handed down after a military takeover in October 1999, were reversed by the Supreme Court in July 2009.

The Supreme Court overturned the "National Proclamation Ordinance" from October 2007 in November 2009. The target audience for this law was politicians and other people in authoritative positions who have been accused of wrongdoing. Many of the recipients of these ordinances have been accused of corruption since their nullification. Prime Minister Gillani was found guilty of contempt of court by the Supreme Court on April 26, 2012. He made this choice because he didn't ask the Swiss government to start looking into President Zardari's money laundering case again. Prime Minister Gillani was thus removed from office on June 19, 2012. The Parliament held elections on the 22nd of June, and Raja Pervaiz Ashraf was chosen as the next Prime Minister. After the National Assembly's five-year term ended in March 2013, national and provincial elections were scheduled to take place on May 11, 2013. After taking an oath of office, Mir Hazar Khan Khosa became the temporary Prime Minister of Pakistan. A total of 54% of eligible voters participated in the election. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) won the election by receiving 32.4% of the vote and 184 seats out of a possible 323. The Pakistan Peoples Party (PPPP) won 42 seats in parliament, or 15.2% of the popular vote. Under Imran Khan's leadership, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party won 30 seats in parliament, or 16.9% of the vote. The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) won 12 seats, or 3.2% of the vote. With only about 5.4% of the vote, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) still managed to win 23 seats. In addition, there were eight non-party affiliated

candidates in the election, who received 13% of the vote. On 5 June 2013, Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister after being elected to that role by parliamentarians. The winning candidate received 244 votes, while his closest rival, Makhdoom Amin Fahim of the PPPP, received 42 votes. Kahhdoon Javaid Hashmi, a candidate for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), won 31 seats in the election. Momnoon Hussain, a leader of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party, was elected president on July 30, 2013, and he has since taken office. Hussain received 432 votes, more than his opponent Wajihuddin Ahmed, the candidate nominated by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party, who received 77 votes. As a result, the PPPP decided not to put forth a candidate.

Forty years after the commencement of a countrywide legislative democracy as envisaged in the 1973 constitution, the elections of 2013 and their consequent outcome marked a significant turning point in the transfer of authority from one elected administration to another. The last parliament missed numerous opportunities to make changes, but it did recognise the significance of passing major laws to restructure elected power. In addition, it represented a time of mutual assistance. During its five-year term in office, the 14th National Assembly of ^{Pakistan} successfully implemented a number of noteworthy projects and adopted significant laws, as described in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Parliamentary Session During 2002-2008

Indicator	2006-2007	2005-2006	2004-2005	2003-2004	2002-2003
Regular Sessions	09	08	09	09	10
Joint Sessions	02	03	09	10	11
Assembly Sittings	41	32	32	40	56
Total Working Days	136	122	132	101	112
Resolution Presented	35	61	44	45	71
Questions asked	1,234	840	515	602	1,345
Lack of Quorum	47 times	12 times	43 times	21 times	11 times
Point of Order raised	410	232	230	132	148
Calling Attention Notices	302	420	100	32	122
Adjournment Motion	104	101	133	104	176
Privilege Motions	40	33	22	13	41
Government Bills	11	03	03	08	02
Private Member Bills	10	10	23	12	21

Source: (<https://fafen.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Compendium-National-Assembly-Elections-1970-2008-Pakistan.pdf>;<https://newslab.tribune.com.pk/legislative-output-over-the-years/>)

1.4 Literature Review

The researcher has combined the scholarly studies conducted by eminent Pakistani and foreign academics to acquire a thorough familiarity with the voting process and its significance inside a democratic society. Focusing on the general elections held between 2008 and 2018, these studies go deeply into the field of electoral politics. Several important books, articles, and studies are discussed here.

Voting in free and fair elections is commonly recognized as the bedrock upon which modern democracies rest. Electoral studies emerged as its own subfield within the social sciences as a result of multiple studies done in the United States and Great Britain during the 1940s and 1950s. Psephology is the name given to the academic discipline concerned with the study of electoral processes. Professor R.B. McCallum coined the term during the first-ever Nuffield Election studies of the 1952 British general election (Palmer, 1975).

Palmer, in a book of the same name, examines the electoral and political history of Pakistan from its independence from British colonial control through the installation of the first civilian-elected administration under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The person's opinion was that the key causes leading to the weakness of democracy in Pakistan are the lack of regular and periodic elections and the self-styled rule. The author shows that elections were only held for provincial legislatures during the first stage of democratic administration in Pakistan (1947–1958). Pakistan's first constitution was enacted in 1956, but the country didn't have general elections again until Martial Law was instituted in 1958. To replace the traditional electoral college in the selection of a president and national and provincial legislatures, the military government commanded by General Ayub Khan in 1959 instituted a new system called Basic Democrats. The notion of democratic representation was severely weakened by the introduction of limited suffrage. To integrate regionalism into Pakistan's political scene, General Yahya Khan oversaw the country's first general elections in 1970 and instituted the Legal Framework Order (LFO). The fragmentation of Pakistan was brought about because its political leaders were unable to rise above irrational regionalist tendencies and form a unified federal government. After East Pakistan was split off, the most popular political party in West Pakistan was led by Z. A. Bhutto, who established a constitution in 1973 and began the transition to democratic rule.

To paraphrase American political scientist Key's (1955) argument in his book "The Responsible Electorate," elections are a formal manifestation of collective decision-making, impacted by a chain of preceding and subsequent behaviours. In addition, elections are generally accepted as a legitimate and peaceful method of handing power from one government to another.

Famous political scientist Professor Mackenzie (1958) also wrote a book about elections, titled "Elections and Democracy," in which he offered his thoughts on the topic. The person believes that elections are complex political operations that must be understood in the context of a country's political and social structure.

In his classic work "Transition to Democracy" (1970), Walt Rostow lays forth a theoretical framework that specifies the four stages of changing over to a democratic government. Democracy has been practised in the majority of developing nations since their start, and Pakistan is no exception. But these nations still face challenges in their pursuit of a more democratic future. Problems stem from a wide variety of factors, including a lack of social and economic development, the poor execution of land reforms, the current state of security, the search for individual identity, the weakness of political institutions, and a lack of political education among the general populace. There is a democratic gap since these conditions are not met in many emerging nations.

A sense of national unity characterises the first stage of the Rostow four-stage framework, which also includes the background condition phase, the preparatory phase, the decision phase, where the top political leadership reaches a consensus, and the habituation phase, which involves either resolving the community's issues or adapting to the prevailing situation. This approach offers a holistic view of how to make the change to a democratic government.

According to Farhatullah's (no date) paper "Democracy and Elections," free, fair, and transparent elections are crucial to maintaining the integrity of democratic institutions. Elections that are free, fair, and transparent were cited as being important in the individual's view for both preserving political stability and raising political awareness. It helped to stabilise a country's political institutions, according to the author. The person argued that a country's political system should be structured in a way that ensures free and fair voting for all citizens. The author argues that a free and fair election process requires

a free and fair court, an independent electoral commission, civil society organisations, democratic political institutions, and a robust media. Finally, the author provides a thorough breakdown of the several types of electoral fraud that have been documented in Pakistani elections, including system or institutional fraud, pre-poll fraud, election day fraud, and post-election fraud.

Taylor's "Parties, Elections, and Democracy in Pakistan," published in 1992, argues that elections are important for doing two things: expressing the public's political preferences and creating a link between the people and the government through policymaking.

In his in-depth book "The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century," Huntington (1999) analyses the evolution of democracy in developing nations, focusing particularly on South Asian countries like Pakistan. Authoritarian and military takeovers, as well as the succeeding democratisation process, are depicted, together with their effects on South Asian third-world states. The author argues that democratisation in these countries faces challenges on many fronts, including cultural, political, religious, and economic ones. Furthermore, the author argues that democratization in developing nations like Pakistan faces substantial hurdles due to a lack of expertise in the process, a lack of dedicated leaders, the fragility of political parties, and the infrequency of elections.

In his book titled "Democratisation in Pakistan: A Study of 2002 Elections" author Waseem (2006) offers a comprehensive examination of the elections of that year in the context of Pakistan's democratisation process. The book claims that it took forty years to make the change from military to civilian administration. This book provides a theoretical framework for analysing the many different accounts of democratic procedures in Pakistan. Topics covered in the book that were key issues in the 2002 elections include political parties, voters, legislators, campaigns, and partisan divides. The author provides a comprehensive evaluation of the political changes made under General Pervez Musharraf's rule. Included in these changes were the 2000 Devolution of Power Plan, the 2002 Presidential Referendum, the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, changes to the voting process, and the creation of a national accountability system. The author concludes by stating his belief that the general elections of 2002, despite being engineered by military dictator General Pervez Musharraf, are largely recognised as an important component of a greater trajectory towards democratic administration.

As the title suggests, Haider's (2008) book, "Pakistan General Elections 2008," provides an in-depth look at the country's general election that year. He has given us a lot of information on each group that voted for him. Information about the political parties that ran in the 2008 elections is included in the report as well, such as the party manifestos, the number of seats won in both the provincial and national assemblies, and the results of any by-elections that were held.

In his article "Structural Imperatives for Fair Elections," Inayat (2010) outlined the factors that must be in place to guarantee honest voting. In addition, he suggested changes that would improve Pakistan's election system's openness to the public.

Research by Baqai (2013), titled "Transition to Democracy in Pakistan: A comparison to Rostow Thesis," provides extensive understanding of Pakistan's democratisation effort. The essentials of democracy have been the primary focus of her studies. The person believes that the weakening of democracy in Pakistan can be attributed to the following: a lack of socioeconomic development, insufficient land reform implementation, the current security environment, and the weakness of political parties. She has also argued that civil society organisations, political parties, and their leaders, as exemplified by the Charter of Democracy (COD) in 2006, have all played a role in Pakistan's drawn-out and ultimately fruitless process of democratisation. The author has shown that significant progress has been made in the process of democratic consolidation in Pakistan, with a growing percentage of people in the population indicating their choice for and support of this form of government. Several signs of democratic consolidation have emerged during the period of civilian-led government (2008-2013). There needs to be a vibrant media landscape, rule of law, improved access to justice, protection of civil and political rights, economic growth, democratic functioning of political parties through consensus politics, and so on.

Despite being held under military rule, the elections of 2002 are largely viewed as an important step towards the formation of democratic systems, as stated by the Commonwealth Observer Mission in its report on the Pakistan General Elections of 2013. The killing of Benazir Bhutto loomed large over the national elections in 2008. The electoral process has stoked healthy rivalry amongst the major parties. The report claims that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) became the largest political party in the country following the 2008 elections. It was then that the PPP, both nationally and in the provinces of Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Balochistan, formed a coalition

government with other smaller political groups. Sectarianism, terrorism, an impending energy crisis, natural disasters, economic instability, and the capture of Osama bin Laden within Pakistan's borders were only some of the many obstacles faced by the PPP government. The democratic system in Pakistan has been significantly strengthened thanks to the efforts of the PPP government, which overcame these obstacles. The 18th amendment, which restored parliamentary democracy after it had been suspended during a period of military rule, was essential in bringing about this change. A neutral caretaker government was also established, political parties were extended to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) via the political party order, General Pervez Musharraf's local government system was maintained, and the procedure for installing caretaker setups was redefined via the 20th amendments to the Constitution. The general elections in Pakistan in 2008 are generally seen as a major milestone in the country's march towards democracy. For the first time in Pakistan's political history, one democratically elected government was peacefully succeeded by another following this election. The report also emphasises the importance of the 2013 elections, noting that this was the first time an elected administration was able to complete its full term in office.

In her article "Pakistan in Transition towards a Substantive Democracy," Baqai (2014) argues that the country's democracy was stunted and akin to a bonsai before the democratic transition of 2008. This democracy, despite its deliberate cultivation, lacked both a solid basis and widespread influence. According to this person, a new pattern of democratic governance emerged after the elections of 2008, one in which the legislature, the press, and the courts all play important roles in fostering democracy. Pakistan's connections with the United States and India are changing, and the author has recognised three tendencies in this development: the strengthening of the judiciary, the involvement of the media, and the realignment of civil-military relations.

According to the research of Rizwan et al. (2014), titled "Democratic Milestone in Pakistan: A Serene Transition of Command from PPP to PML-N," the democratic transition in Pakistan has been thoroughly analysed. In order to ensure a peaceful transition of power from one elected administration to another (in this case, from the PPP to the PML-N), the author claims that forty years were spent restoring the 1973 constitution to its original form. According to this person, sweeping changes occurred during this time in the areas of administration, politics, the constitution, the courts, and

elections. These changes were made to guarantee a fair and liberated transition of power to the governing party in the event of a minority. Also, the person claimed that back in the day, the heads of Pakistan's two largest political parties, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), signed a Charter of Democracy (COD) together. The future strategy for fostering good governance, formalising the partnership between civilian and military authorities, and strengthening Pakistan's democratic system were laid forth in this agreement.

Additionally, Haider (2014) provides thorough analysis of the 2013 general elections in his book named "Pakistan General Elections 2013." This document covers all aspects of the election, from national to provincial levels. The dataset also included details about the political parties that ran in the 2013 elections, their platforms, the number of seats each party won in the national and provincial legislatures, and the results of any by-elections that took place. The author also provides their own analysis of these elections, arguing that they marked a watershed moment in Pakistan's political and electoral history by ensuring the peaceful transition of power from one democratically elected government to another after the previous one had served out its constitutional term.

Furthermore, Rizvi (2014) elaborated in his article titled "First 10 General Elections of Pakistan: A Story of Pakistan's Transition from Democracy above the Rule of Law to Democracy under the Rule of Law 1970-2013" that elections play an important part in the operation of a democratic system. He stressed the need of free and fair elections as a cornerstone of modern democracies, arguing that democracy itself cannot be envisioned in the absence of such systems. The author examined Pakistan's electoral history in depth, concentrating on the years 1970-2013. The conversation ranged widely across the electoral process, including the platforms of the main political parties and the events that followed the voting. The speaker asserted that Pakistan's electoral past had not produced any noteworthy outcomes. Elections are a tool for fostering political growth, but some have hampered development by preventing a strong democratic culture from taking root. He thinks that the elections that took place between 2008 and 2013 were helpful enough for the development of democracy.

In his book "Pakistan at the Crossroads: Domestic Dynamics and External Pressures (Ed)," published in 2016, Jaffrelot analyses the effect of repeated military interventions on Pakistan's democratic development since its creation in 1947. In addition, he

emphasised the historic significance of the first ever peaceful transition of power in Pakistani politics. As its constitutional term came to an end, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) handed over power to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) in a democratic election. He also elaborated on how the military coup had impeded previous attempts at a democratic transition. The history of civil-military ties was also discussed, as was the reason for the military's withdrawal from politics under the Pakistan People's Party government from 2000 to 2013. According to the author's assessment, the 18th amendment to the constitution was a major step forward for the PPP-led administration. This change reintroduced a system of parliamentary democracy with free and fair elections, essentially removing the president's power to launch a coup as indicated in article 58 (2) b.

In his influential book, "The Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan," Khan (2016) provides an in-depth examination of Pakistan's constitutional and political development, based on solid evidence. The author gave a thorough evaluation of developments and occurrences from 1947 to 2016. The first military intervention by Ayoub Khan and its effects on Pakistan's political landscape, as well as the 1956 constitution's establishment, were all studied. The author also investigated the BD system that was put in place during Ayoub Khan's presidency, the constitutional amendments that were made in 1962, the presidential election that followed in 1965, and the causes that led to Ayoub Khan's removal from office in 1969. Beginning with the first-ever general election in 1970 and ending with the formation of the parliamentary constitution in 1973, this book examines all of the decade's most significant events. Examining General Zia ul Haq's Islamization effort, the party-less elections of 1985, and the 8th constitutional amendment during his Martial Law administration (1977-1988). The book also provided adequate details on the third democratic phase, which spanned the years 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997 and saw the installation of civilian governments. The author developed an argument about how the elections of 2002, 2008, and 2013 changed Pakistan's political system. In addition, the author elaborated on the dynamics of civil-military interactions and the causes contributing to a democratic deficit in Pakistan.

Hassan, in her scholarly paper "The Long Road to Democracy," compares and contrasts the democratic regimes of Pakistan and Turkey. The person believes that the two countries' experiences with military operations are similar. When compared to Pakistan's

democratic system under the PPP and PML-N, however, it is clear that Turkey's democracy is more stable. She examined the collapse of Pakistan's democratic system and concluded that the insufficiency of the governance structure and the ineptitude of politicians are major contributors. The fragile democratic system in Pakistan is threatened by the lack of internal democracy inside political parties. Pakistan's democratic system is seen as weak due to the regional focus of political parties and the lack of really national political parties. Several elements, including myopia, intolerance of dissenting opinions, and a jingoistic media, contribute to the instability of Pakistan's democratic system and the regularity of military operations. She argued that the populace will not back the democratic government unless certain conditions are met, including the creation of efficient institutions, the closing of the wealth gap, the training of committed political activists, and the incorporation of nationalist and pluralistic parties into the political system.

Rasul (2017) analyses the democratic transition in Pakistan in his paper "Elections and Democracy," where he points out two major roles played by the government after its constitutional term ends. The first stage is to strengthen democratic values, and the second is to raise people's political literacy so that they can judge the effectiveness of different political parties. The author argues that with each new election cycle, democracy in Pakistan would improve.

In addition, the academic article "Political Development in Pakistan: Continuity and Change During Zardari" by Kanwal (2017) provides a thorough evaluation of the political evolution of Pakistan. The author investigates the nitty-gritty of Pakistan's political background and provides insightful commentary. Previous regimes in Pakistan, the author argues, paid little attention to establishing a stable democratic political system. This is due to authoritarian inclinations, political parties' hunger for power, lopsided civil-military relations, and institutional inequalities. According to the author, when the five-year term of the government led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) ended in 2013, the country's political climate was analysed anew, and democratic principles were successfully implemented in Pakistan through the promotion of effective governance, a stable economy, inclusive governance, and periodic electoral processes.

V. Mechkova; L. Anna; and S.I. Lindberg. (2017) contend that democracies around the world are deteriorating. Several countries' democratic governments have shown signs of

becoming increasingly authoritarian. Fundamental democratic ideals have been suspended in the aforementioned countries, leading to either the absence of an elected executive branch or its election through elections that lack meaningful consequence. According to their definition of an electoral democracy, a state must hold elections that are both free and fair, in accordance with the tenets of free speech and the rule of law. Further, the authors argue that a country based on democratic values is gradually moving towards an authoritarian system, in which key democratic precepts like the election of leaders, freedom of the press, and respect to the rule of law are being trampled on. Nonetheless, there are more democracies than autocracies in the world today. Memoon (2018) examines the development of democracy in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018 in an article titled "A Brief History of Pakistan's Democratic Journey (2008-2018)". According to the author, the change in government from the Pakistan People's Party under Asif Ali Zardari to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz under Mian Nawaz Sharif was a much more orderly and peaceful affair. The author argues that the rule of law and democratic procedures established during this period are directly responsible for the dramatic improvements in government and economic growth that have occurred in the country since the transition. However, the autocratic military regime led by Pervez Musharraf left a lasting legacy, and the governments installed during this time period had many difficulties.

Islam (2018), in his research essay "An Analysis of the 2018 General Elections in Pakistan," looked into several new developments that occurred both before and after the election. In the 2018 election, the author argues, emergent trends superseded the importance of election manifestos, encouraging voters to unite around these slogans and cast their ballots accordingly rather than based on the party's compelling future programme provided in their manifesto. The author analyses the meaning of election-related slogans like "Naya Pakistan," "Tabdeli," and "Vote ko Izzat do" (give Sanctity to Vote) in the context of the 2018 vote. In light of the upcoming elections in Pakistan in July 2018, the author analyses the failure of the MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal) and the consequent development of the Tehreek-i-Labaik Pakistan (TLP) as a major political force. The author has also researched the significance of electability in Pakistani politics.

According to "Democratic Transition & Political Change in Pakistan," a scholarly study written by Ahmad (2018), Pakistan's political landscape underwent substantial changes

between 2008 and 2018. The author analyses how the global democratic upsurge of recent years has affected the democratic procedures of emerging countries like Pakistan. He explained that elections were used to restore democracy in Pakistan after a decade of autocratic control, and that democracy has since been preserved through repeated elections and the peaceful transition of power between political parties. He also said that legislative initiatives and the subsequent formation of institutional structures were made possible by the emergence of a culture based on consensual decision-making procedures. The author concludes that contemporary society has advanced thanks to the presence of a dynamic middle class, a robust civil society, vigilant young (both male and female), and a vibrant media. Nonetheless, despite these gains, democracy still faces problems that must be addressed and solved.

In her paper "Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practise," Hashmi (2018) provides a wide-ranging assessment of modern democracies, including those in both high- and low-income countries. She still thinks democracy is the best form of government since it allows for citizen participation in the running of the country. This research has shed light, from a number of theoretical vantage points, on the structures and patterns of modern democracies. She also explained that despite the democratic system's global spread, it has yet to be fully established in emerging nations due to the enormous challenges of poverty, ethnic diversity, and Western influence. Despite Europe's reputation for economic stability and well-established democracies, the continent's democratic norms have been eroding in recent years.

Nazeer (2018), in his book titled "Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008-2018," assessed the work of two civilian governments, the 13th national assembly (in office from 2008 to 2013) and the 14th national assembly (in office from 2013 to 2018). An in-depth examination of the legislative measures, with special emphasis on the 18th amendment to the Constitution, was presented in the report. It emphasised the importance of the amendment in re-establishing parliamentary democracy and civilian supremacy in Pakistan, as mandated by the country's constitution of 1973. The historical background of women's political representation is also discussed in the paper, with special attention paid to the laws passed to empower women during the 13th and 14th national assembly. The report applauds the increased representation of women in parliament from 2008 to 2018, viewing this as a step in the right direction for promoting

democracy in the country. In sum, this paper has analysed the impact of the Election Act of 2017, highlighting the importance of implementing the law exactly as written. According to the report, people's faith in the democratic system was demonstrated by their high level of participation in the 2018 elections.

Baqir (2018), in her Master of Philosophy thesis titled "Democracy and Governance in Pakistan: An Analysis of PPP and PML-N Governments (2008-2018)," analyses in depth the performance of the democratically elected civilian governments in Pakistan under the leadership of the PPP and the PML-N. This historical period includes the 2008, 2013, and 2018 national and provincial elections. Given that they signified the end of autocratic rule and paved the way for the development of democratic institutions, these elections retain a special place in the political and electoral annals of Pakistan. The study's author argues that after the COD trial was successful, a framework of consensual politics developed, bringing about the substantial constitutional change essential to establishing a democratic government and establishing effective governance. With elections coming up in Pakistan, the researcher has also looked at the impact the Panama Papers have had on the country's democratic process since the ouster of the country's elected prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, before the end of his five-year term.

The Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) has released a report titled "Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017" that offers an unbiased assessment of the state of civil-military relations in Pakistan, with a particular emphasis on the events of 2017. There have been four military interventions in Pakistan's 70-year history, and the country was ruled directly for more than 30 years. The military establishment has, in the following years, exercised de facto power over major policy and decision-making domains. When the civilian administration gets in the way of the military's influence, they don't think twice about toppling it. As a result, no prime minister has ever served out his entire tenure. In this article, we analyse what this third untimely dismissal of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif says about the quality of government in Pakistan. According to the research, the most major challenge to establishing and developing a democratic regime in Pakistan has been the uneven and continuous interaction between the civil and military over a long period of time.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a joint initiative between China and Pakistan. Wolf's book, "The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor of the Belt and Road Initiative," offers a thorough examination of this initiative. This project includes a significant financial outlay, and the individual offered extensive details regarding the objectives, driving forces, and interest groups linked with its effective execution. Furthermore, they emphasized the difficulties inherent to its actualization. The author examined the initiative within the context of Pakistani foreign policy, revealing how it could affect future relations between Pakistan and Iran, Afghanistan, and India. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) plan in the context of Pakistan's civil-military ties and the implications this has for democracy and governance. In Pakistan, where civilian administration has been entirely absent, the individual claims that the military exercises significant control over policy and decision-making realms beyond their customary and constitutional domains. Since Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was seen as restricting military engagement in politics, the military was also blamed for his unexpected resignation. This person has the opinion that the military in Pakistan is a major impediment to civilian rule, which has led to a decline in democratic rule there.

According to "State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A Study of 5 Years (2013-2018)," published by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), it was claimed that the relationship between the civilian and military sectors worsened rather than reached a state of equilibrium during the five years of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) government. Despite this, democracy was reinforced in the country, resulting in a smooth handover of power between two democratically elected governments. However, the prime minister was removed from office by a judicial intervention engineered within the General Headquarters (GHQ), thus shortening his tenure in office in violation of the constitution once again. The paper examined civil-military relations within the given time frame and identified the numerous factors that contributed to the escalation of tensions and conflicts.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

The quality of the 2018 elections was evaluated by Ullah and Khan (2020), who took into account the views of both domestic and international observers. In-depth data on Pakistan's upcoming elections in 2018 are presented in this article. The evaluation is quite

thorough, with three levels (introduction, analysis, and conclusion) covering every angle of the report. There were problems and anomalies found during the pre-poll phase, and there were problems with the electoral process on election day, such as the failure of the Result Transmission System (RTS), which has caused some to question the reliability of the results. Military forces present at voting places and restrictions placed on media representatives contributed to the contentious nature of the elections.

1.6 Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research is to evaluate the state of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018. Voting is essential to the growth and stability of democracies. However, Pakistan's past electoral trends have not shown sufficient efficacy in sustaining a parliamentary democratic system. Several voting systems have slowed the spread of a robust democratic culture.

Three successive election cycles and two instances of a peaceful transfer of power through electoral processes make the years 2008-2018 a pivotal time period. The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not general elections held between 2008 and 2018 have improved government, legislation, and the formation of democratic values. The researcher has evaluated the strength and progress of parliamentary democratic tendencies over the studied period.

1. To evaluate the progress made towards or setbacks suffered by Pakistan's parliamentary democracy movement between 2008 and 2018.
2. The goal of this research is to provide a thorough analysis of the performance of important institutions in Pakistan during the General Elections held between 2008 and 2018, including the political parties, parliament, media, election commission, military, and judiciary.
3. The focus of this research is on significant alterations to laws and constitutions that occurred during the period under consideration.

The following are the questions that will be investigated:

1.7 Research Questions

The study poses the following research questions.

1. Was there a positive or negative impact on Pakistan's parliamentary democratic transition during this time frame?
2. During the three elections that took place in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018, how much did the country's basic institutions help or hurt the cause of parliamentary democracy?
3. How much do you think the changes made to Pakistan's laws and constitution during this time period helped or hurt the country's progress towards parliamentary democracy?

The study has merit since it has the ability to add new and useful information to the body of previous research in the topic. Pakistan's parliamentary democratic progress was shaped in large part by a series of general elections that took place between 2008 and 2018. People's ability to govern themselves and make their own choices in the public and private spheres, as well as in matters of personal and political identity, was greatly expanded during this time period, marking a watershed moment in the development of popular sovereignty. Studying the process of parliamentary democratization in Pakistan has garnered a lot of attention from academics. However, a comprehensive study on this topic is currently lacking, thus this study will be a welcome contribution to the existing academic literature.

Pakistan's political climate has gradually encouraged the growth of democratic government as an alternative to autocratic and totalitarian rule. This Endeavour has proven its validity, durability, and widespread support. The research looked at a decade of democratic rule, with a special emphasis on how certain policies interacted with the legislature and various political parties. The 18th, 19th, and 20th century constitutional amendments and their effect on the stability and viability of democratic institutions have been the focus of this research. This research sheds new light on the roles played by political parties, the media, and civil-military relations in the development of democracies. The three consecutive presidential elections, in 2008, 2013, and 2018, have been analyzed in this study and weighed against democratic standards. The difficulties encountered by the parliamentary democratic consolidation process in Pakistan have been

analyzed by the researcher. The major goal of this research was to address a gap in the academic literature on the topic of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. More particular, it intends to centre its attention on parliamentary democratization and the development of policies that attempt to lessen the frequency of military operations. As a preventative strategy against such interventions, this study also offers methods for cultivating an aware and vigilant public. The study's results will offer hard evidence for the progress of democracy and the persistence of efforts to safeguard democratic norms in the country. Additionally, this will encourage further academic research on numerous facets of democracy in Pakistan.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The objective of this study is to look at the topic in question in great detail. The primary goal of this research was to contribute to academic knowledge by filling in gaps and expanding upon what has already been written. This study is an in-depth analysis of the most important metrics tracked during Pakistan's parliamentary democracy from 2008 to 2018, with the goal of determining how those metrics have contributed to or hindered the country's parliamentary democratic progress. The majority of the existing academic work on elections centers on two key topics: the occurrence and significance of electoral manipulation, and proposed measures to lessening its prevalence. Few scholarly works address the question of how to measure the development of democracy in Pakistan through time and which indicators are most relevant. Thus, a scholarly effort has been launched to compile a wealth of data on the examination of crucial indicators for measuring the state of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan from 2008-2018.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The phrase "theoretical framework" refers to the overarching conceptual arrangement that guides the development and implementation of a study. Having a starting point to work from makes it easier to understand the research problem. In today's world, nearly everyone agrees that democracy is the best and most often used form of government. After gaining independence from British colonial authority, Pakistan joined the democratic process, as have many other emerging countries. The nation's efforts to build a strong and cohesive democratic framework continue to be tested, though. The problems are wide-ranging and include, but are not limited to, a lack of regular and transparent

elections, the fundamental principles of direct governance, the constitutional primacy, the failure to uphold the rule of law, the scarcity of democratic parties, the limited involvement of citizens in the political process, the absence of deliberative decision making, the restrictions on freedom of expression, the inadequacy in socio-economic development, and the unequal distribution of resources. There has always been a noticeable lack of democratic governance in Pakistan since the country has failed to achieve the basic conditions for building a democratic government. The empirical assessment of the state of democracy in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018 is vital. There are a number of approaches that can be used to measure the success of Pakistan's democratic experiment. The models proposed by Staffan et al. (2014) and Rummel (1996) stand out as particularly applicable and appropriate among the many that have been considered. The authors of this study employ a variety of theoretical frameworks to investigate and evaluate the state of democracy in Pakistan. The study questions are answered by using specific key indicators. Steffan et al. (2014) suggested a technique based on a set of key metrics and five guiding principles. Aspects of electoralism, liberalism, participation, deliberation, and egalitarianism are all included in the aforementioned principles.

According to this view, holding free and fair elections is the bedrock of a democratic system, and labeling any other system as democratic is untenable. Elections are held that adhere to standards of freedom, equity, and transparency in order to choose representatives. There is a noticeable level of accountability and responsiveness from the elected leaders to the people. The liberal tenet of democracy seeks to protect the interests and liberties of those who are traditionally on the periphery of society. To achieve the foregoing goal, it is necessary to pass constitutional provisions, to adhere to the idea of the rule of law, and to set up a strong system of checks and balances within the executive branch. The principle being defended is the liberty to express oneself freely. Over the course of this research, the investigator has been conducting tests to see how well these democratic principles are being implemented.

Direct government and citizen participation in the political sphere are at the heart of the participatory element. In this theory, the participation of civil-society groups and other non-governmental organisations in political processes is given substantial weight. The deliberative aspect stresses the value of including civilised debates and discussions in

political decision-making procedures. To effectively serve the general well-being of the public, it is essential to prioritize consensual politics in the area of decision-making. The V-Dem model concludes with an egalitarian principle, which holds that a country's resources should be allocated equitably across its many socioeconomic categories. The researcher has worked hard throughout this study to provide an in-depth analysis of the aforementioned five principles and the larger important indicators that are used to gauge democracy in Pakistan.

The term "democratization," as used by Rummel (1996), refers to the process by which a political system is gradually converted to a democratic form of government. In a democratic context, citizens exercise their right to self-governance by choosing their representatives in fair and orderly elections. The democratic structure exists to protect and promote democratic rights within the nation. A stable democracy can only be built and sustained through a methodical and progressive expansion. Democracy creates conditions that are amenable to maximizing the common good for the greatest number of people. Development on all levels personal, societal, and economic—benefits from this dynamic. The progressive nature of public policy and its reliance on democratic electoral processes are widely seen as key reasons for its success. By removing barriers to free expression, this approach helps members of underrepresented groups feel more secure in exercising their rights. Further, public policy is essential in advancing equality, which in turn paves the way for societal transformations that are both gradual and progressive. Only through the spread of democracy can a truly democratic political culture emerge. The dominant political culture is characterized by a commitment to finding middle ground, participating in talks, being flexible, and accepting setbacks.

The researcher has conducted an in-depth analysis of the development of democratic democracy in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018. Electorate, political parties, media, political culture, religious freedom, and economic growth are just few of the topics covered in this all-encompassing study.

1.10 Research Methodology

In order to describe the parliamentary democratic, with a focus on parliamentary democracy in Pakistan between 2008 and 2018, this study employs a qualitative methodology. Therefore, information from a wide range of primary and secondary

resources has been compiled. It's generally agreed that interviews are the best way to gather qualitative data. Fifty interviews were conducted using a hybrid of structured and semi-structured techniques to achieve the goals of this study. The interviewees were chosen through a process of convenience sampling.

- (i) Members of both the ruling and opposition parties' respective leadership
- (ii) Representatives from the Pakistani Election Commission
- (iii) Members of the Press or Other Members of the Media
- (iv) Scholars Representatives at the municipal level are citizens who have been democratically elected or appointed to serve in that capacity.

In addition, roughly 200 in-depth interviews with experts on the key events of the last decade of democratic rule (2008-2018) have been conducted with academics, members of various political parties, and representatives of civil society organizations. When information was not easily available in written form, interviewing key stakeholders was done to collect their perspectives and viewpoints. In addition, interviews were used to corroborate and verify information gathered from secondary sources, making this study more credible and authoritative.

The researcher faced many hurdles and obstacles as they attempted to conduct interviews with the most suitable subjects. The busy schedules and political involvement of politicians and local government officials make it difficult for academics to develop productive relationships with them. When it came to the theme of time, the researcher had trouble attracting the attention of media representatives and academics in a scholarly setting. Despite facing many challenges, the researcher was able to successfully establish contact with the respondents. After thereafter, the investigator went on a series of short trips to several cities across Pakistan, including Lahore, Islamabad, and Multan. These trips cost the researcher a lot of time and money, but they were worth it because of the thrill of discovery they gave her. Most of the interviews were done at people's homes by the researcher. The investigator frequented parliamentary lodges. Parliamentarians were interviewed as part of the study, with a focus on those still active in the legislative body.

It is customary practice in parliamentary systems to refer to the seats occupied by members of the government and the opposition as "treasury benches" and "opposition benches," respectively. On few times, the researcher participated in group brainstorming

sessions to help them reach their goals. The majority of the interviews were conducted in either English or Urdu. All of the original Urdu interviews have been translated into English. The researcher used a recording device and took notes manually throughout each interview, guaranteeing the complete documentation of every aspect of the discussions. After that, the researcher transcribed the audio into text whenever possible. The interviews have been conducted with a firm adherence to the ethical criteria led by the University. Every time an interview or survey is conducted, the rationale for doing so is laid out first. Participants' confidentiality was protected because they gave their informed consent before any interviews were conducted.

Books, research papers, newspapers, unpublished theses, articles, and journals published in prestigious publications were just few of the secondary data sources that were thoroughly evaluated for this analysis. The election commission, national and international election observer groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the government of Pakistan all issued reports after the elections that corroborate this claim. The investigator visited numerous library locations across campus, from seminar libraries in individual departments to the main library. The researchers used a number of libraries in the Islamabad area to compile their findings. These included the main libraries at Quaid-e-Azam University, the National Library of Pakistan, and both the National University of Modern Languages and the National Defense University. In addition to the aforementioned libraries, the Library of Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS) has been mined for cutting-edge research in the form of reports and articles by eminent academics and analysts. The researcher also had access to the amount of information contained in newspapers, gazetteers, magazines, and periodicals stored in the archives library. Through interviews with members of the electoral Commission of Pakistan and provincial electoral commissions, the researcher was able to collect useful information from official reports. The amount of useful and reliable data available for analysis has grown because to the addition of this supplementary material. The researcher has also relied heavily on a number of digital libraries and databases, such as the HEC digital library, the Library of Congress Catalogue, and Research Gate, to compile relevant information. All citations and references follow the standards as down in the University and the American Psychological Association's style guides, respectively.

1.11 Organization of the Study

This study's working title, "The Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan: 2002-2018" Investigating the Progression of Parliamentary Democracy," hints to the study's ultimate goal: an exhaustive evaluation of the past decade since democratic administration was established in Pakistan.

There are a total of five chapters in the dissertation, along with an introduction and a conclusion. The introductory element of this thesis is the first chapter. This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the topic from a variety of angles. The document includes an extensive explanation of the topic under study, research questions that guide the investigation, the outcomes the study hopes to achieve, a clear statement of the problem being investigated, the study's significance within a larger context, the reasons for conducting the research, a review of relevant theoretical frameworks, and a thorough assessment of the existing literature that is relevant to the study. In addition, this section of the dissertation provides an in-depth analysis of the research methods employed to collect the data, which makes use of both primary and secondary sources.

As such, the second chapter, "**Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan: An analysis of Facade to Guided Democracy 2002-2008**" lays a solid foundational historical groundwork for the study to follow. A thorough comprehension of Pakistan's convoluted democratic system requires an examination of the country's electoral history, a crucial part of the process. This setting allows for an examination of the disparity in authority that exists between elected and non-elected bodies under Pakistan's political system. The chapter also elaborated on the electoral techniques used by Pakistan's ruling elites to legitimize their unconstitutional rule. Some entities' overt and covert aid during elections has created significant hurdles and complications for establishing and maintaining a stable democratic environment. The effects of party politics and patronage politics on democracies have received a lot of attention.

In this study's third chapter consist of "**Analysis of Pakistan's Parliamentary Democracy From 2008 To 2013**" we analyze the 2008 General Elections in Pakistan in depth to learn more about the country's democratization process. In an effort to restore democratic rule, this chapter explores the efforts made by political parties, the judiciary, and civil society organizations to counter Musharraf's dictatorial military dictatorship.

Discourse analysis of the charter of democracy from 2006 has been investigated in relation to this matter. This chapter also provided an in-depth examination of the electoral processes, outcomes, and subsequent formation of the government through negotiated political means following the 2008 elections. A review of constitutional and political developments inside the coalition government led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) between 2008 and 2013 was also included in this chapter. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution and its Prominent Effect for Restoring Parliamentary Democracy has been Thoroughly Examined.

The 2013 general elections are analyzed in the fourth chapter of the study, titled "**A More Tranquil Parliamentary Democratic Process in Pakistan 2013-2018**". This chapter examines the entire electoral process in Pakistan, from the lead-up to the elections to their execution and the events that followed. The purpose of this research is to determine whether or not these elections have contributed to the consolidation of democratic principles in Pakistan. The extraordinary event of a democratically elected civilian government, led by the Pakistan People Party, successfully completing its constitutional tenure and transferring authority to another political party, namely the PML-N, has brought considerable attention to the topic of power transition. This chapter further digs into the analysis of civil-military politics, looking into the underlying causes of this phenomenon and the damage it does to democracies as a result. This chapter examines the highly controversial Panama Papers and the unexpected removal of a democratically elected prime minister. Challenges and opportunities that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) could bring to Pakistan's economy have been thoroughly evaluated.

Chapter five of the research paper is titled "**Conclusion**" to draw final conclusions and make suggestions. This part includes the dissertation's last chapter, in which the researcher reports the study's findings and makes a set of suggestions for future research. A bibliography and appendices are included in this thesis also.

1.12 Conclusion

A cursory review of parliamentary records from 2002–2018 reveals a tendency for the 13th and 14th assemblies to consolidate administrative authority, along with some form of democratic governance. Parliamentary Democracy, as a political theory, acknowledges the right of the majority to rule and stresses the importance of maintaining fair treatment

for all citizens. Political parties in a democracy engage in a contest for power with the goal of enacting and pursuing their distinctive policy agendas, which aim to improve the lives of the people as a whole. Fairness, healthy competition, and individual appreciation all play crucial roles in propelling democratic institutions forward. In developing countries, where the population is diverse, the process of nation-building is especially crucial. Establishing a genuine parliamentary democracy calls for unwavering commitment to fundamental values including the rule of law, equality, respect for procedures, and fairness. It is essential to follow these principles regardless of a person's religious beliefs, social standing, or religion. Despite these lofty discussions, the 'spoils system' is an essential part of the democratization process, and it necessitates giving benefits to the winning political party. The "spoils system" refers to the common method by which political parties reward their most loyal supporters with positions of power, perks, and financial rewards. The presence of several military and civilian autocrats has hampered Pakistan's democratic progress, making it more difficult to establish a democratic parliamentary culture. On four separate instances, political ambitions among certain military generals and a lack of institutional development led to the downfall of the country's parliamentary democracy. Like many other developing countries, Pakistan has had lengthy periods of military rule. There appears to be a growing alliance in the country between pro-democracy groups, important military officials, and the weak political parties. However, it may be argued that the effectiveness of parliament during the years 2008–2013 was greater than that of parliament during the years 2002–2007. From 2008–2013, the Pakistani Parliament made significant strides in passing laws that promote equality and democracy. A number of landmark pieces of legislation, including the Violence Against Women Act, the Transplantation of Human Organs and Tissues Act, the Anti-Money Laundering Act, the Protection for Women from Harassment Act, the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, the Anti-Terrorism Act, and the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-First Amendments to the Constitution, have been passed thanks to these successes. The 18th Amendment's role in nullifying the Eighth Amendment's effects gives it great significance. Zia-ul-Haq's non-party assembly initially proposed the Eighth Amendment, which included article 51 (2) b. The amendment, which took effect in 1985, gave the president unrestricted power to dissolve the assembly, changing the constitution's essential structure from a parliamentary system to a quasi-presidential system influenced by the ruling establishment. It is also worth noting that the authoritarian governance facilitating clauses enacted by Musharraf in 2007's 17th

Amendment were repealed with the implementation of the 18th Amendment. The 18th Amendment was crucial in reestablishing legislative authority. As an added bonus, it helped advance the concept of local autonomy (Ekins, 2014). Parliament members, as described by Fruman (2011), worked together in a cooperative manner to carry out legislative initiatives. There was a notable 78% increase in the introduction and enactment of government and private member bills in the Pakistani legislative assembly between 2008 and 2013, as compared to the previous assembly term. Women were also actively involved in many different areas of society throughout this time period, and their efforts were widely acknowledged. Dr. Fahmida Mirza's election as Speaker of the National Assembly was historic because she was the first woman to hold this position in Pakistan. As a result, Parliament's supremacy was reliably protected throughout the years 2013-2018. In addition, the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan has been more effective in their duties and has worked to foster an atmosphere of mutual comprehension with opposition parties. The 14th National Assembly of Pakistan was in session for five years, during which time it managed to get 205 measures signed into law. The majority, 182, of the legislation up for vote were introduced by the government, while only 23 were introduced by individual lawmakers. The 14th National Assembly's committees have had numerous regularly scheduled meetings and worked diligently to carry out their mandates. The 14th National Assembly's Standing Committees hold an average of 8.32 meetings per year. There are a total of 19 reports that have come out of the work of these committees, 10 of which were written by members of the 14th National Assembly. Accordingly, the principles of parliamentary democracy rest on the upholding of law and the active participation of civil society. There is a moment of truth for Pakistan's democratic system right now. A constructive outlook, like that of the 13th and 14th legislative sessions, and the promotion of a consensus among the populace are, nonetheless, essential for the future. The many preconditions for this are as follows: Keeping elections running smoothly and impartially • A proposal with the goal of reaching an agreement on social and economic policies among political parties. When it comes to extrajudicial killings and the torture of detainees, limiting the state's discretionary power is essential for protecting the rights of political opponents. The establishment of a separate judicial branch serves as a check on and limitation on executive power. The overarching objective is to provide for the safety and well-being of people, making sure they don't starve to death and creating conditions that raise everyone's level of living. The defense of individual rights and the protection of those

from underrepresented communities but it is clear that there isn't a good way to speedily strengthen the democratic process and set up democratic administration in a country right now. It is critical to hasten progress in the right direction if a genuine parliamentary democracy is to emerge. It is critical that citizens exercise their voting rights in favour of the candidates of their choosing, as this is a fundamental part of being a responsible citizen.

REFERENCE

- Khan, A. (1993). Chronology of Events: September 1988-April 1992. In Charles H. Kennedy (Eds) *Pakistan 1992*.US: West View Press, 167-196
- Khan, D. J. (1999). *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2016). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, I. (2015). *The Politics of Alliances in Pakistan (1988-2008)*. (MPhil Thesis), Islamia College University Peshawar.
- Waseem, M. (2006). *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Election*.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan, A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*. Islamabad: PILDAT, 11-39
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan; A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*, Islamabad, Pildat, 11-.39.
- Afzal, M. (2019). *An Inflection Point for Pakistan's Democracy*. Democracy & Disorder
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Samad, Y. (2017). Elections and Democratic Transition in Pakistan: One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward. *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55 (4), 509-530
- Rais, B. R. (2018). *The Khan Factor Versus Reform Challenges*. Aljazeera Centre for Studies, 1-6
- Shah, K. M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Election 2018: Analysis of Result and Implication*. Report no.78, Observer Research Foundation, 1-13
- Afzal, M. (2019). *An Inflection Point for Pakistan's Democracy*. Democracy & Disorder

- Hashmi, R. S. (2018). Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol: 25, No,1, 1-32
- Hashmi, R. S. (2018). Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol: 25, No,1, 1-32
- Huntington, S. P. (1999). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*. Norman; University of Oklahoma Press.
- Palmer, N. D. (1975). *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Key, V. O. (1955). A Theory of Critical Elections. *Journal of Politics*, 3 (18).
- Huntington, S. P. (1999). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*. Norman; University of Oklahoma Press.
- Waseem, M. (2006). *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Election*.
- Baqai, H. (2014). Pakistan in Transition towards a Substantive Democracy. *Review of History and Political Science: 2* (1), 75-88
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.
- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). *Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013*. Pakistan Vision,19(1), 22- 35
- Rizwan, M., Rafiuddin., Arshid, M., Waqar, M. (2014). Democratic Milestone in Pakistan: A Serener Transition of Command from PPP to PML-N. *ISOR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (9), 102-108
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.
- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). *Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008*
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan, A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*. Islamabad: PILDAT, 11-39

- Kanwal, L. (2017). Political Development in Pakistan: Continuity and Change During Zardari. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 137-153
- Mechkova, V., Anna, L., Lindberg, S.I (2017). How Much Democratic Backsliding.
- Memon, A. P. (2009). Political Instability: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (1), 31-34.
- Hashmi, R. S. (2018). Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol: 25, No,1, 1-32
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Baqir, S. (2018). *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan: An Analysis of PPP and PML-N governments (2008-2018)*. (M.Phil.). The Islamia University Bahawalpur.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- Rummel, R. J. (1966). Democratization. In William Vogeles and Roger Powers, *Protest, Powers, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action From ACT-Up to Women's Suffrage*, Hamden: CT Garland Publishing,
- Khan, A. (20 March 2020). Interview at his office District Youth Office Nowshera Khan, A. (2005). *We have Learn't Nothing from History*, Karachi: Oxford University
- Staffan I. Lindberg, M. Coppedge, J. Gerring, J. Teorell (July, 2014) V-Dem: A new way to measure Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol; 25, No. 3, 159-169. Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press

CHAPTER TWO

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF FACADE TO GUIDED DEMOCRACY 2002-2008

2.1 Introduction

The occurrence of the military coup led by General Musharraf in Pakistan on October 12, 1999 has once again prompted the reevaluation of this inquiry. Field Marshal Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, and General Zia-ul-Haq, during their protracted and tumultuous tenures as military dictators, fostered a perception that Pakistan was ill-suited for democratic governance. The demise of Zia-ul-Haq in August 1988, coupled with the subsequent conduct of Pakistan's military leadership, engendered a sense of optimism. During the post-Zia era, the military leadership not only facilitated the conduct of elections but also adopted a less prominent role in the routine operations of the elected governments. The military was cognizant of the fact that Pakistan's reputation had been severely damaged due to extended periods of autocratic rule, especially in contrast to the significant progress being made in neighboring India's democratic system.

Despite its inability to compromise its essential interests, the military made the decision to adopt a passive role, while maintaining a vigilant watch over the governance of the nation. The power structure established the military as one of its key pillars, alongside the President and the Prime Minister. The governing body assumed control of the Pakistani government following the demise of Zia-ul-Haq and remained in power until the election of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister in March 1997. The military had perceived the indications of an impending outcome. The retention of the power and privileges that the army had become accustomed to since 1958 was deemed imperative. The military, through deliberate consideration, initiated the construction of an argument advocating for its proactive involvement in the governance of the nation. The individual presented an argument advocating for the creation of a National Security Council, emphasising the significant involvement of the armed forces. As a consequence, he faced the consequence of being dismissed from his position and subsequently replaced by General Pervez Musharraf.

Following his assumption of power, General Musharraf promptly initiated preparations for the Kargil operation. The Kargil conflict was intended to fulfill a dual objective. On one hand, the aforementioned action was purportedly devised as the most recent approach by the Pakistani Establishment to acquire control over the region of Kashmir and disrupt the stability of India. The current composition of the Establishment includes the military, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), and the entire jehadi apparatus, all of which receive tacit backing from the political elite. Conversely, this action served as an indication to the political elite in Pakistan that the military held the ultimate authority in crucial affairs. This is the reason why Nawaz Sharif, in his capacity as the Prime Minister, did not possess a comprehensive understanding of the extent and gravity of the Kargil operations. The decision made by Nawaz Sharif to withdraw troops from Kargil, based on an agreement reached with President Clinton, was perceived by the army as a source of offence, despite their adherence to the issued orders. The origins of the conflict between Sharif and Musharraf were established. In a proactive move, Nawaz Sharif relieved General Pervez Musharraf of his duties on October 12, 1999. The military responded with retaliatory action and assumed control of the country's political leadership.

2.2 The Phenomenon of a Military Coup

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, along with his brother Shahbaz Sharif, who serves as the Chief Minister of Punjab, and General Khwaja Ziauddin, the head of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), were placed under "protective custody" by the military. During a televised national address on October 13, General Musharraf conveyed that the armed forces had intervened as a final measure to avert any additional destabilization. However, he did not provide explicit details regarding the nature of the forthcoming government. Nevertheless, he issued a caution to "external entities" (potentially alluding to India) regarding the exploitation of the current circumstances in Pakistan. General Musharraf attributed the miss governance of the country directly to the government led by Nawaz Sharif. The speaker acknowledged the widespread awareness of the tumultuous and uncertain period that our nation has recently experienced. They highlighted the deliberate manipulation and systematic dismantling of various institutions, which has resulted in a state of disarray. Furthermore, they emphasized the dire condition of the economy, which is currently experiencing a state of collapse.

According to his statement, the armed forces are encountering persistent public outcry from various political factions, urging them to address the rapidly deteriorating state of affairs within the nation. These concerns were consistently communicated to the Prime Minister with utmost sincerity, prioritizing the best interests of the nation. My sole focus has been solely on the welfare of the country. Subsequently, General Musharraf proceeded to address the core concern, which pertained to Nawaz Sharif's attempts to undermine the military establishment. Musharraf expressed that his efforts and advice to the government were ineffective. Moreover, the government shifted its focus towards the Army itself. Despite receiving clear communication about our concerns, the Nawaz Sharif administration disregarded these warnings and attempted to politicize and destabilize the Army, causing internal divisions. The army chief, in an attempt to reassure the people of Pakistan, emphasized that the armed forces have always been and will continue to be reliable. I kindly urge all individuals to maintain composure and extend their backing to the armed forces in their efforts to restore stability, thereby facilitating a prosperous trajectory for Pakistan's future. May it be divinely ordained that we are guided towards the pursuit of veracity and integrity. In the subsequent days, the military undertook measures to strengthen its authority over the nation. On October 13, the four provincial governments were dismissed. On October 14, the armed forces assumed control of the Parliament building in order to obstruct the convening of the National Assembly session scheduled for October 15, as previously requested by opposition members. As anticipated, General Musharraf declared a state of emergency within the nation on October 15th. In outlining his objectives, he emphasized the utmost importance of economic revitalization, national cohesion, and effective governance. Consequently, General Musharraf assumed the position of "Chief Executive," suspended both the constitution and parliament, and mandated that the President solely fulfill the duties of the Chief Executive.

The military effectively declared martial law in the country, although the term "martial law" was intentionally omitted in consideration of the concerns expressed by the international community. This declaration was made through a Proclamation and a Provisional Constitutional Order. According to the Order, the courts were prohibited from issuing any orders against the Chief Executive or any person exercising their powers. The Army Court tribunal was also unable to pass judgments against the army chief or any authority designated by them. However, fundamental rights that did not conflict with the

proclamation or any subsequent orders remained in effect. General Musharraf issued this proclamation based on the discussions and decisions of the Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces and Corps Commanders of the Pakistan Army. The accompanying order stated that despite the suspension of the constitution, Pakistan would be governed, as closely as possible, in accordance with the constitution, subject to the orders of the Chief Executive.

The proclamation issued by General Musharraf bears resemblance in terminology to the one issued by General Zia-ul-Haq on July 5, 1977, with the exception of the omission of the term "martial law." General Zia assumed the position of Chief Martial Law Administrator, whereas General Musharraf adopted the title of Chief Executive. The duration of the military rule in the country was not specified in the proclamation; however, it was evident that the takeover commenced on October 12, the day Nawaz Sharif was removed from power. Consequently, a full-fledged military dictatorship was reinstated.

2.3 The Response of the Nation

Paradoxically, the removal of Nawaz Sharif's government appeared to be met with approval from various factions within the nation, despite it being orchestrated by the military. Utilizing a two-thirds electoral support as a shield, Nawaz Sharif had managed to amass a significant amount of power by disregarding institutions, individuals, rules, and conventions. Consequently, his removal was met with a collective sense of relief among the populace. The exiled opposition leader, Benazir Bhutto, attributed the military coup against his own government to the actions of Nawaz Sharif. Ms. Bhutto asserted that Mr. Sharif had endeavored to politicize the armed forces, prompting their subsequent uprising. Ms. Bhutto, who was located in London at the time, stated, "Since assuming power, Nawaz Sharif has actively worked towards dismantling democratic structures." She further added, "The populace perceives him as disregarding legal principles without any checks and balances. Consequently, the armed forces had to safeguard their institutional integrity." Ms. Bhutto expressed these sentiments during an interview with Sky TV.

Ms. Bhutto had undertaken the task of advocating for the army, with the expectation that the army would facilitate her safe return to her homeland, ensuring her personal safety. She faced an arrest warrant due to corruption charges initiated by the preceding

government. In April 1999, the Lahore High Court sentenced her to a five-year prison term. Regrettably, the military regime declined her request for a secure passage, as granting her a pardon could potentially undermine the army's perceived impartiality. The removal of Nawaz Sharif was met with approval by individuals in the streets of Karachi, as he had been accused by the influential ethnic party, MQM, of mistreating its followers. Javed Akhtar, a supporter of MQM, expressed his satisfaction, referring to Sharif as a tyrannical and authoritarian leader. Akhtar further remarked that while previous governments had exerted pressure, Sharif displayed a particularly ruthless approach. According to Khalid Mehmood, another supporter of the MQM, the current situation will ensure the safety of our boys and potentially pave the way for achieving peace within the city. Farooq Sattar, a prominent leader of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), attributed accountability to the government led by Sharif for the events that transpired. According to the individual, the former Prime Minister exceeded acceptable boundaries in his exercise of authoritarian governance. It has been reported that inhabitants of multiple residential areas engaged in the distribution of confectionery items, accompanied by the playing of songs in support of the MQM political party. Numerous parents, whose children were incarcerated, expressed their gratitude by kissing the ground and engaging in ceremonial prayers subsequent to the military leader's assumption of authority from Nawaz Sharif.

One of the most notable factors was the stance adopted by the Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA), a coalition of political and religious parties comprising the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Benazir Bhutto, the Movement for Justice led by Imran Khan, and the Mohajir Quami Movement based in Karachi. On October 21, the GDA expressed its support for the removal of Nawaz Sharif's government and endorsed the seven-point agenda put forth by Pervez Musharraf. The GDA adopted this stance subsequent to its convening in Lahore on October 20, presided over by the esteemed statesman Nawabzada Nasirullah Khan. According to the GDA statement, the government led by Nawaz Sharif had effectively immobilised all state institutions through conspiratorial actions. The statement further expressed optimism that the incoming regime would initiate a rigorous campaign to eradicate corrupt politicians.

One notable deviation from the prevailing political reception of the military coup was observed in the case of the Jamaat-I-Islami. On October 15, the Jamaat issued a statement

wherein it called upon the armed forces to prioritise the establishment of accountability for "corrupt rulers." The organisation expressed its disapproval of Pervez Musharraf's declaration of a state of emergency, asserting its inability to endorse martial law and the suspension of fundamental rights. The Jamaat, in asserting its stance, contends that the prevailing circumstances in the country are a result of the absence of a genuine Islamic system. The Secretary General of the Jamaat, Syed Munawar Hassan, conveyed in a statement that the organisation remains committed to its pursuit of an Islamic revolution within Pakistan.

The response from the Pakistan Muslim League, led by Nawaz Sharif, to the military takeover was relatively restrained, exhibiting less vehement criticism than anticipated. In an official statement released on October 22, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) called for the prompt release of Nawaz Sharif and the reinstatement of democratic governance. However, providing a summary to the journalists following a gathering of the prominent members of the political party. According to Raja Zafarul Haq, the former Minister of Religious Affairs, it was the intention of the Pakistan Muslim League to steer clear of adopting a confrontational approach towards the army. Additionally, he insisted on the prompt provision of access to the detained former prime minister for the party. In spite of the persistent inquiries posed by journalists. Raja Zafarul Haq declined to denounce the military's action and instead characterised it as "lamentable."

One week later, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) encountered a state of disarray, characterised by a lack of cohesion among its leaders who were unable to ascertain the subsequent steps to be taken. There were numerous accounts of extensive defections from the political party. A series of confidential meetings held among party leaders in Islamabad yielded limited results in terms of formulating a comprehensive strategy. As per a report dated October 28, the former Interior Minister, Chaudhry Shujaat, expressed to members of the media in Islamabad that the assumption of power by the military could potentially yield positive outcomes. Furthermore, it was revealed that there was a consensus within the party to refrain from engaging in a direct confrontation with the military regarding the coup. Mr. Abdul Majid Malik, a senior leader of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and former minister, expressed disapproval of the plea made by Hasan Sharif, the son of Nawaz Sharif, to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, urging him to intervene and secure his father's release. According

to Malik, he expressed the possibility of seeking recourse from both the United States and the United Kingdom; however, he regarded the act of appealing to the Indian Prime Minister as an affront to their dignity.

The inquiry pertains to the factors contributing to the limited occurrence of widespread criticism and condemnation regarding the erosion of Parliamentary democratic principles in Pakistan, alongside the scarcity of violent and coordinated demonstrations and protests. The apprehension may not solely stem from the potential authoritarian control exerted by the military in a nation that had previously engaged in a commendable bipartisan endeavour to reinstate democratic governance in the era of Zia ul Haq. The people and political class expressed a sense of relief upon the dismissal of Nawaz Sharif, primarily due to the perceived excesses of his authoritarian rule. In the historical context of Pakistan, the collective consciousness of the nation had become accustomed to the dichotomy between democratic governance and authoritarian rule. Even the most exemplary democratic leaders, who were elected with significant electoral backing, have exhibited dictatorial tendencies, highlighting the pervasive influence of a deeply entrenched feudal mindset within the Pakistani political class. For the citizens of Pakistan, the decision at hand did not revolve around a dichotomy of democracy versus dictatorship in a strictly institutional sense. Rather, it entailed a choice between inadequate governance and effective governance, regardless of the governing system employed.

Pakistan emerged as a nation-state in the wake of its independence, a development that was influenced by prevailing political frustrations. The political history of the region is characterized by a succession of military and civilian regimes. The Musharraf regime could be categorized into two distinct components, namely the military regime and the civilian regime. During the period spanning from 1999 to 2002, General Pervez Musharraf exercised sole and unchallenged authority, while in the subsequent period from 2002 to 2008, he had to navigate the inclusion of a civilian government within the power structure. The Musharraf era was characterized by the presence of a double standard political regime. The regime of the individual in question was assessed by both national and international political analysts within the framework of the War on Terrorism. The democratic system in Pakistan was compromised by the actions of General Musharraf in response to the War on Terrorism. In the realm of politics, the individual in question undertook actions akin to those of his predecessors, Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq, in order

to consolidate and expand his authority. During the early phase, Musharraf refrained from interfering with the judiciary and assumed the position of Chief Executive by taking an oath in accordance with the 1973 constitution. As a reciprocal gesture, the judiciary granted him political concessions for a period of three years, in accordance with his commitment to conduct elections prior to the conclusion of the aforementioned three-year timeframe. The Superior Judiciary has consistently adhered to the provisions outlined in the 1973 constitution. The matter pertaining to the Provincial Constitution Order (PCO) came to prominence in January 2000, when petitions challenging Musharraf's authority were formally recognised. The Musharraf Administration has made the decision to engage with judges who have expressed favourable opinions. The judiciary was ultimately compromised once more, as it facilitated the inauguration of Musharraf through an oath ceremony conducted under the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) implemented by the military regime. The occurrence was not a novel development within the political landscape of Pakistan. Subsequently, Musharraf undertook measures to establish accountability, introduced a political party aligned with his own interests, fostered a cooperative opposition, and established the National Security Council with the aim of exerting influence over the parliamentary proceedings. These developments resulted in the marginalization of moderate and secular political parties by Musharraf, who instead promoted the MMA in parliament to maximise gains within the context of the War on Terrorism. Former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf initiated military campaigns targeting the Taliban in the northern regions, while concurrently implementing prohibitions on religiously motivated Jihadi organizations within the provinces of Punjab and Karachi. The implementation of these assertive military campaigns has facilitated the proliferation of extremist ideologies and inflicted significant harm upon the entirety of the societal fabric. According to the observers, the endorsement of Musharraf in the War on Terrorism had a profound impact on Pakistan's political and economic framework. The foreign investors made preparations for departure, while the local investors opted to relocate within the state. Undoubtedly, Washington provided financial assistance to Pakistan; however, the adverse consequences experienced by Pakistani society were exceedingly challenging.

Given the prevailing circumstances, General Musharraf formulated a revised electoral strategy in 2008. On this occasion, the circumstances were not conducive to his comfort. It was explicitly communicated to him that the participation of all political parties in the

election was assured. The political figures, Benazir Bhutto and Mian Nawaz Sharif, entered into a formal agreement known as the Charter of Democracy, which outlined their respective political aspirations and strategies. It has been observed that valuable insights have been gleaned from historical events, leading to a strategic approach in organising a political resistance against the Musharraf regime. Subsequently, the Judiciary expressed dissatisfaction with Musharraf, resulting in the absence of favourable conditions. It was widely acknowledged that the Musharraf-led political party would not achieve favourable outcomes in the upcoming election. During the tenure of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, the Muslim League (Q) experienced a significant decline in its influence and popularity. In addition to various other societal issues, the incidents involving Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) and the killing of Bughti have significantly diminished the influence and authority of Musharraf and the Muslim League (Q). The aforementioned occurrences disrupted the political landscape. The Pakistani society was rendered immobile by a multitude of challenges including inflation, unemployment, extremist forces, distorted security circumstances, an energy crisis, and deteriorating economic conditions. The situation reached a critical juncture with the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. There are documented accounts indicating that the Musharraf government was repeatedly urged to provide robust security measures, yet these requests were not accommodated. Due to the prevailing socio-political circumstances, the scheduling of election shades was postponed by a few days. The anticipated election outcomes have cast doubt on the legitimacy of Musharraf's regime and presented novel obstacles for the incoming government. The political elites adopted a strategy of reconciliation in accordance with the principles outlined in the Charter of Democracy, resulting in the formation of a coalition government. The Muslim League (N) formed a coalition government with the Pakistan People's Party, harbouring renewed aspirations and expectations. In the interim, both leaders have signed the Boharban Declaration in order to implement the principles outlined in the charter of democracy. It has been noted that Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani has removed the imposed limitations on the judges of the superior judiciary. However, there remains a challenge in terms of operationalizing or reinstating Chief Justice Iftikhar Ch. and the esteemed panel of judges. The aforementioned matter emerged as a hindrance between the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Muslim League (N), ultimately leading to Mian Nawaz Sharif's decision to withdraw from ministerial positions. The occurrence transpired in accordance with expectations, as the dissolution of an unconventional political coalition resulted in the erosion of democratic

principles. The aforementioned struggle was initiated by the Muslim League (N), alongside other political parties, lawyers, and members of civil society, with the aim of reinstating Ch. The individual in question is Muhammad Iftikhar. Ultimately, the arduous journey reached its culmination in Gujranwala, where Mian Nawaz Sharif received assurance that the judiciary would be reinstated in both its literal and figurative sense. Prior to the promulgation of the Protection of Pakistan Ordinance (PPP), the primary focus did not encompass the reinstatement of Iftikhar Muhammad Ch and other judges. Rather, the central narrative revolved around the NRO Deal, which had already been subjected to legal scrutiny in the Supreme Court. The lack of ethical recognition of the NRO Deal within civil society has been previously contended. Legal proceedings were initiated against Asif Ali Zardari in relation to the Swiss Case and a case involving allegations of money laundering. Mr. Asif Ali Zardari displayed a keen interest in preserving the favourable status of Justice Dogar, which was aligned with the stance of former President Musharraf. The present study highlights the observation that the civilian government has deviated from institutional interests and manipulated democratic values. The newly elected government embarked on a contentious relationship with the judiciary, driven by a combination of determination and fortuitous circumstances.

It is imperative to explicitly state that the Pakistan Armed Forces have made a deliberate choice to refrain from engaging in internal political affairs. The Chief of Army Staff, General Pervaiz Ashfaq Kayani, issued explicit directives to relinquish all civil administration positions and prioritise military professionalism. The inclusion of military officers in civil administration was a positive development that created a perception of the Pakistani armed forces being closely connected to the general population. Additionally, the military officers collaborated with the civilian government in order to combat the militant forces. The primary role of civilian and military leadership was to establish stability within the state, both domestically and internationally.

2.4 The Charter of Democracy: Lessons from History

On May 14, 2006, in the city of London, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif became the first two people to sign the Charter of Democracy. This document is a political accord. The aforementioned agreement, which represents the third instance of political consensus among politicians, aims to facilitate the process of institutionalization in Pakistan through the utilisation of democratic procedures. This event marks the third time that political

consensus among politicians has occurred. The document in question is generally seen as being the third consensus democratic document, following in the footsteps of the Objective Resolution of 1949 and the Constitution of 1973. It is stated unequivocally in the Charter of Democracy that the Constitutional Amendments that were put into place during the time that General Musharraf was in power are to be rendered ineffective as per the provisions that are outlined in this document. To give you an illustration:

The framework put in place by General Musharraf, which includes the National Security Council, is slated to be discontinued at some point in the near future. The Pakistan Armed Forces and the organisations that make up the National Security Council would both fall under the purview of the civilian political control that will be carried out. Improving the level of civilian control and regulation exercised over Pakistan's intelligence agencies is an absolute necessity if Pakistan is to maintain a level of governance that is both efficient and effective. The major objective of the Charter of Democracy was to guarantee that there is no room for military intervention within the framework of the political system. The understanding and application of the "Charter of Democracy" by the civilian leadership was viewed as a strategic mechanism to protect against unwarranted intrusion from institutions. This perception was supported by the evidence. The democratic framework has been the target of a notable and laudable project that has been implemented by political parties with the intention of bolstering and fortifying the framework. Despite the fact that the subject matter is expressed in a subtle manner, this particular piece of work has been recognized as a highly significant and emotionally affecting contribution in the context of Pakistan. This perception stems from the complicated socio-cultural climate that exists inside the country. The aforementioned text, which is often referred to as the "Magna Carta of Pakistan," was instrumental in the substantial expansion of democratic principles throughout the nation. As a result of enormous efforts made by political leaders, the creation of a comprehensive political consensus on a national scale was successfully attained, so exemplifying the concept of intricate political reconciliation. It has been observed that political parties attempt to establish a framework for democratic transitions, as demonstrated by the Charter of Democracy in 2006.

The Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) has provided the People's Government with a number of suggestions on the establishment of democratic

institutions in the country. In all of Pakistan's provinces, including the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), the Ministry of Defense, which is part of the Federal Government, is tasked with the responsibility of ensuring that prospective candidates are provided with equal recruitment opportunities. The Armed Forces need to have a recruitment policy that is consistent so that they can meet their goals. According to the provisions outlined in the Representation of Peoples Act of 1976, the government maintains the ability to define a specific timeline of ninety days within which the Tribunal is obligated to end the trial. This timetable must be adhered to in order for the trial to be considered successful. In addition, there is the chance that the procedures may be delayed, which may result in the imposition of sanctions on the parties that are involved.

It is necessary for the government to swiftly commence efforts to execute the changes stated by the President pertaining to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). This is required by the specifications outlined in Article 247, which states that it is imperative for the government to do so. The suggested changes would primarily involve making substantial alterations to the Frontier Crimes Regulation and making it easier for National Political Parties to carry out their operations in the aforementioned territory. Both of these aspects would be facilitated by the reforms. The government is able to include more stakeholders who have a vested interest in the continuing talks regarding the governance of Tribal Areas. These stakeholders can be found in the following phrases.

It is obligatory upon the government to undertake the work of developing sufficient legislative measures relevant to the preserving of individual security in accordance with the provisions that are outlined in Article 9 of the constitution. The regulations that are described in Article 192 state that it is the obligation of the Appointing Authority to guarantee that the appointment procedure for judges to the Islamabad High Court includes judges from all of the provinces as well as the Islamabad Capital Territory. There is a potential that the government will take action in order to put a stop to the nomination of the Federal Secretary of Finance to the position of Auditor General of Pakistan. These actions might be taken in one of two ways. It has been proposed that the creation of an Implementation Commission by the government would be advantageous in terms of facilitating the process of devolution and successfully managing the transition that would occur from the elimination of the Concurrent Legislative List, as described in the Fourth

Schedule. This proposition has been met with some resistance, but there is a growing consensus that such a commission would be helpful.

According to the stipulations that are stated in Article 161(1), the Government has the ability to rapidly create the required infrastructure for the purpose of utilising water resources within the Provinces, particularly in situations where such infrastructure is now absent. This is especially true in circumstances where such infrastructure is currently absent. Given the significant transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Provinces, which is detailed in the constitutional reforms package, it is imperative to reassess the allocation of duties among the Federal Public Service Commissions, Provincial Public Service Commissions, and their respective services, as highlighted in Item 11 of the Federal Legislative List. This is because of the significant transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Provinces, which is detailed in the constitutional reforms package. The successful execution of this reform is essential to the maintenance of provincial autonomy and the achievement of efficient governance. In addition, as an essential part of this reform, it is recommended to place primary emphasis on the incorporation of native components into the services.

According to the recommendation that was put out by the Committee, the exclusive jurisdiction over civil cases with a minimum value of five million Rupees, or any other sum that is determined by an Act of Parliament, should be granted to the Islamabad High Court. The concept of the "end of time" refers to the hypothetical conclusion or cessation of the temporal dimension, as it is generally understood within a variety of philosophical and cosmological frameworks. It is of the utmost importance to guarantee an equitable distribution of resources, opportunities, and representation among the several communities that call the Province of Baluchistan home. These communities include the Baloch, the Pakhtun, and other groups. The Committee stressed the need of cultivating a sense of togetherness and collaboration among different groups, as it is essential for ensuring that the community will have a prosperous and peaceful future as a whole.

The settlement of structural challenges can be accomplished through the encouragement of mutual communication and, following that, the achievement of consensus among all parties involved. In addition to this, it is recommended that you: The Federal Government will give careful consideration to the possibility of incorporating traditional procedures into the process of selecting candidates for constitutional offices within the Province. The

Provincial Government is dedicated to adhering to the zonal employment strategy in an exacting manner and carrying out the implementation in an effective manner. When it comes to allocating development money within the province, tackling socioeconomic underdevelopment and regional imbalances will be given priority status. This will be the primary emphasis of the allocation process.

The proclamation of a state of emergency by Musharraf, which was ostensibly based on security grounds, had a considerable detrimental effect on the security situation of the state, which, as a result, posed a great threat to the lives and property of the population of Pakistan. In addition, the function of the court was portrayed in a manner that was generally unflattering, as it was accused of hindering the efforts of the government and the nation as a whole to confront extremism and terrorism. The preceding remark was crafted with the intention of undermining the resolve of the government and lowering the efficiency of the tactics that the government has developed to handle this particular threat. It was determined that the current circumstances warranted the immediate implementation of extreme measures. As a direct consequence of this, Pervaiz Musharraf, who was serving as the Army Chief for the Supreme Court at the time, enacted the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) on the same day that the emergency was declared. The Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) established constraints on the ability of the court to critically evaluate the directives of Pervaiz Musharraf, regardless of the legitimacy or source of authority associated with those directives. The judiciary was required to affirm an oath in line with the PCO. This was done in compliance with the PCO. During the entire time that Pervaiz Musharraf was in charge of the government, fundamental rights, which were guaranteed by the Constitution of 1973, were routinely violated. This occurred throughout the administration. These rights include the protection against arbitrary arrest and detention, the freedom to move, congregate, affiliate, and articulate oneself, and the right to a safeguard against arbitrary arrest and detention. The inquiry that was posed to Musharraf connected to the desire that the judicial system pledge its allegiance to the Provisional Constitution Order (PCO) in order to validate its legitimacy. In the given context, the existing conditions were unfavourable for Musharraf, which points to an occurrence that most likely took place in the past. In order to properly address and settle the existing controversy, Musharraf took steps to win the support of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Choudhry. As a result of the Chief Justice's adverse answer on this particular occasion, in which he chose not to comply with the instructions

issued by G.H.Q., the independence of the judiciary was once again put in jeopardy. Musharraf's appointment to the Supreme Court as a Justice is the fruition of his long-awaited and much-anticipated efforts.

Dogar was able to take on his previous role when the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) that Musharraf had established was granted its formal stamp of approval. A consensus course of action, articulated by Justice Dogar, was eventually supported by an additional six judges of the Supreme Court. The Dogar court encountered significant opposition from a wide variety of sections of civil society as well as legal groups all around the country. People with a wide range of educational experiences participated in what became known as the "Lawyer Movement," regardless of their ages, degrees of reading, or any other variables that would be considered discriminatory. The reestablishment of judicial autonomy was the focal point of the individuals' concerted efforts to mobilise collectively. In the event that was just recounted, there was a peaceful demonstration that Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Ch. led with the intention of increasing respect for the judicial system. himself. The movement gained support from a significant portion of the country's population and posed a significant threat to Mr. Musharraf. It has been pointed out that Musharraf had an inaccurate notion regarding the possible repercussions of his actions. On May 12th, a significant incident took place in Karachi, which went on to have a significant impact on the consciousness of the general public. The episode, which was distinguished by the departure of a specific group of people working in the legal sector, elicited a sizeable reaction from the general community that was characterised by a large amount of astonishment as well as sadness. The day in question was referred to as a "Black Day" by members of the judicial system. Sincerely, Mr. Iftikhar Ch. is the person around whom this inquiry focuses. The subject of the investigation is the person who is being thought about. I believed it was necessary for me to leave Karachi because of the ongoing safety issues in the surrounding area. The regime of President Musharraf made concerted measures to stifle the movement. However, it is essential to recognise that every action that was taken met with obstacles, in a manner analogous to the concepts that were expounded in Newton's laws of motion.

2.5 Government's Opponents that Led by General Pervez Musharraf

Recent weeks have seen the political parties get together to devise an all-encompassing plan with the intention of kicking off an anti-Musharraf campaign. Rallies were held all

over the country with the intention of voicing opposition to the government of Musharraf. The political leadership, in particular the Muslim League (N) and the PPP, were responsible for organising these demonstrations. There is a window of opportunity right now to put pressure on Musharraf in order to get negotiations started, and it would be wise to take advantage of it. The grass-roots organisations that are affiliated with political parties were successful in mobilising the general population to voice their opposition to Musharraf. The current political system is going through a crisis on many fronts, but one of the most pressing concerns is with regard to the judicial system. It was widely believed that the legality of the political system could not be properly evaluated without first ensuring that the Chief Justice had been reinstated. The United States Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, told President Musharraf over the phone that the Supreme Court would not be subordinate to military authority. This has the potential to obstruct President Musharraf's efforts to achieve his political goals. In the meantime, Musharraf was dealt an extra political blow when the leadership that had been living in exile was given permission to return to Pakistan. The end of the Musharraf government was extended to cover the entire unusual turn of events in the political sphere. The Islamabad police apprehended a number of political activists throughout the month of September. Among those taken into custody were notable persons with ties to both the PPP and the Muslim League (N). The previous statement was made by someone in the United States of America. Itzar Ahan notes a perceptible lack of concern on the part of the United States government, despite the fact that the United States Embassy has described the situation as "highly disconcerting and perplexing," and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has expressed alarm over the arrests, calling them "troubling." The government's position on Musharraf's crackdown on the Supreme Court is apparent from the conspicuous absence of any reference to this topic in multiple briefings. This absence makes it clear that the government does not support Musharraf's actions.

On October 6, 2007, President Musharraf was successfully re-elected to his position as President of Pakistan. Out of a total of 1,170 members of the Electorate College, President Musharraf received about 57% of the votes cast. Several further people who are members of the Electoral College have expressed that they are debating whether they should continue to participate in this particular method or whether they should withdraw their participation altogether. In light of the unfavourable conditions that prevailed at the time, Musharraf made the decision to part ways with his military uniform. Musharraf was

aware that, in his job as civilian President, he would be confronted with a wider variety of institutional obstacles than he had previously faced. This phenomena can be explained by the formation of political coherence and consensus, mainly within political parties as opposed to the military. This has been going on for quite some time. The substantial influence that the military establishment held was primarily credited as being the driving force behind Musharraf's government remaining in power. The political parties have expressed their disagreement with Musharraf's re-election, arguing that it constitutes a flagrant violation of the Constitution of 1973. These parties have voiced their disagreement publicly. The decision of the Supreme Court of Pakistan to acknowledge all of the petitions that had been filed against former President Pervez Musharraf's re-election was a significant blow for Musharraf. The legitimacy of President Musharraf's re-election was brought into question by those concerned about the situation. Musharraf, in this updated version of the scenario, held the view that if he were to turn in his military uniform, he could find it difficult to successfully handle the legal challenges that questioned his validity as the re-elected president. These challenges questioned his legitimacy as having been elected by the people of Pakistan. A number of questions have been raised as a result of the controversy that has surrounded Mr. Musharraf's decision to stop wearing his military uniform. While the question of the uniform remained unanswered, the political associates of Musharraf recommended that he should acquire guarantees relative to his confirmation as President. When Mr. Musharraf gained clearance from the "New Supreme Court," which was established under the Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO), the problem was resolved. This brought about the conclusion of the crisis. The writ petitions that were handed in were ultimately ruled to be invalid, giving Musharraf the opportunity to resume his role as president of Pakistan. After doing in-depth research, it turned out that General Musharraf always wanted to step down from his position as head of the army.

It is a fact that has been widely acknowledged that there are points in time when Musharraf publicly expressed his desire to form a political coalition with Benazir Bhutto, and these points are indicated by historical records. In point of fact, Musharraf made efforts to develop a basis of mutual comprehension with the PPP, but with the caveat that certain conditions had to be met beforehand. The first round of negotiations between Musharraf and Benazir ended in failure because the two sides had different goals in mind. Musharraf's objective was to accommodate the PPP into the upcoming government

formation while at the same time isolating Benazir from the political sphere. Since Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari have chosen not to engage in political activities, the aforementioned instances will not be subjected to any additional investigation. This is because both of these individuals have withdrawn from political activity. It is anticipated that Asif Ali Zardari will be given parole from incarceration and then be required to leave the country after being released from his sentence. Because the discussion did not result in the results that Musharraf had hoped for, he was forced to resort to his backup plan, which is more generally known as the Muslim League (Q). Musharraf, in order to achieve his goal of establishing a governing body in the centre of the country, created a political partnership between the Muslim League (Q) and the MQM using careful strategy. Furthermore, major concessions were made in order to sway a small number of people linked with the PPP to join this alliance. This was accomplished by appealing to their sense of self-interest. As a direct result of this, a regulatory structure for the government was put into place. According to Hussain (2007), the circumstances that Mr. Musharraf was forced to deal with were far less beneficial in comparison to those that had occurred in earlier historical periods. In spite of the presence of a number of variables, one significant factor that led to Musharraf's political vulnerability was his ability to accomplish great things. A "deal package" that has been presented as a possible way for Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto to make amends to one another has been brought up in discussion once more. Alongside the continued efforts of mutual acquaintances within the state and beyond it, the Western powers have shown that they are interested in supporting a negotiation between the two parties. This is in addition to the efforts that are being made by outsiders. In this specific instance, Benazir's position exhibited a relatively higher status than other people's positions. Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, both prominent players in Pakistani politics, collaborated not too long ago to write the Charter of Democracy, an important historical book. Benazir made an effort to improve her standing in order to increase the likelihood that she will be successful when negotiating with Musharraf. After then, the individual moved forward with entering into an official contractual arrangement with Musharraf. Benazir's goal was to have the accusations she and Mr. Asif Ali Zardari were facing dropped, whilst Musharraf's ambition was to keep his presidency. Musharraf stated his intention to keep his president. Benazir showed that she was conscious that the effective resolution of all pending legal concerns was essential to the continuation of her political trajectory (Lamb, 2007). Following are some examples that show field cases that were witnessed in courts and by the National Accountability

Bureau (NAB) during the years 1988 and 1999, spanning different administrative eras. Benazir admitted that Musharraf's prolonged existence was precariously balanced on the brink of extinction; yet, his resuscitation was made possible solely as a result of the assistance that she provided. In point of fact, Benazir was coerced into reaching an agreement with Musharraf. The negotiations concerning the power sharing formula were carried out between the two parties. Musharraf showed awareness of his future engagement in the ensuing political regime, but Benazir Bhutto expressed reservations regarding the possibility of being re-elected as Prime Minister for a third term. Musharraf's awareness of his future participation in the subsequent political regime. Washington suggested that the prolonged engagement of Mr. Musharraf would be more beneficial if the moderate political forces were merged into a novel political system. This was in response to the fact that Mr. Musharraf has been in power since 1999. It is well known that both Musharraf and Benazir have a strong desire to keep Islamic militants out of the electoral arena. Benazir was the target of repeated assassination attempts by members of Islamic extremist groups.

During this time period, Musharraf was the target of three noteworthy suicide assaults, all of which he fortunately managed to survive. The construction of a political alliance between the two entities can make it easier to cultivate a nuanced understanding of political affairs on both the domestic and international levels. This is because the establishment of the political alliance can aid the formation of the political alliance. Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf met in Dubai and engaged in conversations with the goal of kicking off the process of creating an agreement that is acceptable to both parties. The deal that was described earlier, which is commonly referred to as the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) Deal. Former President Pervez Musharraf established the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) with the intention of providing assistance to political leaders who were facing judicial processes connected to accusations of mismanagement and corruption and whose cases were still pending settlement. The goal of the NRO was to offer support to political leaders whose cases were still pending resolution. It was decided that the tenure would last for a fixed amount of time that spanned from 1988 all the way up until 1998. This rule rendered all cases null and void, and as a result, a significant number of politicians were able to start their careers with a clean slate. Everyone has benefited in a number of different ways from the work that the National Reconciliation Organisation (NRO) has done. According to a story that was

published by Reuters in 2007, members of civil society and political intellectuals stated that the deal that was discussed previously had bad repercussions for Benazir Bhutto as a result of her violation of the Charter of Democracy.

Ch. According to the analysis of Shujat Hussain, it was asserted that the NRO deal made by Musharraf to Benazir Bhutto was primarily intended at dividing the opposition. This was said to be the case because Musharraf wanted to keep Benazir Bhutto in his government. In addition, there is a general consensus that the Charter of Democracy was a significant barrier to the political predominance of the Muslim League (Q), which is acknowledged by the majority of people. The agreement that was negotiated between Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf was ultimately supported by the administration in Washington, which expressed its approval of the compromise. Given the fluid nature of the situation, it is clear that the Musharraf Administration showed a disposition to facilitate the return of Benazir Bhutto while simultaneously demonstrating caution in facing the alliance that was built by Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. At the same time, it is clear that the Musharraf Administration indicated a disposition to facilitate the return of Benazir Bhutto. Even within the Peoples Party, there was a faction that thought Benazir was involved in activities that were comparable to those of the Pakistan People Party (Patriot Group), which was led by Mr. Aftab Sheer Pao, Faisal Saleh Hayat, and a few other individuals. The second group contended that Benazir Bhutto and Asif Ali Zardari were participating in political distortion in respect to the documented cases listed previously in the first group's argument. Benazir was required to give a speech regarding the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO), the purpose of which was to resolve and drop all pending judicial issues. Following the words made by Benazir Bhutto, it is possible to make the case that the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) ought to be regarded as a political accord with the intention of easing the transition from an authoritarian government to a democratic one (White & Ali, 2007). This line of reasoning can be supported by the fact that the NRO was drafted by Benazir Bhutto. It has been hypothesised that the creation of the military played a significant part in the process of Benazir and Pervaiz Musharraf coming to an understanding of each other's positions within the context of the conditions that existed. Once more, the military and civilian leadership were able to successfully negotiate a power sharing deal and come to an accord.

2.6 International Response

The political climate in Pakistan was characterized by a persistent feeling of unpredictability and was marked by severe upheavals. The problems were not addressed in a sufficient manner. The pursuit of individual power rather than the progress of institutions was the primary factor in determining the order of priority for those institutions. In addition, the increasing popularity of Islamic militantism has greatly undermined the efficiency of the state's security apparatus as a result of the state's efforts to counteract this trend. Both within its own boundaries and on the international stage, Pakistan's reputation as a nation known for its peaceful disposition has been presented with a severe test as a result of the persistent danger that has been going on for some time now. According to Admiral (2007), the fact that there is currently a crisis in the justice system has had a negative effect on the amount of veneration that people have for institutions. Given the current state of affairs, there was a rising amount of political speculation over the possibility of Musharraf implementing Martial Law through the use of an emergency declaration. This suspicion was fueled by the current state of affairs. When asked about the possibility of a Martial Law regime being implemented in the future, Condoleezza Rice stated that it was obvious that the administration in Washington would not authorise any approaches that veer from the constitutional framework. She said this in response to a question regarding the possibility of the question being asked. In addition, Jay and Peter (2007) documented that she expressed a potential reaction from Washington, which may have included the assertion that "Pakistan ought to make arrangements for the implementation of elections that uphold principles of freedom and fairness." The next day, the Commander in Chief of the United States stated that he was "disappointed" in the election results. Adam William Fallon, the acclaimed chief of Central Command, voiced his worries to Musharraf about the potential implications linked with the creation of a state of emergency during a meeting that was conducted in Islamabad. Fallon emphasised how important it is to take into account the potentially damaging impact that a move like this could have on the relationship that exists between the United States and Pakistan. Despite this, Washington has made a contrary statement in which it asserts that the Musharraf government will be safeguarded in the event that Pakistan is declared to be under a state of emergency due to the growing prevalence of Islamic extremism in the country. The idea that Musharraf should be given another chance has been put out in Washington by a group of supporters who cite Islamabad's

unwavering dedication to the fight against terrorism in conjunction with the efforts of the United States government. Musharraf made an effort to persuade people that the efficacy of the state had been undermined by security risks stemming from terrorism and extremism. As a result, he advocated for the bestowal of unlimited discretion. There was a school of thought among certain political experts that suggested the agreement between Musharraf and Benazir may be interpreted as an endorsement of Musharraf's leadership. On the other hand, the administration in Washington has stated that it will help moderate elements in Pakistan in an effort to promote meaningful reconciliation (Speech, 2007).

In relation to Musharraf's declaration of a state of emergency in Pakistan, it is highly unlikely that the United States will offer its support, as it continues to hold the belief that holding elections is the most effective approach to guaranteeing the formation and strengthening of democratic institutions within the country. As a result, it is highly unlikely that the United States will offer its support. Musharraf, in the end, carried out the execution. The occurrence was deemed to be an emergency, which resulted in the temporary suspension of fundamental laws once more. Musharraf presented a reason for the implementation of a state of emergency by stating the essential nature of it in light of ongoing threats originating from extremist elements within the borders of Pakistan. This was done in order to justify the imposition of the state of emergency. According to this particular line of thinking, former President Musharraf was able to successfully declare the various institutions of the state inactive. After the proclamation of a state of emergency, there was a massive mobilisation of resources to deal with the situation. Large-scale public demonstrations were coordinated by a variety of organisation on a national scale (Paul, 2007).

The administration that was led by Musharraf used the force of the state to put down the widespread movement. They did this by utilising repressive strategies, which in the end led to a more prominent display of authoritarianism. The government in Washington expressed significant concern in regard to the crackdown, labelling the measures that were put into effect as being excessive and unreasonable. The activities that were described above were regarded as being incompatible with the objective of transforming Pakistan into a genuinely democratic nation. Musharraf made changes to the Army Act of 1952, which gave the armed forces the right to conduct trials that included civilians. These changes came about as a result of Musharraf's actions. Human rights organisations

voiced their opposition to the decision because it had the potential to retrospectively endorse cases of enforced disappearances associated with the nation's security forces. The Supreme Court has also made it clear that it is unhappy with this turn of events. The current political crisis in Pakistan has been described by the government of the United States as a significant obstacle to the ongoing democratic reform efforts. The actions of the international community brought about observable repercussions (MOFA, 2007). The countries who are in close proximity to Pakistan have voiced their disapproval of General Musharraf's activities. India has expressed its concern to Pakistan about its domestic developments, signalling that it does not believe these trends will allow for the formation of peaceful bilateral relations between the two nations. India has made this concern known. According to the Commonwealth (2007) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan (2007), Pakistan is currently going through a phase in which it is facing a substantial number of obstacles. Given the current state of affairs, there has been a clear increase in the number of unfounded criticisms and exaggerated replies coming from foreign entities. These responses have come about as a result of the current conditions. The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group has decided to terminate Pakistan's membership in the organisation. The statement expressed a substantial amount of concern towards the annulment of the Constitution of Pakistan, and it also issued a warning regarding the prospect that Pakistan's membership in the Commonwealth could be discontinued until particular measures are implemented by Musharraf. The aforementioned actions include the lifting of any restrictions placed on the freedom of the media, the retirement from military duty, the release of all those who have been detained for political reasons, and the repeal of any emergency laws that were in place. The 22nd of November is the deadline that has been established for the fulfilment of these duties. The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) has voiced its disapproval regarding the abrogation of the Pakistani Constitution and has issued a cautionary message to Pakistan, stressing the prospect of suspension from the Commonwealth. In addition, the CMAG has warned Pakistan about the consequences of its actions. The possibility of suspension can be avoided if Musharraf, the current leader of Pakistan, takes certain actions prior to November 22 in order to prevent certain scenarios from occurring. The aforementioned actions include the revocation of emergency laws, the voluntary withdrawal from military duty, the release of all those who have been detained for political reasons, and the removal of all limits on the autonomy of the media. The government in Islamabad has expressed its extreme dissatisfaction and regret in relation

to a statement that was issued by the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG). The government of Islamabad believes that the statement displays a limited knowledge of the existing situation. The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) put its prior caution to suspend a particular body into effect on November 22nd, subject to the condition that democratic ideals and the rule of law are reinstated in the relevant context. The administration in Islamabad has expressed its profound disappointment over the decision, which they have characterised as being both irrational and devoid of any explanation. The writers argue that the decision does not take into account the circumstances that currently exist in Pakistan. Numerous international bodies that protect human rights have all voiced their vehement opposition to this action. The New York-based organisation Human Rights Watch has issued a scathing indictment of the incident in question, characterising it as a coup d'état against the civil society of Pakistan. Human Rights Watch's headquarters are located in New York. There is a call for the government to immediately stop its repression of political opponents, human rights defenders, the media, and the courts as well as end its efforts to restore constitutional rule as quickly as possible. Amnesty International, an institution with its headquarters in London, has released a cautionary statement stressing the flagrant disregard for key safeguards of human rights, which it has characterised as a clear violation of international legal standards. The statement also highlights the fact that the organisation has classified this as a clear transgression of international legal norms. In addition, Amnesty International has made a statement in which they advocate for the diligent pursuit of justice as well as the restoration of fundamental human rights (Amnesty International, 2007). The military takeover that Musharraf orchestrated in Pakistan was met with widespread opposition from the country's populace. The steps taken by the police to enforce and impede such protests resulted in relatively small-scale street demonstrations (Sam: 2007, David: 2007, Simon: 2007, Indian EAM: 2007). As a result, the extent of street demonstrations was relatively limited. (Washington Post, 2007) The Pakistani media showed a broad accord in their criticism of what was widely viewed as a deliberate attempt by Musharraf to keep his own authority in the face of increasing problems. This was widely perceived as an attempt by Musharraf to maintain his own power in the face of increasing obstacles. Musharraf was seen as an impediment to both the improvement of anti-terrorist activities and the advancement of democratic values by a number of significant media organisations in the United States. These organisations called for an end to the Bush administration's reliance on Musharraf and demanded that it halt. On December 15th, President Musharraf

made the announcement that the country was no longer in a state of emergency, and he claimed that this meant that the constitution had been fully reinstated (BBC, 2007). In his address to the people of Pakistan, the speaker highlighted that the installation of the state of emergency was implemented as a last resort, despite the speaker's own doubts about the necessity of doing so. This was done with the intention of foiling a purported plot to obstruct the development of democracy. Musharraf acknowledged responsibility for the establishment of "the fundamental structure of genuine democracy" (Agency France Press, 2007). Sceptics are of the opinion that there is not enough evidence to support the idea that the cessation of the emergency will lead to significant change. They hold this viewpoint because they believe it to be true. This viewpoint is derived from the fact that they have witnessed strong limitations imposed on the media and a judicial system that is perceived to be biased. According to a well-known Pakistani expert, Musharraf's actions have been generally viewed as a political manoeuvre aimed at manipulating public opinion, as Human Rights Watch noted in 2007.

2.7 Arrival of Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan

Benazir Bhutto made the decision to return to Pakistan in 2007 with the purpose of participating in the next election process. It is common knowledge that a Jihadi Islamist organisation poses a danger to Benazir Bhutto, and this danger is well acknowledged. Many people believe that the group that goes by the name Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan was the organisation that hatched the plan to kill Benazir Bhutto. This is a theory that is supported by a lot of circumstantial evidence. Despite the fact that Benazir Bhutto has voiced worries over her own personal safety throughout her time in exile and has requested stronger security measures from both the government of the United States and General Pervez Musharraf, these requests have not been granted. Benazir was adamant that Musharraf take extensive precautions to protect the nation at any costs. Benazir Bhutto has expressed her disdain of Taliban organisations that are active within Pakistan and has acknowledged the significant threat that these groups pose to the nation. When she arrived in Karachi, a number of things were already in the process of happening behind the scenes. Benazir Bhutto was greeted with open arms when she arrived in Karachi, and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) took this as an encouraging sign. It was widely believed that Benazir would experience a state of social marginalisation as a direct result of the NRO Deal that Musharraf had struck with Benazir. Nevertheless, contrary to

the widely held belief, the projected state of isolation did not materialise as expected. Soon after Benazir arrived in Karachi, she was the target of her first assassination attempt by a suicide bomber. Benazir was spared injury in the bombing, which tragically caused in the death of more than one hundred other people, but the explosion did not affect her in any way. During the course of her political campaign, Benazir found herself in a confusing and difficult situation. Throughout the whole of the election campaign, the individual was given orders that were both explicit and detailed, instructing them to exercise caution and awareness. Benazir Bhutto was gunned down on December 27, 2007, while she was travelling back to Rawalpindi from a political rally in Liaquat Abad. The killing took place in the middle of the city. The event was meticulously prepared for and carried out in a strategic manner. According to the reports that were published in *The NEWS* (2007) and *Agency France Press* (2007), the individual in question was the victim of an attack that was carried out by a suicide bomber.

The president of the United States expressed his displeasure of the attack, which was regarded as an act of cowardice and attracted major rebuke from Western media outlets. Multiple parts of Pakistan experienced public demonstrations, which were followed by disruptions in critical services and an enhanced awareness of the possibility for instability. A significant outbreak of civil unrest took place in the rural region of Sind, with a special emphasis on the city of Karachi as the epicentre of the upheaval. Benazir Bhutto's death was determined to have been caused by a brain injury sustained as a result of the sunroof of the vehicle, according to the preliminary study that the authorities compiled. After a short period of time, a report was produced which proved that Benazir was the victim of a purposeful assassination that was orchestrated by a young person who fired gun shots in close proximity to her vehicle. The study also stated that the assassin was responsible for Benazir's death. During the event that involved shooting Benazir, a subsequent explosion took place in close proximity to her. This explosion caused severe damage to her vehicle in addition to the tragic loss of numerous lives among others who were in her immediate neighbourhood. After being taken to the hospital for treatment, the roads were meticulously cleaned and washed, and as a result, any lingering residues or signs that had been present on the ground were successfully removed. Throughout the entirety of the inquiry, a high-ranking law enforcement official claimed that every piece of evidence had been tampered with, attributing this assertion to orders received from higher-ups in the agency. Benazir's removal from the political arena was to some extent

accomplished through the implementation of a strategic plan whose primary purpose was her assassination. According to The Washington Post (2007), the passing away of a prominent political figure in Pakistan resulted in a significant political setback for the country. Benazir expressed her own worries about her safety in the days leading up to her tragic death, which was caused by an assassination attempt. The individual in question did not live up to the standards of safety that were guaranteed. She actively worked to establish communication and collaboration with both American authorities and Musharraf in an effort to ensure adequate security measures and mitigate the possibility for complex situations. This was done in an effort to provide adequate security measures and mitigate the potential for complex situations. Despite this, the guaranteed protection that was supposed to be offered to her was not honoured. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has been pushing for the United Nations Organisation (UNO) to be given the authority to investigate the case involving Benazir Bhutto. This is because the PPP believes that the UNO has the necessary jurisdiction to do so. However, Benazir Bhutto's time in office as a politician has come to an end. In the meantime, the Supreme Court that was formed during the administration of Musharraf accepted his re-election as President and offered a way for him to voluntarily hand down his military garb. The absence of other options that could actually work led to Musharraf taking over as president of the United States on a civilian basis. In reference to the aforementioned event, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice referred to it as "Musharraf's recognition of the circumstances and his relinquishment of his position as Army Chief, which she regarded as the initial phase." Furthermore, she asserted that "the establishment of transparent and equitable elections would function as the primary factor promoting stability in Pakistan" (Bhutto, 2007; Sharif, 2007). Musharraf has stated that he plans to hold elections in January; nevertheless, he has refrained from providing a specific date for when the rule of emergency will be lifted. Benazir Bhutto's attitude, which could be observed, gave the unmistakable impression that she was not willing to comply with the requirements that were set in the agreement with Musharraf. despite the fact that they started a prolonged demonstration and successfully convinced other people to ultimately undermine Musharraf's power, they were unsuccessful.

As a result of his actions and decisions while in office, it is clear that Pervaiz Musharraf leans more towards a form of government that is frequently referred to as controlled democracy. This assertion is supported by the fact that he displayed this propensity during

his tenure as president. in order to achieve a balance between democratic rule and authoritarian rule. The fundamental objective of this study is to determine the financial and political motivations that lie beneath the Pakistani military's involvement in Pakistan's political environment. This will allow for a more complete understanding of the situation.

Because the military retains a significant financial stake in the nation, it is extremely unlikely that a populist civilian administration will be able to upend the existing order in the country. It is essential for the continued existence of a civilian administration that it is able to protect the economic interests of the armed forces and not interfere with those interests in any way. A revolution must be carried out in order to bring about the desired change in the existing state of affairs. In Khan's (1989) analysis, it is postulated that a civilian administration that comes to power through established and nonviolent democratic processes may encounter restrictions in its ability to effectively execute a political or economic agenda that is different from the vested interests of the military. These limitations may prevent the civilian government from effectively executing a political or economic agenda that is different from the military's vested interests.

When the political climates of Pakistan and the rest of the world are taken into consideration, it is clear that General Pervez Musharraf played a crucial part in making it possible for Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif to become politically active in Pakistan. The Lawyer's Movement was a major cause of dissatisfaction for Musharraf due to the fact that it involved the concerted efforts of a number of different political parties to put pressure on him to reinstate the democratic values that had been abandoned. It is beyond a reasonable doubt that Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf took part in talks with the intention of arriving at a prospective accord. Regrettably, the declaration of a state of emergency rendered these conversations somewhat less important than they otherwise would have been. Benazir Bhutto issued a public warning to General Pervez Musharraf shortly before she was killed, advising him that the declaration of a state of emergency would constitute a severe breach of fundamental rights. Bhutto was later killed. In addition to this, she announced that the political party she belonged to would be organising a lengthy demonstration march in opposition to his leadership. During the state of emergency that was proclaimed by General Musharraf, Benazir expressed the opinion that his acts represented a significant step towards a consequential mobilisation that

would lead to a march against Islamabad. In the end, Benazir Bhutto's response was characterised as a home threat that was at least somewhat believable. On the other hand, the newspapers Dawn and Jay both stated in 2007 and 2008 that Benazir Bhutto was being held under house arrest. Benazir Bhutto issued a call to action to a variety of national and international media outlets, in addition to major political personalities, pleading with them to renounce their participation in authoritarian practises and instead lend their support to the advancement of democratic movements. Mian Nawaz Sharif has been quite vocal in his condemnation of General Pervez Musharraf's actions in relation to the detention of Benazir Bhutto. The speaker claims that Benazir's change in attitude from Musharraf should be regarded as a positive development for democratic institutions because it has led to the marginalisation of the autocrat. This is because of the fact that Benazir's change in stance from Musharraf has led to the marginalisation of the autocrat. In addition, the individual indicated his support for the rapid and easy transfer that was facilitated by Benazir Bhutto, who exhibited a readiness to provide concessions to Musharraf in accordance with their agreement. Benazir Bhutto was able to facilitate this transition. The main figurehead of Jamat-i-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, expressed his approval of Benazir's stance in regard to Musharraf and communicated this to the press. In the circumstances that prevailed, President Musharraf had a tough time putting into place efficient safety procedures for Benazir Bhutto. Given the shift in demeanour that Benazir exhibited, the current circumstances were a hard challenge for Musharraf to overcome. Benazir categorically rejected any additional prospects of making political concessions to Mr. Musharraf and said she would not do so under any circumstances. The individual made it clear that they had no interest in finding a solution to the problem of Musharraf and the power sharing formula. As a result of the Muslim League (Q)'s relationship with General Musharraf, it was perceived as a combative political body, which contributed to a decrease in its popularity among the voters during election campaigns. This was one of the contributing factors in the overall reduction in the popularity of the Muslim League (Q). According to the Associated Press (2008), the ability to negotiate with Benazir was at its lowest point, whilst the level of public unrest against Musharraf has currently reached its highest point.

2.8 Conclusion

Since it gained its independence, Pakistan's efforts to construct a democratic government that is trustworthy have been met with a steady stream of obstacles. In a wide variety of settings and circumstances, democratic governance has been implemented in Pakistan. The democratic system was put into place during the reigns of Ayub Khan and Zia-ul-Haq, and it was done so in a manner that was consistent with the conditions that were in existence at the time. During the presidency of General Pervez Musharraf, there was a discernible increase in the incidence of controlled democracy, which is distinguished by the strong influence that the military establishment has over the parliament. This trend continued after Musharraf left office. In spite of his short political experience and his lack of involvement with any political party, the choice of Mr. Shaukat Aziz as Prime Minister of Pakistan may be interpreted as an indication of an undemocratic tendency on the side of the Pakistani government. Mr. Shaukat Aziz was a prominent figure in the world of finance, and he had beneficial connections with the establishment of the military. In its function as the legislative party, the Muslim League (Q) refrained from engaging in substantive discussions with the military establishment. This decision was made in order to preserve its relationship with the military establishment. Musharraf established the National Security Council (NSC) in order to exercise control over the functioning of the parliament and to monitor its activities. The prevalence of military hegemony in relation to significant concerns has been documented on numerous occasions. In both the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) operation and the Bughti Killing, the military institution was a significant factor in the decision-making processes. On two separate occasions, Pervaiz Musharraf demonstrated a disrespect for the dialogue process, which as a direct result led to the state being faced with a variety of security issues. Both of these accusations were made by the foreign media against Pakistan. It is possible to make an accurate assertion that the military establishment used forceful methods to achieve results that were discordant with democratic norms and objectives. This is because the sphere of comprehension allows such an assertion to be made. The political climate underwent a discernible transformation over the course of a considerable amount of time, which ultimately resulted in the handover of political power to a civilian government that had only recently been established. The recently formed parliament ran through significant challenges, all of which were successfully overcome. There has been a significant amount of twisting of the truth regarding the terrorism and the problem in Baluchistan. Karachi's

persistently high rate of suicide bombings and the large number of lives that have been lost as a direct result of those attacks have had a devastatingly negative effect on the region's overall economic well-being. The sudden and unanticipated formation of a new political alliance between the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Muslim League (N) offers several intriguing problems, particularly when the charter of democracy and the strategy of 'Reconciliation' are taken into consideration. Although there was a great deal of anticipation surrounding this one-of-a-kind political partnership, there was still a great deal of complexity there. In regard to the matter of the restoration of the judiciary, the alliance had achieved its conclusion, which prompted the Muslim League (N) to embark on a Long March as a method to achieve this objective, which ultimately resulted in positive outcomes. The current administration of the PPP is dealing with a legal battle at the same time that it is experiencing political estrangement from the Muslim League (N). In retaliation, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has initiated the formation of a political coalition with the Awami National Party (ANP), the Muslim League (Q), the Jamiat-e-Ulma Islam (F) Fazul-ur-Rehman faction, and the Muthadia-Qaumi Movement (MQM-Altal Group). This was done in order to counteract the situation.

The civilian administration has successfully carried out the execution of an all-encompassing political agenda within the confines of the political framework that was just recently constituted. The Constitution of 1973 was brought back into effect as a result of the strategic application of a single amendment. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was responsible for enacting the 18th Amendment, which ultimately led to significant changes being made to the foundational components of the country's political structure. The powers and responsibilities of the Office of the Prime Minister have recently been expanded in comparison to those of the Office of the President. Because of the 18th Amendment's enactment, the functions and responsibilities of both the federal government and the province governments were reorganized in a way that better reflects their respective levels of authority. Since the country's attainment of its independence, the civilian governments have been vocal in their support of efforts to build democratic governance and to institutionalize the associated processes. The election in 2008 was a significant turning point in the legacy of Musharraf. It led to the installation of a novel government that was distinguished by a distinct political alliance that was given the responsibility of managing political concerns. The 'Charter of Democracy' constitutes a significant step forward in the process of creating the fundamental principles of

cooperation and coordination among various political organisations. It was anticipated that those in prestigious positions would acquire a feeling of responsibility by studying the events of the past and applying what they learned. There was an expectation that the coalition government would conduct a reexamination of the relationship that exists between the federal government and the provincial institutions. This expectation was based on the fact that there was an existing expectation.

REFERENCE

- Islam, S. (22, August 2019). Chairman Department of Political Science, Interviewed by the author at his Office
- Islam, S., Zubair, M., Muhammad, I. (2019). An Analysis of 2018 General Elections in Pakistan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 56 (2), 193-205
- Islam, U, F. (13 January, 2020). Interviewed at his office, Director Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar
- Jahangir's World Times. (May 2010). *Milestone Reforms*, Lahore 4 (8), 10-90
- Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Jan, F. (2010). *Pakistan: A Struggling Nation-State*. Democracy and Security.
- Javed, A., Ahamad, Z. (2018). *Role and Significance of Senate in the federation of Pakistan: An Analysis before and after the 18th amendment to the constitution of 1973*. Margala Papers, 19-32
- Jeffrelot, C. (2016). *Pakistan at the Crossroads, domestic dynamics and external pressure*. New York; Columbia University Press.
- Jillani, S. (05 July, 2020). *Standing Exposed*. The News, Islamabad also available at <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/681461-two-yearson?>
- Journal of Democracy, vol; 28, No.4, Hopkins University Press
- Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 3 (4), 129-136.
- Junejo, S. (2015). *Pakistan: A State at Risk or A Failing State, the Last Dance*. School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London
- Khan, A. (1993). Chronology of Events: September 1988-April 1992. In Charles H. Kennedy (Eds) *Pakistan 1992*. US: West View Press, 167-196
- Khan, A. (20 March 2020). Interview at his office District Youth Office Nowshera Khan, A. (2005). *We have Learn't Nothing from History*, Karachi: Oxford University
- Khan, D. J. (1999). *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

- Khan, H. (2016). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, I. (2015). *The Politics of Alliances in Pakistan (1988-2008)*. (MPhil Thesis), Islamia College University Peshawar.
- Khan, K. (21 November 2020). Interview at his Residence Khesghi Payan, Nowshera
- Khan, K. (23 March 2020). Interview at his office Peshawar
- Khan, M (09 January 2020). Interview at his office University Town, Peshawar
- Khan, M. (14 August 2020). Interview at his office Hakeemabad, Nowshera.
- Khan, S. (2009). Electoral Program of Political Parties: A case study of 2008 elections. (MA). Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar.
- Khan, S. H (1999). *Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Y. Bangash, S. (2015). Monitoring the Democratic Transition Pakistan 2013 Elections. *South Asian Studies*, 30 (2), 59-71.
- Larry, P. G. (2008). Pakistan after Musharraf: The 2008 Elections. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4), 5-15
- Lashari, A. (20 May 2018). *Activism to Seraiki Province*. The News, Islamabad
- Lyon, S.M (2002). *Power and Patronage in Pakistan*. (PhD Dissertation), University of Kent, Canterbury
- Malik, A. (25 October, 2014). Senior leader of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Candidate for NA-69, by Pakistan Today, also available on <http://www.pakistatoday.com.pk/2014/10/25/impact-of-dharnas-on-economy-and-foreign-relation>, retrieved on 25/10/2018
- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK:New Holland Publisher.
- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK:
- Malik, M. R. (2018, July 25). *Elections 2018: Perspective & Prospects*. The Nation, Islamabad
- Malik, N., Rana, A. (no date). The History of Local Governance in Pakistan: What Lesson Learn. *Journal of International Politics*, 1 (3), 25-40
- Malik, R. M. (01, August 2018). *2018 elections: Analysis and Aftermath*. The Nation, Islamabad

Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year, Politics & economics*, South Asian voice

Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year, Politics & Economics*, South Asian Voice,1-6

The News (01, December 2007). 5E PPP Manifesto Launched. Islamabad.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN'S PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY FROM 2008 TO 2013

The participation of authoritarian forces, either directly or indirectly, in Pakistan's political process has hampered the effectiveness of democratic progress there. This has been the case both directly and indirectly. The phenomenon that has been described has been shown to present itself in a variety of ways, one of which being the common occurrence of legislative sessions either being infrequent or lasting only a short amount of time. In addition, the autonomy and influence of the parliament are limited, which frequently leads to its role being reduced to that of a symbolic approving body that is vulnerable to the supremacy of established power dynamics. According to a report published by Crisis Group in 2013, the elected parliament in Pakistan has constantly demonstrated a lack of substance, and its operations have been judged inconsequential, even during periods of civilian administration. This has been the case throughout the country's history. The occurrence that was discussed earlier had a considerable impact on the political climate of the country, which acted as a barrier to the development of democratic institutions.

There has been a noticeable process of consolidation visible within the political institutions of Pakistan since the end of the general elections in February of 2008. These elections took place in Pakistan in 2008. After an absence of almost forty years, this progression reached its zenith with the proclamation of the constitution in 1973, which effectively reinstated a federal parliamentary democracy in the nation (Babar, 2019). This event served as the conclusion of this progression. The elections marked the end of the autocratic and totalitarian military rule led by General Pervez Musharraf. Additionally, they made it possible for the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to create a coalition government at the national level. Following its departure from the PPP coalition and subsequent affiliation with the opposition, the Pakistan Muslim League, which was led by Mian Nawaz Sharif, has emerged as the second most significant political party in Pakistan. This development took place when the PPP coalition was dismantled. The elections are very significant because of the significance they will play in the development of Pakistan's political history. They signify the successful transition to a

democratic system and the fulfillment of the constitutional five-year term by the civilian administration under the leadership of the PPP (Nazeer, 2018). As such, they constitute a key milestone due to the fact that they signify the completion of the term.

The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), led by Nawaz Sharif, and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Benazir Bhutto while she was in exile in London, participated in the signing of the May 2006 Charter of Democracy (COD) during the period of military governance that was led by General Pervez Musharraf. According to Babar (2019), the agreement required both parties to make a mutual promise to aggressively reject the dictatorship and join in measures aimed at establishing parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. This commitment was part of the pact's terms. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were two of the most significant political parties in Pakistan at the time, and their respective future policies were outlined in the charter. The opposition to autocratic and military regimes, the reinstatement of the constitution of 1973 in its original state, the incorporation of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the safeguarding of press and media freedom, and the advancement of fair rights for disadvantaged and marginalized groups, including minority populations, are all components of the movement that was mentioned above. Additionally, the charter included measures that aimed to assist women's empowerment and implement electoral reforms to guarantee the equitable and transparent execution of elections. These requirements were included in the charter as well. The reforms included the establishment of a neutral Election Commission as well as a neutral caretaker administration, the latter of which was to be established by a process of collaborative dialogue involving both the parties now in power and the parties currently in opposition. In addition, the charter proposed the implementation of a detectable voting system as a means of combating corruption and discouraging political desertion (Memon, 2009).

3.1 Announcement of the General Elections 2008

In Pakistan, the twelfth general elections were scheduled to take place towards the end of December in the year 2007. This decision was consistent with the constitutionally mandated period of five years for the existing governing body, which had been chosen through a process of democratic election in the year 2002 (Homayoun, 2011). In response to significant pressure from political parties, civil society organisations, and the media,

General-turned-President Pervez Musharraf said on November 11 that elections will be held prior to January 9, 2008, saying that the date had been moved up from its original plan. As a consequence of this, on November 15th, a federal caretaker administration was established under the direction of Muhammad Mian Soomro. This government was established with the intention of supervising the general election in 2008 and allowing a smooth handover of power to the party that gained a majority of the vote. It was with the goal of enhancing the administration of electoral procedures that Mr. Justice Qazi Muhammad Farooq was chosen to take over as Pakistan's newly appointed Chief Election Commissioner. When he took over the post, one of the first things he did was begin the process of preparing for the next elections by beginning the process of accepting nomination papers from the 21st to the 26th of November. On November 28, 2007, General Pervez Musharraf assumed the position of President of Pakistan by delegating the command of the Army to General Ashfaq Kiyani. This allowed him to take on the role of President. After this, the individual in question went on to announce, during a broadcast communication that was addressed towards the entirety of the nation, that the predetermined date for the next elections for the National Assembly and provincial assemblies would be the 8th of January (Khan, 2012).

3.2 Political Parties and their Role in Parliamentary Democratic Process

The existence of political parties and their active involvement in democratic processes are of the utmost importance to the successful operation of democratic government because democratic processes are impossible to carry out without them. In the general elections that took place in 2008, a total of forty-eight political parties participated, while twenty political parties made the decision not to take part in the electoral process. The Jamaat-i-Islami party, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, and the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, all of which were led by Mahmood Khan Achakzai, were among the prominent political organizations that decided against running candidates in the elections and instead chose to sit out the process (Khan, 2009). The major political parties in Pakistan, including Pakistan Muslim League-N, Pakistan People Party (PPP), Awami National Party (ANP), Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), and Pakistan Muslim League-Q, as well as the constituent parties of the Mutahida Majles-i-Amal (MMA), with the exception of Jamaat-i-Islami, have decided to participate in the electoral process. This decision was made collectively. This decision was driven by the goal of preventing a repeat of the MRD folly

that was seen in the 1980s and of strengthening the legitimacy of military authority under Musharraf's tenure (Khan, 2012). This decision was driven by the goal of preventing a recurrence of the MRD error.

The most influential political parties in Pakistan were getting ready to take part in the electoral process that would take place in 2008. Each political party engaged in the process of developing a programme and manifesto for the general elections that took place in 2008, understanding the significant influence that these documents have on party performance and the strategic value that they provide to election campaigns. An examination of the manifestos that were presented by major political parties before of the general elections in 2008 can be found in the next section of the chapter. This study focuses on key and urgent concerns, such as the War on Terror, the Energy and Water Crisis, the Independence of Judiciary, Civil-Military Relations, FATA reforms, Devolution and the Local Government System, Education, Health, and Agriculture, rather than conducting a separate analysis of the manifestos of each political party. In this analysis, the viewpoints of several significant political parties, such as the PPP, PML-N, PML-Q, ANP, MQM, and MMA, are investigated in regard to the aforementioned topics. The United States of America and the countries with which it is allied have responded to the terrorist attacks that took place on September 11, 2001, by waging a military and political campaign that has been commonly known as the "War on Terror."

The Pakistan Muslim League (N) and the Pakistan People's Party, who are considered to be the two most powerful political parties in Pakistan, have both addressed the problem of terrorism and extremism in their respective platforms. As was made clear in the respective manifestos of the two political parties, the parties had a common viewpoint on the subject of terrorism, which is becoming an increasingly urgent concern. It was said in a source (Mashriq, 02 January 2008) that the period of extremism may be directly ascribed to the period of military administration led by General Pervez Musharraf. This information comes from a source. In addition, a determination was made to eliminate extremism in a comprehensive manner as part of the agreement. The Awami National Party (ANP) contends that Pakistan's involvement in the war on terror waged by the United States in the aftermath of the attacks on September 11 led to an increase in acts of terrorism committed within Pakistan. This view is supported by the ANP. According to PILDAT (27 December 2007), the PML-Q and MQM, in their relationship with Pervez

Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation policy, did not properly participate in conversations relevant to this topic. This information comes from the fact that the PML-Q and MQM were involved in the policy.

3.3 Energy Crisis

The Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League (N), the two largest political parties in Pakistan, have both been paying a great amount of attention to the country's ongoing energy problem. Both sides have shown substantial concern regarding this issue and have provided their own unique recommendations regarding the generation of energy and the management of it. The leadership of the PPP has stated that they are committed to carrying out an all-encompassing and trustworthy strategy that will ensure both the availability of sufficient energy and the safety of the energy supply. In the piece that appeared in *The News* on December 1, 2007, there was a clear indication of a significant leaning towards the exploration and implementation of alternative energy sources, particularly wind and solar energy. In addition, the idea that was just discussed has given attention to the concept of creating an energy corridor that would link the regions of Central Asia and Balochistan. On the other hand, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) made a commitment to efficiently meet the energy requirements of the industrial sector by making use of domestic energy sources. These domestic energy sources include coal, gas, and hydroelectric power. In addition, the party has stated that it is in favour of lessening the nation's reliance on energy sources that are produced in other countries (Mashriq, 1 December 2007). The PML-Q party has taken a position of silence, while the MQM party has voiced their concerns about the issue of load shedding and the energy deficit that industrial enterprises are experiencing, highlighting the importance of finding a solution to this problem. The Multinational Energy Agency (MMA) has placed a focus on the importance of giving nuclear and solar energy projects more priority as a means of reducing the impact of the current energy shortfall. On the other hand, the Awami National Party (ANP) communicated the tendency of its leadership towards the allocation of resources for the construction of hydropower projects (PILDAT, December 27, 2007).

3.4 Independence of Judiciary

The Pakistan People's Party has expressed its support for the establishment of an independent judiciary that is free from any kind of political influence. In addition, the

political party enacted measures targeted at judicial reform, such as a proposal to give the Prime Minister the right to choose the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. These policies were enacted by the political party. In addition, the appointment of extra judges for the superior courts would be carried out by a judicial commission, which would then follow the recommendations of a legislative committee comprised of members from both the parties that are currently in power and the parties that are currently in opposition (The News, 01 December 2007). As the major goal of its administration, the PML-N party placed a significant focus on the restoration of dismissed judges and the return of the judiciary's prestige to its state prior to November 3rd. In addition, the reforms that were discussed earlier extended to the judicial system with the intention of ensuring that judges are chosen based on their qualifications (The News, December 15, 2007). In their respective manifestos, the political parties PML-Q, MMA, and MQM have expressed their support for the idea that the judiciary should be independent of the executive and legislative branches of government. According to Khan (2009), the ANP manifesto put up a notion that called for the complete dissociation of the judiciary from the executive branch, along with the execution of substantial financial autonomy. Khan's theory was based on the fact that the ANP platform also called for wide financial autonomy.

3.5 Civil-Military Relations

According to the Pakistan People Party, the Prime Minister of Pakistan is the one who is responsible for naming the Provincial Governors, Chief of Army Staff, Chief of Naval Staff, and Chief of Air Staff positions in the armed forces of Pakistan. A National Defense Committee, which would be chaired by the Prime Minister and replace the National Security Council (NSC), was another option that was put forward in the plan. In addition, it has been said that the budget for the defense would be presented to the parliament for the purpose of receiving its approval. There was a recommendation to put military land and cantonments under the administration of the defense ministry, as stated in a proposal that was discussed in an article that was published in Dawn on December 1, 2007. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) has made a commitment to upholding the constitutional requirement that requires the division of responsibilities between the various branches of the military forces. In addition, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) has been quoted as saying that they are committed to the procedure of submitting the defense budget for review and approval by the National

Assembly (The News, December 15, 2007). In a similar vein, the ANP has expressed its aim to take measures with the purpose of preserving the dichotomy that exists between the military and political spheres of activity. In addition, the ANP has put forward a proposal for the execution of relevant legislation with the purpose of successfully cutting the budget for the defense department. Both the manifestos of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q) fell short of providing an effective response to the question of how to balance civil and military power. According to Khan (2009), the MMA underlined the need for all state institutions, including the military, to adhere to the highest legal framework of the state while also underlining the necessity of avoiding involvement in political intervention. In addition, the MMA emphasized the importance of adhering to the highest legal framework of the state.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has committed to raising educational standards and improving the quality of education across the board, from elementary school to higher education. In addition, it strongly advocated for the expansion of the system of higher education within the country, particularly in the fields of engineering and medical. In addition, the political party has pledged that it will remove restrictions placed on the formation of labour unions within educational institutions, while at the same time assuring the continued absence of firearms and other potentially dangerous items on university grounds. In its platform, the Agricultural Public Private Partnership (Agriculture PPP) expresses its commitment to the implementation of a comprehensive strategy geared to strengthen agricultural services and professions, with a particular emphasis on farming. The Public Private Partnership (PPP) emphasized how important it was to make health the primary focus of the governance it established. According to a news report that was published in Mashriq on the 1st of December 2007, the political party that was previously stated communicated its commitment to the execution of an all-encompassing health strategy that is aimed at ensuring universal access to healthcare facilities for every individual. In addition, the political party has pledged to expand the number of healthcare facilities and create a diverse range of employment opportunities, particularly for female health care workers known as lady health workers (LHWs).

In its election platform, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) pledged to make it a priority to make sure that all public-sector educational institutions offer free education

up to the level of intermediate, regardless of the student's family's financial situation. In addition, the platform of the party called for the establishment of a National Education Corps, the creation of job opportunities for persons who are now unemployed despite having degrees, and the implementation of an adult education campaign with the goal of reaching widespread literacy. The manifesto of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) lays an emphasis on the welfare of small-scale farmers working within the agricultural industry, with the goal of resolving and reducing the challenges that they confront. This emphasis was placed on the welfare of small-scale farmers. This objective will be achieved if the political party succeeds in achieving its goal of removing restrictions placed on agricultural practices. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) is a political party that has advocated for increasing the manufacture of high-quality medicines as a means of enhancing the general population's access to medical services. In addition, it has been emphasized how important it is to modernize the medical infrastructure of hospitals on both the federal and provincial levels, with a particular emphasis on providing these facilities with the most advanced medical and surgical equipment possible. The primary goal of this project is to alleviate some of the financial strain that is involved with the provision of medical treatment for those who are suffering with a variety of illnesses while also facilitating easier access to medical treatment for those individuals. According to Khan (2009), there is a suggestion to utilize proactive methods in order to address the transmission of diseases such as AIDS and Hepatitis within the general population. Specifically, the goal of this plan is to stop the spread of these diseases.

Literacy and education have been highlighted as being of utmost importance by the PML-Q party, which has highlighted the relevance of making this a primary priority of its agenda for the government. According to a story that was printed in Jang (2008), the PML-Q party has communicated its aim to elevate the position of teachers and establish an annual observance known as "Teacher Day" as a symbolic show of respect towards this renowned profession. This intention was communicated in the form of a plan. Concerning the sector of agriculture, the PML-Q has stated that it is dedicated to the implementation of realistic initiatives aimed at increasing agricultural output, with the overall goal of achieving self-sufficiency in food production and boosting the growth of high-value crops. In its manifesto, the PML-N-Q party placed a high priority on the provision of health-related services, with a particular emphasis on the establishment of a

National Health Service (NHS), the mission of which is to guarantee that all members of the general population will have easy access to healthcare services. According to what was detailed in the PML-Q manifesto from 2008, the party put forward a plan to establish a National Foundation with the express purpose of providing medical care and insurance coverage to those working in the realms of arts, literature, poetry, sports, and journalism. This proposition was included in the manifesto. The ANP has made a formal commitment relative to the field of education, in which it has indicated its aim to allot a percentage equal to 6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) towards this specific industry. This commitment was made public. In addition, the political party has pledged to provide free primary education and to ensure that students can receive instruction in their original language up until the elementary level. A number of different policies relating to the agricultural sector were included in the manifesto of the ANP. These initiatives included the execution of reforms, the encouragement of growth and development in downstream businesses related with maize and tobacco, and the provision of incentives to encourage the growing of crops like as fruits, vegetables, and flowers. The actions were taken in an effort to increase agricultural production. In a report that was distributed by Dawn in the year 2008, it was mentioned that the Awami National Party (ANP) has vowed to allot 8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) towards the sector of the economy that deals with healthcare. The intention behind making this commitment was to make it easier for all members of the population to receive quality medical care at a price they could afford. The MQM party has advocated for the revamping of the medical curriculum in addition to putting forward a plan to allot 5% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) towards the field of education. A proposal to enact land reforms within the agricultural sector was included in the MQM's platform, and this proposal was presented to the public. According to the position that has been presented by the MQM, there is a proposal to improve the allocation of financial resources to the healthcare sector, with the goal of increasing it from 4% to 6% of the overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This would be accomplished by increasing the total GDP. Within the sphere of education, MMA has been an advocate for the adoption of tuition-free educational possibilities, as well as the incorporation of computer and technological literacy initiatives into the educational programmes that are taught in schools. The Manifesto for a New American Majority (MMA) included a series of policies that attempted to facilitate the provision of electricity for agriculture tube wells and provide attractive lending choices to farmers. In addition, the policies sought to promote the provision of electricity for agriculture tube wells.

According to Khan (2009), the MMA has allegedly made a commitment to guarantee the fair and impartial access of contemporary medical services to all individuals, despite the existence of discriminating elements.

3.6 The Concept of Devolution and its Impact on the Local Government System

Following the creation of the government, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) suggested holding local government elections based on party affiliation within a three-month timeframe as soon as possible after the conclusion of the campaign period. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) was in charge of carrying out the Election Commission's instructions to put into place a system for voting in local bodies that is determined by a candidate's affiliation with a political party. The notion that power and authority should be decentralized was one that the PML-Q advocated. The MQM party's manifesto included provisions for the development of independent local government entities. According to Sadaf (2009), the Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) sector has shown that it is committed to establishing regulatory bodies at multiple levels, including the province, district, and city levels. Specifically, this commitment has been established.

Two key propositions were laid out in the Pakistan People Party's (PPP) election manifesto that was released in 2008 for the elections. In the first place, it pushed for the integration of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Second, it suggested the establishment of a separate status for the Northern Areas, which would have granted them some degree of autonomy over their own governance. In their election manifesto for the year 2008, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) expressed their commitment to implementing political, economic, and administrative reforms with the intention of integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the preexisting social framework. This was one of the party's primary campaign promises. In addition, it was proposed that the Northern Areas be granted their own unique status, which would necessitate the establishment of their very own legislative body (PILDAT, 27 December 2007). The PML-Q believes that the introduction of a party-based democratic system in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is the only viable approach for tackling the issues that are now being experienced in these regions. In addition to lobbying for an expansion of the Political Parties Act of 2002 to include FATA, the Awami National Party (ANP) supported the idea of adding the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the province of

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The FATA are a region that is now under the administration of the federal government. A commitment to the inclusion of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the central administration through the execution of constitutional mechanisms was outlined in the manifesto of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). In a similar vein, the manifesto of the MMA included a notion that the continuing military operation in tribal areas should be terminated (Khan, 2009).

Election campaigns in Pakistan, like those in many other developing nations, have a tendency to focus an emphasis on personalities and identities, frequently ignoring substantive discussions on pertinent topics and policies. Because of the tragic killing of Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007, the campaign for the general election in 2008 was characterized by a noticeable lack of vibrancy and passion, which may be partly attributable to the event. In the midst of her speech at the historic communal gathering that had been called to order in Liaquat Bagh in Rawalpindi, the previously described catastrophic event took place. This occurrence had a significant influence on the degree to which the election campaign was kept interesting. A widespread feeling of tremendous grief was experienced over the entirety of Pakistan between the dates of December 28th and December 30th, with a noteworthy concentration in the province of Sindh. The statewide demonstrations and protests were distinguished by the presence of unruly groups, which led to the extensive destruction of different modes of transportation, including buses, trucks, vehicles, railway carriages, and the purposeful ignition of petrol pumps. The destruction of these modes of transportation was caused by the widespread destruction of various modes of transportation, including the deliberate ignition of petrol pumps. In addition, a significant number of wounded and fatalities were reported in different areas of the country (Khan, 2012). In addition, as a direct result of the events that transpired, the elections that were originally slated to take place on January 8 have been moved to the 18th of February. Following a time of introspection, the political parties got back to work on their campaigns for the next election. During the whole election campaign, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) made the reinstatement of previously removed judges a significant focal point of its platform and a top priority. On the other side, the Pakistan People's Party and the Awami National Party presented a certain degree of vagueness when it came to this extremely important matter. The untimely death of former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had a tremendous impact on the political climate, which ultimately led to a shift in how the general public views the Pakistan

People's Party (PPP). The shift in public attitude can be attributed to the sympathy that was created among the general population towards the political party in response to this terrible tragedy. This sympathy was directed towards the political party. According to Kanwal (2017), the electoral campaign process came to an end in the midst of a state of disorder.

The results of the general elections in 2008 were compatible with the predictions made by political experts, and they matched the outcomes that a significant portion of the population anticipated before to the electoral processes. This was the case in both the United States and the United Kingdom. According to the results of the elections held in 2008, the People's Party emerged as the leading political party, securing a total of 91 seats in the national parliament. This indicates that the People's Party became the dominant political party. With a total of 67 seats, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) emerged as the country's second-largest political party in the recent elections. In comparison, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was only successful in winning 19 seats, while the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) won a total of 41 seats. The Awami National Party (ANP), Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (PML-F), and Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) each won ten, four, and six seats correspondingly in the parliamentary election. In addition its claims that the BNP, NPP, and PPP each won one seat in this election (Rizwan 2014)

The Pakistan People's Party emerged as the party that gained the most seats in the national legislature as a consequence of the elections that took place in February of 2008, as can be seen from the table that was just shown. These elections took place in Pakistan. The general assembly of the nation was up for election in these contests. Nevertheless, in spite of this tremendous accomplishment, the party was not successful in securing an absolute majority of the vote, which would have given it the capacity to form a government on its own at the national level. This was a severe loss. As a result, the formation of a coalition government necessitated the involvement of new political parties in order for it to operate well. In light of the pressing circumstances, Asif Ali Zardari, the Co-Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), initiated deliberations in a formal setting with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, Awami National Party, Muttahida Majles-e-Amal, and Jammiat Ulema-i-Islam led by Fazlur Rehman, with the objective of forming a governing entity (Haq, 2008). According to the findings of a study that was

carried out by Rizwan (2014), the Co-Chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party, Asif Ali Zardari, defined the objective of his party, which is to construct a government that is based on consensus among its members. This purpose was clarified by Zardari in an interview that was conducted in 2014. For this government to be able to carry out its duties, it would be necessary for all political parties, even those that are currently excluded from holding seats in parliament to take part in its operations.

As a consequence of engaging in in-depth dialogues and engaging in self-reflection, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League (N) have reached a consensus on a power-sharing agreement that encompasses both the national level and the province domains. This agreement covers both the national level and the provincial domains. After much back and forth between the two parties, they finally came to an understanding that allowed for this agreement to be achieved. The inaugural ceremony for administering oaths to members of the National Assembly took place on March 17, 2008. The assembly's new term officially started with the aforementioned event. Following that, on March 19th, Dr. Fehmida Mirza and Faisal Karim Kundi, both of whom were members of the Pakistan People's Party, were selected as the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Deputy Speaker, respectively. Both of these positions were previously held by Faisal Karim Kundi. When Dr. Fehmida Mirza was selected to be the first woman to hold the position of speaker of the national legislature in Pakistan (Dawn, 20 March 2008), she made history in the realm of politics in that country. Dr. Fehmida Mirza has accomplished a lot, as seen by this accomplishment. throughout a session of the National Assembly that took place on March 22, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) chose Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani to be its candidate for the position of prime minister. This nomination took place throughout the previous week. In opposition to this, the PML-Q put forward the name of Pervez Elahi as their candidate. According to a story that was published in Dawn on March 26, 2008, on March 24, 2008, Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani was supposedly nominated to serve as the 18th Prime Minister of Pakistan. This information was included in the report. The resolution to request a vote of confidence was presented to the National Assembly of Pakistan by Pakistani Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani on March 29. The next thing that needed to be done was to put together a cabinet, which led to the search for 24 different individuals to fill 11 distinct ministry positions.

According to a story that was published by Dawn on April 1, 2008, it was said that the Pakistan People's Party, in addition to nine members from the PML(N), two members from the ANP, one person from the JUI-F, and one member from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), were ceremoniously inaugurated as members of the party. The province governments of a country are the bodies of the national government that are in charge of the administration and governance of particular geographical regions within the country. Provinces can be thought of as sub national subdivisions of the country's larger government. At this time, every one of the provinces has a government that is a coalition of various political groups. In the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Awami National Party (ANP), the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) have come together to form a coalition government. The province is under the jurisdiction of this government. According to Kanwal (2017), Amir Haider Khan Hoti, a member of the Awami National Party, assumed the responsibilities of a leadership role when the previous one was vacated. Karamat Ullah Khan Chagharmatti, a well-known politician who is affiliated with the Pakistan People's Party, was victorious in the election for the position of Speaker in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial legislature. Karamat Ullah Khan Chagharmatti won the election by a wide margin. Karamat Ullah Khan Chagharmatti was victorious in the election with a significant margin of victory. Khushdil Khan Advocate, who had been a delegate for the Awami National Party, was subsequently elected to the position of Deputy Speaker in a manner that was analogous to that. This information was initially presented in an article that was printed in The Nation on April 1st, 2008.

Candidates for the roles of Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Punjab provincial legislature were proposed by the Pakistan Muslim League-N, which is the political party that currently controls the majority in the Punjab parliament. The candidates proposed by the Pakistan Muslim League-N were subsequently elected to fill those seats. These elections in the Canadian province took place in Punjab. Punjab was the location. Rana Muhammad Iqbal and Rana Mehshud have been selected for appointment in their respective roles as Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives. Dost Muhammad Khosa, a member of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party, was sworn into office without encountering any opposition after he was elected to that position following his victory in the election. He was recently promoted to the position of Chief Minister of the Punjab. Despite this, the agreement was only intended to serve as a

stopgap measure until the by-election that was held to replace Shahbaz Sharif. According to a piece that was featured in *The Nation* on April 9, 2008, Shahbaz Sharif was appointed to the position of Chief Minister of Punjab in June of that same year.

Nisar Ahmad Khuhru and Shehla Raza, who were both nominated by the People's Party, won the election to serve as the speaker of the Sindh Provincial Assembly and the deputy speaker of the Sindh Provincial Assembly, respectively, in the province of Sindh. Both candidates were elected in Sindh. During the election, neither one of them had to contend with any opponents. In addition to this, Qaim Ali Shah is currently serving as the Chief Minister of Sindh after being elected to the position through the procedures of a democratic election. An executive body that is formed of ministers representing the coalition parties, mainly the ANP and the MQM, was also established in a manner similar to that (*The Nation*, 24 April 2008). According to an article that was printed in *The Nation* on April 24, 2008, Nawab Aslam Raisani, who is a member of the Pakistan People Party and who is presently serving as the Chief Minister of Balochistan, was successful in his candidature for this position. Currently, Nawab Aslam Raisani holds the office of Chief Minister of Balochistan. In addition, it is essential to bring to your attention the fact that Aslam Bhootani, who is a member of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), and Syed Mati Ullah Agha, who is a member of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Fazl (JUI-F), have been elected as the speaker and deputy speaker of the Balochistan legislative assembly, respectively. Both of these men belong to the JUI-F. Both guys are representatives for their individual parties.

As a matter of historical fact, the formation of a coalition government was sped up by means of a document known as the "Muree Summit Declaration." This was a piece of paper that was signed by Asif Ali Zardari, the co-chairperson of the Pakistan People Party, and Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the PML-N. As a result of the signing of this document, the formation of a coalition government was sped up. Both of these people hold key positions within Pakistan's major political parties, and they are well-known leaders in their respective fields. According to the present accord, all parties have come to an understanding regarding the reinstatement of judges, most notably Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, on November 3rd. This provision is included in the agreement. This agreement is the culmination of efforts to reach a consensus. After the establishment of the centralised government, it is anticipated that the procedure of

reinstatement would be completed within the thirty-day time restriction that has been set. After the foundation of the coalition administration, there was a standoff between the two political parties regarding the tactic that was meant to be applied in the process of re-establishing the judiciary that had been dissolved in the past. This impasse happened after the formation of the coalition government. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz's (PML-N) decision to resign from their post in the federal cabinet in May of 2008 was partially influenced by the fact that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) held divergent viewpoints regarding the proper function of the judiciary. In spite of this, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) has continued to provide support for the coalition government that is currently being headed by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) within the context of the legislative setting (Khan, 2012). A new political climate has arisen as a direct result of the choice made by the PML-N to withdraw their support from the PPP alliance. This new political climate is characterised by consensus-based politics that are rooted in compromise, political tolerance, and patience. The PML-N is responsible for the cultivation of this environment. According to Iqbal (2017), this specific event made a considerable contribution to the establishment of democratic principles and the improvement of the Pakistani federation. After the Charter of Democracy (COD) was ratified in 2006, the two biggest political parties in Pakistan, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), engaged in a cooperative alliance between the years 2008 and 2013. According to the results of Professor Bakhtiyar, this can be observed to be the case. According to Bakhtiyar (2020), the implementation of this joint effort resulted in the development of a novel political approach that was characterised by the doctrines of consultation and compromise. This approach was developed as a result of the development of a novel political approach.

In August of 2008, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz, which were the two key coalition partners at the time, came to an agreement that General Pervez Musharraf should be removed from his post as president. This decision was made by the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz. The previous decision was made with the purpose of either initiating impeachment proceedings against the man in question or ensuring that he will voluntarily depart from his post. This is the case despite the fact that there are considerable conflicts between the two political factions. After that, on the 18th of August in 2008, Pervez Musharraf proactively avoided

the possible shame related with impeachment by voluntarily offering his resignation as President. He did this to shield his family from the potential shame that would have been brought upon them by an impeachment trial. After the departure of former President Pervez Musharraf, Asif Ali Zardari, the Co-Chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party and the Husband of the Late Benazir Bhutto, was Elected President of Pakistan. Benazir Bhutto was the former Prime Minister of Pakistan. Asif Ali Zardari is currently serving as Pakistan's 11th and current President. Benazir Bhutto served as Pakistan's Prime Minister until stepping down from that position. By casting their ballots in favour of the candidate, the Awami National Party, the Muttahida Qumi Movement, and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman) all demonstrated their support for the election. According to Khan (2012), the individuals who were nominated as presidential candidates by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and the Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid, respectively, were Saeed-uz-Zaman Siddiqui and Mushahid Hussain Syed. The Pakistan Muslim League is an organisation that both of these parties have relations to. As of January 2010, the majority of political analysts were of the opinion that Asif Ali Zardari posed a considerable obstacle to and slowed down the process of re-establishing a democratic framework in Pakistan. This perspective was held by the majority of political analysts. This was a popular opinion held by political analysts everywhere. During his inaugural address to a joint session of parliament on September 20, 2008, Asif Ali Zardari expressed his disagreement with the perspectives of political analysts before going on to make a formal proclamation. This took place the day after Zardari's speech. This address was delivered during Zardari's time as President of Pakistan, which ran from 2008 till 2013.

The primary course of action that will be carried out by his government would involve the reversal of constitutional reforms that were established by the military rule under the leadership of Pervez Musharraf, with the intention of restoring parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. This course of action will be carried out in order to accomplish the goal of restoring parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. This line of action will be conducted with the goal of reestablishing parliamentary democracy in Pakistan as the country's primary form of government. This plan calls for the transfer of power to the parliament, which would be accompanied by a decrease in the authority of the president, who would take on a more subordinate position. The plan also calls for the transfer of power to the parliament, which would be accompanied by the transfer of power. Because I am the head

of this state, it is necessary for me to underline the relevance of the president, the cabinet and regular consultations with the parliament in order for these bodies to carry out the duties and responsibilities that have been delegated to them. Our organisation is committed to ensuring that the Constitution, the Legislative Branch, and the Foundational Elements of Legal Governance as a Whole continue to enjoy their preeminent positions. The research that was carried out by the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS, 2015) found that one of the most fundamental elements of good governance is a commitment to following the will of the people as it is articulated in the electoral mandate that they give to their representatives. This was found to be one of the most significant aspects of good governance.

The newly elected President Asif Ali Zardari has proposed the establishment of a "All-Party Committee" in order to make Benazir Bhutto's vision a reality and to restore the importance of legislative authority in the country. (Dawn, 21 September 2008) The primary objective of this committee would be to perform a reassessment of the constitutional amendments that have been put into effect since the last time one was done. This would be the first time that such an assessment has been done.

3.7 Institutional, Legal and Constitutional Reforms between 2008 and 2013

The Pakistani parliament, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) during the 13th national assembly, which operated from 2008 through 2013, showed an unflinching dedication to the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan during that time period. This legislature ran from 2008 until 2013. This commitment was carried out in a manner that was consistent with the stipulations that were included in the Charter of Democracy (COD) of 2006, and it was accomplished through the passage of a range of legislative measures. In addition, this pledge was carried out in a manner that was consistent with the stipulations that were contained in the Charter of Democracy (COD) of 2006. The political parties PPP and PML-N, which had been involved in disagreement in the past, were able to reach a compromise and effectively pass a combined total of 116 pieces of government legislation and 18 pieces of private members' bills (PMBs) via the legislative system after the formation of its governing body. This was accomplished by effectively passing a combined total of 116 pieces of government legislation and 18 pieces of private members' bills. It is important to note that a total of 94 of these proposals were ultimately enacted and transformed into statutes that are legally compelled

to be implemented by all parties involved. The results of a study conducted by FAFEN (2013) indicate that a large portion of private member bills (PMBs), specifically 10 out of 18, were effectively converted into legislation. According to Devotta (2016), the 18th, 19th, and 20th amendments to the constitution of 1973 were put into force simultaneously with the purpose of restoring the democratic framework in Pakistan. In order to bring Pakistan's democratic structure back to its previous level of functioning, a number of significant constitutional amendments have recently been passed into law.

3.8 The Formation of Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR)

In the month of December 2009, and under the leadership of President Asif Ali Zardari, a committee was established with the purpose of making adjustments to the constitution. This group included representatives from a number of different political parties, and it was founded with the intention of proposing revisions. Following this, the national assembly proceeded forward with the passage of a resolution with the purpose of establishing a parliamentary committee that would be comprised of a variety of key stakeholders. The resolution was adopted with the intention of establishing a committee that would look into the matter. The Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) has been constituted thanks to the proposal taken by the Speaker of the National Assembly, which will have a total of 26 members. It shall be the responsibility of the PCCR to provide recommendations about constitutional amendments. The committee is chaired by Senator Mian Raza Rabani, who is a member of the People's Party and represents the People's Party on the committee. The group is comprised of representatives from fourteen distinct political parties. Other individuals who are significant in this context include Raja Pervez Ashraf, who is a member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Professor Khurshid Ahmad, who is affiliated with the Jamaat-i-Islami, Syed Naveed Qamar, who is also a member of the PPP, Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, who serves as the Chairman of the Pakistan People's Party - Sherpao group, Babar Awan, who represents The PML is where Hamayoun Saif Ullah got his start.

Rizwan et al. (2014) have created a list of the politicians in Pakistan's numerous political parties and groups who hold the most sway over their respective organisations. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was represented by Dr. Farooq Sattar, the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) by Rehmat Ullah Kakar, the Awami National Party (ANP) by Haji Adeel, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) by Munir Khan Orakzai,

and the Baloch Nationalist movement by Mir Israr Ullah Zehri. These individuals were both important members of their respective political parties and played key positions inside those parties.

3.9 The 18th Amendment and the Democratic Evolution of Pakistan

Within the confines of a constricted length of time, the parliamentary committee, which was led by the seasoned statesman Mian Raza Rabbani, convened approximately 80 meetings and enacted approximately 100 changes that covered nearly 75 distinct subjects. On March 31, 2010, the 18th amendment was presented to the committee, where it was unanimously approved, and it was subsequently implemented the following day. The bill that would propose the eighteenth amendment was accepted by the Senate on April 15th, 2010, after it had been voted by the National Assembly the previous week on April 8th, 2010. On the 19th of April in 2010, the current President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, was the one to sign the aforementioned piece of paper. It is abundantly obvious that the approval of Pakistan's 18th Constitutional Amendment was a significant role in the country's subsequent success in constructing a democratic framework, as specified in the Constitution of 1973. This assertion is supported by the fact that the acceptance of the amendment took place in the year 1999. This amendment was intended to produce measures that would deter future military interventions, which had previously caused disruptions to the democratic system (World times, May 2010; Rizwan, et al., 2014). Specifically, the goal of this amendment was to develop measures that would deter future military interventions. This amendment was proposed with the intention of putting in place safeguards that would discourage the use of force in the future. The fact that a fundamental shift has occurred within the constitutional framework of Pakistan has been brought to the attention of the general public by Senator Raza Rabani, who was the architect of the 18th amendment. Senator Rabani believes that this shift in power was brought about as a result of the previous president of the country voluntarily handing up their authority to the current prime minister. An individual has asserted that the contemporary age in Pakistan signals the beginning of a new democratic period, which can be identified by the majority of parliamentary authority (Geo, 2010). This assertion has been made by the individual. This is based on the information provided by the source that has been cited, which claims that the individual has stated that this information is true.

Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, the current Prime Minister of Pakistan, had an interesting remark regarding the political history of Pakistan while he was speaking. This observation is important to note because it relates to the history of Pakistan. Sama (2010) highlighted the unique characteristic of a leader voluntarily handing over their presidential authority to the elected parliament as a subject of emphasis. He did so in order to draw attention to this part of the situation. In May of 2010, as President Asif Ali Zardari was signing the 18th amendment to the constitution, he voiced his optimistic anticipation for the permanent end of dictatorial governance. He expressed his fervent wish for the complete and utter removal of authoritarian rule (World Times, May 2010). During the course of an interview that was carried out with Professor Fakhr ul Islam, the researcher inquired about the significance of the 18th amendment by asking Professor Fakhr ul Islam the question that was presented in the previous sentence. The following line of reasoning, offered by Professor Fakhr ul Islam in response to this question, is as follows:

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution is seen as a respectable document by a vast majority of people since it was effective in deleting unconstitutional articles, phrases, and sections from the constitution. This is due to the fact that it was successful in removing these provisions from the constitution. The aforementioned amendment was a key component in the process of Pakistan's federal democratic system being given a new lease on life. It highlighted the significance of provincial autonomy and ensured that it would be carried out in a manner that is consistent with the essential substance and purpose of the constitution. This was accomplished by ensuring that it would be carried out in a manner that is consistent with the constitution. This was a significant contributor to the revival of Pakistan's federal democratic system. The significance of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan in Pakistan's political and constitutional history is comparable to that of the Magna Carta. The ramifications of this change are extremely important. According to Islam (2019), the right execution of the 18th amendment to the Constitution is of the utmost relevance in sustaining the independence of the Judiciary and ensuring the organisation of elections that correspond to the principles of liberty, equity, and openness. This is because the independence of the Judiciary and the organisation of elections that correspond to these ideals are dependent on the 18th amendment. This is due to the fact that both of these elements are necessary for the continued existence of the state.

The 18th amendment was passed by the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan, which resulted in the constitution of 1973 being returned to its original form. This was accomplished as a result of the constitutional amendment. This transpired as a direct result of the change that was made. The name of the military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq was scrubbed off the constitution once it became public knowledge that he had ruled the country in an autocratic fashion. The military coup that was led by General Pervez Musharraf on October 12, 1999 was widely acknowledged as a violation of legal norms and, as a result, was thought to be illegitimate. This occurred as a direct result of the general's actions. Because of the action that was detailed above, a number of legislative acts were rendered invalid and revoked, most notably the Constitutional 17th amendment, the Chief Executive Orders 2002, and the Legal Framework Order (LFO) 2002. During the time that General Pervez Musharraf was in control of the military dictatorship that was in force at the time, these policies were put into effect. Because of the aforementioned developments, which have been regarded as lacking legitimacy, as being in violation of the law, and as reflecting a breach of the original constitution, any area that was once reserved for the remnants of military governments has been eradicated (World Times, 2010). Article 6 of the constitution, which is the section of the constitution that deals directly with the offence of high treason, has been the focus of the efforts of the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms, which has been working to make revisions to the article. According to the declaration, any action taken to abrogate, suspend, subvert, or hold in abeyance the constitution will be viewed as an act of high treason and will not be upheld by any judicial organization. This is because the statement declares that the constitution cannot be held in abeyance. The assertion also states that any judicial body will not endorse the assertion, which is an additional point. In addition, it was established that individuals who are found guilty of violating the amended section 6 of the constitution will have their names added to the list of individuals accused of the crime of high treason (Dawn, 2019). This was one of the provisions that were included in the definition. A list of people who have been accused of committing the crime of high treason has been compiled. On two separate occasions, in 1977 and 1999, historical events demonstrated that military dictators worked in conjunction with the judicial system in order to not only temporarily suspend the constitution but also validate their actions beyond the confines of the constitutional structure by means of legal measures, invoking the concept of the law of necessity. This was done in order to both temporarily suspend the constitution and also validate their actions beyond the constitutional structure. This

was done in order to legitimize their activities in a manner that went outside the framework of the constitution. Therefore, in order to protect the constitution from the danger that is presented by actions of this kind, it is a constitutional requirement that acts of high treason shall not be awarded any form of legal legitimacy by the courts, including Pakistan's high court and Supreme Court. This is so that the constitution can be shielded from the danger that is posed by activities of this kind. According to Hussain and Ullah (2012), the adoption of particular measures, which came about as a direct result of the implementation of the amended article 6 of the constitution, has effectively handled the likelihood that a totalitarian government would grow in a way that will be handled in a way that will persist for an extended period of time. In a case that was presented under Article 6 of the constitution for high treason, former Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf was tried for high treason and found guilty after a trial that lasted for six years. In December 2019, he was sentenced to death for the crime of high treason. In the past, Musharraf had been Pakistan's head of state in that capacity. (Dawn, 2019) The item that was discussed before offers support for the fundamental concept of the rule of law and asserts that all people are subject to the constitution in addition to the laws of the state. Ali (2020) emphasized in their response to an inquiry that the amended article 6 successfully communicates the message to both the ruling political and non-political elites that no individual owns a position of superiority over the constitution or the law. This was said in reference to the fact that no one has a position of superiority over the constitution or the law. To accomplish this, it was determined that the updated article 6 successfully delivers the message that no one occupies a position of superiority above the constitution or the law. This was done by noting that the new article 6 was effective in conveying the message. In addition to this, it focuses an emphasis on the principle of equal treatment under the law, which is something that is pertinent to each and every person.

Since the reign of General Ayub Khan, who is credited with being the first administrator of martial law, military leaders have utilized emergency powers as a tool for strategic purposes. This custom goes all the way back to when martial law was first established. The process that must be followed in order to declare a state of emergency has, however, become much more complicated as a direct result of the implementation of the 18th constitutional amendment. As a result of the changes that were made to the provisions, it is now essential to obtain approval for the declaration of a state of emergency from both

the Senate and the National Assembly during the sessions that they are currently in (Hussain & Ullah, 2012). This is because the modifications that were made to the provisions were made as a consequence of the changes that were made to the provisions.

The term "basic rights" is used to describe the fundamental liberties and protections that are inherently accorded to each and every individual. It is generally agreed that these rights are indispensable in addition to being fundamental. The vast majority of individuals agree that these rights ought to be given a high level of importance in accordance with the agreement. The Eighteenth Amendment made a significant contribution by recognizing the provision of free education as an essential entitlement for all individuals between the ages of 5 and 16, thereby establishing it as a fundamental right. This was accomplished by recognizing that education is a necessary entitlement for all individuals between the ages of 5 and 16. This was a significant step towards achieving the goal of providing everyone with access to educational opportunities. The recognition of the fundamental rights of individuals in regard to education took place for the very first time as a result of this occurrence. The fact that this particular occurrence took place for the very first time gave it a special significance. The major objective of the adjustment, which consisted of ensuring citizens' rights to access information, was accomplished by the insertion of Article 19A as a result of the change that was made. According to the provisions of this article, it is the right of every single person to be informed about any and all matters that are regarded as being of vital importance to the general public. Each and every individual citizen is given the ability to form organizations or organizations according to the clause that was added to the constitution in 1973. This clause recognizes the fundamental right to association, which allows individuals the ability to form organizations. Despite this, the Chief Executive Order No. 24 of 2002 severely curtailed the ability of citizens to exercise this freedom. This rule was passed into law by General Pervez Musharraf while he was in command of the country, and it was in effect while he was in charge of the country. Nevertheless, it is essential to emphasize that these limitations on the "Right to Association" were ultimately lifted as a consequence of the 18th constitutional amendment (Crisis Group, 2011). This was accomplished in the course of time. This marked a significant turning point in the course of the country's history.

Within the context of a wider political system, the term "provincial autonomy" refers to the extent to which individual provinces are given the authority to self-govern and make

decisions regarding issues that are relevant to that framework. This authority typically comes in the form of more latitude in terms of how those decisions are implemented. Since Pakistan's independence was proclaimed in 1947, the most powerful political parties in the country have constantly and frequently lobbied for higher levels of autonomy for the country's provinces within the framework of the national government. The adoption of the 18th Amendment did, however, result in the execution of a substantial number of initiatives that were made to remedy this problem. These steps were done to address the issue of slavery. The removal of the concurrent list from the constitution led to the devolution of forty of the forty-seven topics and the relocation of around twenty to twenty-five ministries to the various provincial governments. As a consequence of this, one could say that federalism in Pakistan, as defined in the constitution of 1973, has been successfully implemented for the very first time (Islam, 2016).

In order to ensure that the provinces retain their independence, certain changes have been made to clauses 70, 142, 143, 144, 149, 157, 160, 161, 167, 172, 232, 233, and 234 of the constitution. These changes were made in order to protect the autonomy of the provinces. These alterations were carried out. According to Shah (2012), the articles in issue provided provinces a large level of autonomy in the areas of hydro-electric power generation, natural gas, the design of the NFC award, and the legislation within their respective jurisdictions. Specifically, the clauses in question let provinces to make their own decisions about the NFC award. According to Farhat Ullah Babar, the 18th amendment to the constitution is a notable success by a number of different political groups since it handles the time-honored problem of province autonomy in an efficient and effective manner. This was one of the main motivations for the amendment in the first place. According to Babar (2020), the execution of this strategy led to the consolidation of federalism, the establishment of participatory governance, and the devolution of autonomous authority to provincial bodies. All of these outcomes were the result of the policy's implementation. The occurrence of each of these items occurred at the same time.

The political trajectory of Pakistan has been defined by an ongoing struggle between the central government and the regional administrations, as well as frictions between the provinces regarding the division of authority, resources, and financial advantages. This

competition has been going on for quite some time now. These variables have had a substantial impact on a number of significant upheavals that have occurred within the country, the most famous of which being the partition of East Pakistan in 1971, which was defined by the extremely traumatic nature of the event. These upheavals have occurred as a result of a number of significant upheavals that have occurred within the country. Because of this, in accordance with the rules described in the 18th amendment, the Council of Common Interest (CCI), which is a well-established discretionary body, recently went through a process of restructuring and augmentation under the direction of the Prime Minister of Pakistan. This was done in response to the fact that the 18th amendment was passed. This action was taken with the goal of successfully addressing and resolving problems of this sort. As an alternative to holding regular meetings at the cabinet division, the Council of Common Interest (CCI) was given a permanent secretariat in Islamabad to use as a meeting location instead. In addition to this, it was mandated that the CCI must get together for a meeting at least once every three months (Cookman, 2010). A recent reorganization of the National Economic Council (NEC) has resulted in the organization changing towards taking on a function that is more consultative in character. This change was brought about as a direct consequence of the reorganization. The organization has been entrusted with examining the state of the national economy as a whole and making recommendations to both the federal government and the individual province governments in order to aid in the process of strategic planning (PIPS, 2015). This is being done so that the organization can provide assistance in the process of strategic planning.

The North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), which was formerly known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, recently underwent a significant shift in its nomenclature and is now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is also crucial to note that the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was formerly known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Awami National Party (ANP), a political organization that strives to aggressively promote the cause of Pashtun nationalism and has been working for this change for a significant amount of time, was the impetus behind this adjustment in policy. The ANP has been advocating for this change for a significant amount of time. They perceive it in that way because the ANP sees this move as a method to identify and affirm their distinct ethnic identities, and they see it as a chance to do so. The orthographic representations of the two provinces, namely Balochistan, which was derived from Baluchistan, and Sindh, which was derived

from Sind, have both been updated to reflect the recent corrections that have been made. The goal of Pakistan's 18th constitutional amendment is to enhance the representation in the country's upper legislative chamber, the Senate of Pakistan, of socially and economically disadvantaged provinces and other marginalised groups, such as the country's minority community. This objective is intended to be accomplished by increasing the size of the Senate's membership. According to the results of Cookman's (2010) study, the upper house (senate) put into action a clause that granted an additional four seats solely for minority residents (non-Muslims), with each province receiving one seat. These seats were reserved for persons who did not practice Islam.

The Awami National Party (ANP) had been pushing for a change in the name of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for a very long time, and their cause was completely justifiable. However, this demand had been ignored in the past. In the past, this requirement was disregarded as irrelevant. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which is the party that is now leading the coalition government, is the party that is responsible for the enactment of an important constitutional alteration that is known as the 18th amendment. After this revision, which was the catalyst for the name change, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa emerged as the victorious contender for the position of official name of the province. In addition, this amendment was successful in gaining both the NFC award and provincial autonomy for the province. Both of these achievements are anticipated to be effective in efficiently tackling the numerous issues that the province is experiencing within the federation (Shabab, 2020).

3.10 Politics Have Changed Hands from the Presidency to Parliament

It is remarkable that Pakistan's constitution was amended for the 18th time, and that this particular amendment is distinguished from its predecessors by the fact that it reintroduced parliamentary supremacy as a key trait. Throughout the course of history, parliaments have repeatedly demonstrated a tendency to either not exist at all or to act as symbolic bodies that are vulnerable to the control of powerful entrenched forces. This has been the case in many different countries. Both General Zial-ul-Haq (1977–1988) and General Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008) presided over Pakistan's military forces during the time periods in which the 8th and 17th amendments to the constitution were adopted and put into effect, respectively. Both men served in these capacities from 1977–1988 and 1999–2008, respectively. A substantial amount of change was introduced into the

constitution as a result of these revisions. The constitution was first drafted in 1973 as a legislative document; however, the amendments that were detailed above led to a considerable alteration in the document, which led to the development of a presidential system. The constitution was written as a legislative document at its inception in 1973. Under the new structure, the prime minister and parliament were given duties that were essentially symbolic, and the president was given a significant increase in the amount of power available to him. On the other hand, in accordance with the provisions that are specified in the 18th amendment, which include the articles 46, 48, 75, 90, 91, and 101,

According to Shah (2012), the reestablishment of parliamentary supremacy was made possible by the approval of a number of constitutional changes, especially numbers 105, 116, 129, 130, 131, 141, 139, 231, and 243. These modifications were specifically responsible for making the restoration of parliamentary supremacy possible. As a consequence of this, the 18th amendment finally led to the transfer of executive authority, which had been wholly vested in the president, to the parliament. This was the intended outcome of the amendment. The purpose behind the adoption of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution was to eliminate the constraints that were placed on the capacity of the President to dissolve the Assembly by Article 58(2b) of the Constitution, which was the provision that was altered. This intention was the driving force behind the adoption of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. According to the findings that Cookman (2010) unearthed, the current statute says that the President is expected to act in line with the orders supplied by the Prime Minister in relation to the dissolution of the assembly. This obligation requires the President to act in a manner that is consistent with the orders provided by the Prime Minister.

In addition, according to clause 90 of the modified article, the responsibility of nominating the Chief of Army Staff, Chief of Air and Naval Staff, and Chairman of the Public Service Commission has been moved from the President of Pakistan to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Previously, the President of Pakistan held this role. This is a departure from the former setup, in which the President was in charge of deciding who would fill these positions. The previous length of time, which was thirty days, has been significantly cut down, and the president is now expected to grant his consent to a bill within ten days. This is a major reduction from the prior amount of time. Because of this change in procedure, the parliament, the national assembly, and the senate were each

given the power to decide whether a proposed piece of law should be accepted or rejected. In addition, the president was made responsible for ensuring that this criterion was met by the entire government. During the process of appointing a governor for a province, it is important for the president to adhere to the criteria that have been given by the Prime Minister. In addition to this need, the president must follow these requirements. The Prime Minister was the one who presented us with this information. According to the findings of World Times (2010), in order for a provincial governor to be able to dissolve the assembly, the governor must first consult with the Chief Minister of the province that the assembly represents in order to acquire advice on how to precede.

When the constitution of Pakistan was first created in 1973, it gave the President of Pakistan the power to appoint judges to both the Supreme Court and the High Court of Pakistan. This power has not changed since then. As a result of the procedure that was just explained, which has resulted in controversy, concerns have been expressed with regard to the independence of the court system. On the other hand, in line with the new framework, the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) has suggested a proposition for the establishment of a judicial commission that would be constituted of seven members, as is stipulated in article 175 A. This would be done in accordance with the new framework. This commission will be in charge of overseeing the appointment of judges who are widely regarded as having high ethical standards. The Chief Justice of Pakistan serves as the chairperson of the Judicial Commission of Pakistan. The committee is now made up of two senior judges, a federal law minister, the Attorney General of Pakistan, and a top lawyer from the Supreme Court. In addition, the Chief Justice of Pakistan is in charge of leading the commission in his capacity as chairman. The Judicial Commission is the institution that is responsible for submitting a nominee for approval to a legislative committee that is comprised of eight members picked from both the government and opposition benches. The members of this committee are evenly split between the government and opposition benches. This body is in charge of conducting background checks on nominees. After it has been determined that the individual in question is who they claim to be, it is the obligation of the parliamentary committee to report this information to the president (Parliamentary Committee Report, 2010). The president will have an easier time making the appointment as a result of this change. The number of individuals who are currently sitting on the Judicial Commission has expanded from eight to thirteen as a direct result of the approval

of the 19th constitutional amendment. The increase in the number of members on the commission was the driving force for this shift in policy. In addition, it is stipulated that the judicial commission is not permitted to resubmit the nomination of an individual if that person's candidature has previously been rejected by the parliamentary committee in the past. This provision may be found in the law. Only those individuals who have previously been denied access are subject to this limitation. On the other side, if the request were to be turned down, it would be the job of the legislative committee to explain the thought process that went into making their decision. The method that is used to appoint high-ranking judges now contains a sense of justice as a direct result of the adjustments that were addressed earlier, which has led to a reduction in the possibility that disagreements will occur between the executive branch and the judicial branch. An article that was published by the Tribune on December 22, 2010, had a remark from Yousaf Raza Gillani, a former Prime Minister of Pakistan, in which he referred to the 20th amendment as "a Gift for the Nation." According to the findings of Professor Fakhr ul Islam, it has been observed that...

“The amendments to the Constitution that were ratified in the 18th and 19th centuries had a significant impact on the degree to which the Judiciary was able to keep its independence intact. According to Islam (2020), an important event took place as a result of the adoption of amendments, which led in the formation of a parliamentary committee with members from both the opposition factions and the treasury factions. This committee was responsible for overseeing the implementation of the changes. This was a really important advance in the right direction. Throughout the entirety of the procedure for appointing justices for the Supreme Court, the previously mentioned committee played an essential role in protecting the credibility of the impartiality principle”

The advancement of democracy in Pakistan has been hampered as a result of electoral manipulation, which has also had a negative effect on the country's political stability. Throughout the course of Pakistan's history, military rulers have persistently used techniques with the intention of manipulating election processes at the national, provincial, and municipal levels. The major goal of these strategies has been to ensure the longevity and continuation of their respective military regimes. The elections resulted in the construction of legislative or council bodies that demonstrated a weakness in their

capacity for representational function, and as a result, they essentially operated as validation mechanisms under the jurisdiction of military authorities. These previously stated military rulers were able to effectively establish the legitimacy of their authority by carrying out constitutional and political reforms. In addition to this, they centralized power under the military administration with the intention of stifling the influence of a wide variety of civilian institutions, one of which was the Election Commission of Pakistan. During the eight years that Pakistan was ruled by the military, General Pervez Musharraf further harmed the already limited independence and impartiality of the Election Commission of Pakistan. As a result, the Election Commission was transformed into a mere mask of legitimacy for the military administration. Through considerable manipulation in local government elections, referendums, and general elections, the Election Commissioners have had a significant impact on the political landscape of Pakistan, particularly in relation to those with disabilities. This is especially true in terms of the rights of disabled people. In 2008, when the Pakistan People's Party took over as the ruling party in Pakistan, they immediately set about making significant changes to the country's electoral process in order to foster conditions that are more conducive to the holding of elections that are free from bias and discrimination. According to a report by the Crisis Group (2011), a plan was presented, and it got full approval from both the treasury benches and the opposition benches. This idea was in reference to the procedure that would be used to choose candidates for crucial positions within the Election Commission of Pakistan.

By instituting a transparent mechanism for appointing the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan (CEC) and the four additional members of the commission, the Eighteenth Amendment effectively nullified the electoral consequences of General Musharraf and increased the independence of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). Additionally, the Eighteenth Amendment enhanced the independence of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). A collaborative and deliberative process involving the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the leader of the opposition in the national Assembly is going to be used to decide who would be appointed to the position of Chief Election Commissioner, according to the framework that has been presented. Following an extended consultation process, a selection of three individuals will be put up as recommendations to the parliamentary committee consisting of twelve members that has been established by the Speaker of the National Assembly. This committee will be responsible for vetting

candidates for the position of Speaker of the National Assembly. This committee is made up of individuals from both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and its membership comprises representatives from both the opposition and the government benches. The qualifications of the persons who have been proposed for the position of Chief Election Commissioner are going to be taken into consideration. The next step will involve the legislative Committee selecting a solitary appellant from among the aforementioned options. According to a prominent political analyst, the recently implemented appointment mechanism for the Election Commission of Pakistan has been described as "No Parliament, no Election Commission of Pakistan." In addition, the term of the Chief Election Commissioner has been extended from three years to five years. According to Hussain (2012), the amendment effectively bolstered the power and independence of the Election Commission of Pakistan, so satisfying a longtime requirement to permit fair and unfettered elections within the nation. In other words, the amendment made it possible for the nation to hold elections without interference.

3.11 Neutral and Unbiased Caretaker Governments

There has been a consistent pattern of contested elections throughout Pakistan's electoral history, which has led to recurrent concerns about the efficiency of caretaker administrations. It is generally agreed upon that the establishment of a neutral caretaker government at both the national and provincial levels is one of the most important steps that can be taken to ensure that democratic elections will be held in a fair and objective manner. As a direct consequence of this, the eighteenth amendment to the constitution was put into effect with the intention of providing a procedure that is fair and impartial for the appointment of the caretaker administration. In light of the new legislation, it is very necessary for the President to begin conversations with the present Prime Minister of Pakistan as well as the leader of the opposition in the national assembly. This should take place as soon as possible. This is essential in order to make the process of choosing the caretaker government as smooth as possible. The setup and daily operations of provincial caretaker administrations are now governed by a set of defined procedures that have been applied by the provinces. According to the findings of Rizwan et al. (2014), the redesigned arrangement supports the seamless transfer of power to newly elected authorities and ensures that the electoral process is fair to all participants. According to the findings of an experienced political analyst, there is a significant gap between the

processes for the appointment of caretaker governments that are defined in the eighteenth amendment and those that were applied in the practices that came before. In addition, the individual claimed that in previous instances, the potential candidates for the job of caretaker prime minister and ministers were questioned during interviews that took place within the protected grounds of military safe houses (Crisis Group, 2013). In response to a question about electoral reforms, Salah Uddin has stated that the establishment of a nonpartisan election commission and a nonpartisan caretaker government represents a significant step forward as a result of the 18th amendment, which took place during Zardari's tenure as president. This was stated by Salah Uddin in response to a question about electoral reforms. According to Uddin (2020), if this provision were successfully implemented, it would likely result in the permanent removal of the persistent problem of electoral rigging and manipulation.

In Pakistan, the legislative branch of government is structured as a bicameral institution, meaning that it is made up of two separate chambers known as the Senate and the National Assembly. This system possesses the most power and influence in the country's legislative process. The Senate, also known as *Aiwan-e-Bala*, is responsible for carrying out the duties of the upper chamber of parliament, while the national assembly is in charge of carrying out the duties of the lower chamber. The members of the national assembly are chosen by a process of direct election, in which they are chosen directly by the people who make up the country's population as a whole. The length of time that they will be in office will cover a span of five years. On the other hand, senators are chosen by a process known as indirect election, which is conducted by an electoral college that is made up of members of the National Assembly (MNAs) and provincial legislatures. Using a proportional representation system, and more especially adopting the approach of using a single transferable vote, is how the process of indirect election is carried out. According to Javid and Ahmad (2016), since 1973 the Senate has wielded a significant amount of influence on the legislative process and possesses a wide variety of tools that allow it to do so. Despite this, the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment brought about significant changes to the organisational makeup, day-to-day functioning, and legal authority of the Senate. Before the 18th amendment was ratified in an official capacity, there were a total of one hundred (100) senators in the Senate. This number has since been reduced to ninety-nine (99). In accordance with the provisions established in article 59 of the modified constitution, the make-up of the Senate was altered to include four

supplemental seats that were specifically intended to represent minority groups. These seats were added to the Senate in order to comply with the constitutional amendment. As a direct consequence of this, the total number of seats available in the Senate rose from 100 to 104. In accordance with the provisions specified in Article 89, the National Assembly is legally prevented from promulgating any ordinances in the event that the Senate is actively convened. This provision can be found in the case that the Senate is actively convened. The procedure for the selection of apex judges takes place inside the parliamentary committee, and this ensures that the senate has a fair and representative membership. However, in the case of appointing the Chief Election Commission (CEC), a parliamentary committee is formed, and representatives from the senate make up one third of the body's membership. In accordance with the provisions of Article 91, the federal cabinet, which is composed of ministers appointed by the several state governments, is responsible for the collective accountability of its actions to both the national parliament and the senate. In addition, it has been stated that reports pertaining to the Principles of Policy, the Council of Common Interest (CCI), the National Finance Commission award, and the report of the auditor general of Pakistan, all of which were formerly only presented to the National Assembly, will now also be presented to the Senate of Pakistan (Senate of Pakistan, 2012). In the past, these reports were presented only to the National Assembly. In addition, a change was made to the regulations of the Senate, which conferred specific power to the Senate committees for the purpose of conducting semiannual evaluations of budgetary allocations and expenditures. This was done in order to fulfil the aim of the amendment. According to the conclusions of Nazeer (2018), the capability of the Senate to oversee economic policy and its implementation was significantly improved as a result of this particular development.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led government ensured that the stipulations outlined in the Charter of Democracy (COD) of 2006 were carried out, which resulted to the renaming of the Northern Areas of Pakistan as Gilgit-Baltistan. The aforementioned region was given a semi-provincial designation, which required the establishment of its very own legislative assembly that was chosen by the people living there. The legislative body is headed over by a Chief Minister and a Governor, both of whom are chosen in an electoral process and are then appointed by the President, following the guidance offered by the Prime Minister. The election of the Chief Minister and the Governor takes place simultaneously. As described in an article that appeared in Dawn on September 8, 2009,

the adjustment was made in accordance with the Empowerment and Self-Governance Order 2009, which was subsequently put into effect. In addition, it was stipulated that the Gilgit-Baltistan Consolidating Fund and annual budgets would be granted to the assembly, and that the voting system would be imposed in the territory in accordance with the established practise in other provinces. It is important to note that the feudal system was finally eliminated in 1975, while Z.A. Bhutto was serving as leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which was responsible for the change. An important step forward during that time period was taken when the aforementioned event marked the beginning of administrative, political, and judicial changes in the Northern Areas. This was a significant accomplishment at the time. In addition, it is important to point out that in 1994, the administration of Benazir Bhutto, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), launched a democratisation process that was directed primarily towards the Northern Areas. This is something that should be mentioned because it is remarkable. The accomplishment that was stated was accomplished by putting into effect the Northern Areas Legal Frame Work Order, which was passed in 1994 (Haider & Ali, no date; Dawn, 8 September 2009). In answer to a question regarding the subject, Daud stressed the fact that the citizens of Gilgit-Baltistan have had a long-standing democratic aspiration to mainstream Gilgit-Baltistan as a semi-autonomous administrative unit for quite some time. The efforts of Asif Ali Zardari made it possible for the dream of the late Benazir Bhutto to be realised in 2009, and this was made possible because of his efforts. According to Daud (2019), there may be an administrative urgency to provide the region the status of a province, which would bring it into line with the status of other provinces.

3.12 Aghaz Huqooq-i-Balochistan

It is clear that the Pakistan People's Party government places a high priority on disadvantaged and underserved areas, as seen by the fact that they have effectively extended their programmes to the province of Balochistan. Through the implementation of the Aghaz-i-Huqooq-i-Balochistan package, the administration made an effort to correct the decisions and acts that had been taken by Musharraf in the province of Balochistan. This project's goals were to direct financial resources towards the advancement of Balochistan and to generate a significant number of employment possibilities for the younger members of the community. In addition, it is important to point out that the National Finance Commission (NFC) award executed a forward-

thinking policy by placing an emphasis on disadvantaged and undeveloped regions. This is something that should be mentioned. According to Haider and Ali (n.d.), the allocation of weightage resulted in further advantages being provided to the provinces of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

3.13 The process of integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the mainstream

As outlined in the Charter of Democracy (COD), the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) came to an agreement over the incorporation of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This was done in order to fulfil the requirements of the COD. Benazir Bhutto made integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into mainstream Pakistani society a priority, which was one of the most important goals she worked towards during her time in office. Benazir Bhutto initiated a legal petition before the highest court of law, known as the supreme court, in the year 2006 with the intention of demanding the expansion of the Political Parties' Act of 1962 to include the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The goal of this petition was to urge that the Political Parties' Act of 1962 be expanded to include the FATA. However, the progress of this initiative was significantly hampered after Benazir Bhutto was killed in December of 2007 (Tahir, 2018). This event occurred in Pakistan.

Yousaf Raza Gillani, a member of the People's Party, became Prime Minister of Pakistan in the year 2008 after being elected to the role. During the speaker's inaugural address to the parliament, a resolute dedication was conveyed towards the reformation of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), a legal framework that has garnered significant censure due to its perceived violation of human rights and disregard for constitutional principles, particularly in its implementation within tribal regions. The FCR is a legal framework that has garnered significant censure due to its violation of human rights and disregard for constitutional principles, particularly in its implementation within tribal regions. A significant event took place in 2011 when adjustments were made to the frontier crimes regulation (FCR), and the Political Parties Order 2002 was enlarged to include the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Both of these changes were significant in their own right. The aforementioned amendment constitutes a notable victory because it granted political parties the power to operate within the tribal regions, a

privilege that had not been available in the past (Dawn, 2011). This ability to operate within the tribal districts was previously unavailable.

Between the years 2008 and 2013, there was a visible increase in the enactment of laws with the purpose of advancing the cause of women's rights. The primary goal of these actions was to provide women with a protected and comfortable environment in which to carry out their professional responsibilities, with the end goal of preventing harassment of these individuals. This legislative measure had the effect of augmenting the female labour force and facilitating substantial economic contributions by women to the nation. It was enacted in 2010 and given the name "The Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010." It was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which is the political party that currently controls the Pakistani parliament. In a similar manner, the Prevention of Anti-Women Practises (Criminal Law Amendment) Act of 2010 was approved by the parliament of India. This piece of legislation made it illegal to enter into marriages against one's will, outlawed the practise of using women as bargaining chips in legal disputes, addressed the problem of women being denied their inheritance rights, and did away with the practise of marrying one's spouse to the Quran. In a similar vein, the government of Pakistan passed legislation in 2010 referred to as the Acid Control and Acid Crime Prevention Act. Throwing acid at another person is now considered a crime thanks to the legislation described above, and those who are found guilty of this offence face the possibility of spending their whole lives behind bars and paying fines that add up to one million of their respective currencies. In addition, it is essential to bring attention to the fact that the "National Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2012" was approved by the Senate of Pakistan in the month of February in 2012. This piece of legislation was enacted with the primary intention of safeguarding the rights of women and addressing the various forms of discrimination that they may face. The protection and advancement of the legal, social, economic, and political rights of Pakistani women, as outlined in the country's constitution from 1973, was the primary objective of this piece of law. Additionally, the goal was to ensure that the provisions outlined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Pakistan has ratified (Noreen, 2013). This was done with the intention of ensuring that the CEDAW is effectively implemented.

The 18th amendment to the constitution led to the transfer of authority to devise legislation concerning women to the individual provinces. This devolution of power to the provinces took occurred as a result of the constitutional amendment. The dedication of provincial legislatures to improving the status of women in society is made clear by the execution of comprehensive legislation that especially targets women's problems (Noreen, 2013). This commitment is obvious in the fact that legislation has been enacted. According to Shabir (2019), there were significant advancements in legislation aimed at improving women's rights during the time period between 2008 and 2013.

The purpose of democracy is to serve as a system that guarantees the supply of rights that are equitable and just for all members of society, including women. A significant flaw that is present in contemporary democratic regimes is the issue of gender inequality as well as a lack of women's participation in political life. It is a generally accepted fact within the realm of modern politics that women account for around half of the voting population across the world. Despite this, the current worldwide average for the number of women holding political office in parliamentary institutions is a pitiful 23.4%. The percentage of women in positions of power might vary greatly from one location to the next. According to the findings that were compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in the year 2017, the United States of America displayed the greatest documented percentage of a certain statistic, which totaled 28.14 percent. This was the case for a number of different metrics. On the other hand, the Arab States had the documented lowest rate, which came to 17.5 percent.

Since the separation of India and Pakistan in 1947, the level of political participation of women in Pakistan has gone through a number of different phases. In terms of women's ability to hold political office, the elections that took place in 1988 are considered to be of significant significance. The elections that are the focus of this discussion were notable due to the significant number of women who ran for parliamentary seats, including the historic involvement of Benazir Bhutto, who became the first female Prime Minister in a Muslim-majority country. After the implementation of the Legal Framework Order (LFO) during the elections in 2002, there was a significant increase in the level of women's political representation. This increase occurred after the LFO was put into effect. This was made clear by the fact that the number of reserved seats for women in the lower chamber of the parliament, which is known as the national assembly, was raised to 60, but

the number of reserved seats in the upper body, known as the senate, remained at 17. Through the accomplishment of a noteworthy goal, Pakistan's Thirteenth National Assembly, which served the country from 2008 until 2013, was able to make a substantial contribution to the political landscape of the country. According to Statistical Portal (2017), during this time period, women legislators accounted for 22.5 percent of the total seats, achieving the largest proportion of female representation in the history of Pakistani politics. In addition, it is important to highlight that the aforementioned elections have shown a considerable increase in the presence of experienced female candidates in the national assembly of Pakistan, particularly in relation to general seats (Khan, 2018). This is something that should be mentioned because it is notable. The information presented in the following table offers a complete analysis of the political and parliamentary representation of women in a variety of different regimes.

Women have a significant amount of political influence in modern-day Pakistan, particularly in the wake of the implementation of the 18th amendment and the Election Act of 2017, which both took effect in 2017. The adoption of these legislative measures has effectively made it possible for a large increase in the number of women to take an active role in the leadership of political organisations and movements. These pieces of legislation mandated that every political party set aside a minimum of 5% of its tickets for female candidates for general elections and guaranteed unrestricted voting rights for women. In addition, these laws mandated that every political party set aside a minimum of 5% of its tickets for minority candidates. There is a growing trend in the political environments of today of women actively participating in the sphere of politics, including both parliamentary and non-parliamentary arenas (Aurangzeb, 2020). This trend can be seen in both parliamentary and non-parliamentary arenas.

3.14 The Contemporary Environment of the Media

It is widely understood that the media is a crucial component of democratic administration. In fact, the media is frequently referred to as the fourth pillar. Without the presence of a media that is free and liberalised, there is a fundamental limitation to the comprehensive knowledge of modern democracy. Since Pakistan's founding during the time it was under British colonial authority, the country has struggled against a persistent expression of authoritarianism, which has hampered the development and progression of democracy within the country. During the period of democratic administration that was

headed by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) from 2008 through 2013, the media experienced a discernible improvement in its viability and exerted a major influence on the environment in which politics were played out. According to Parveen et al. (2018), the aforementioned advancements are viewed as a positive indication for Pakistan as a democratic state within the context of globalization. The following is what Khalid says:

Given that the existence of a liberalized media is required for the operation of a democratic system, the connection between media and democracy is intricately intertwined. This is because the existence of a free press is essential for the functioning of a democratic system. Following a protracted era of autocratic rule in Pakistan, a change to a civilian administration took place as a direct result of the results of the elections that took place in 2008. The current administration has placed a significant emphasis on preserving the independence of the media and encouraging the development of journalism as a profession. According to Khalid (2020), the coalition government led by the PPP gave significant support to members of the journalist community as well as media representatives.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was in power when the country saw the establishment of 166 FM radio stations and 89 television channels across the entirety of its landmass. According to the findings of the EU Election Observer Mission in 2013, there are a significant number of privately held newspapers operating within the print media sector of Pakistan. In total, there are more than 200 periodicals operating within this sector. It is estimated that nearly 6.2 million copies of each of these newspapers were sold every single day when combined. During this particular period of time, the media had a propensity to openly evaluate the policies of the government and bring attention to a variety of social and political concerns. These concerns encompassed a wide variety of subjects, including the issue of missing individuals, the Kerry Lugar bill, the Memo gate scandal, the apprehension of Osama bin Laden, the predicament surrounding steel mills, the rental power project, the issue of Swiss banks, the matter of money laundering, the national action plan, and the disclosure of classified government information (Parveen et al., 2018). These issues were brought to light by the disclosure of classified government information. Khalil made a statement that seemed to imply the following:

“During the era in which Musharraf exercised his autocratic control, a number of initiatives were implemented that, on the surface at least, gave off an impression of

being democratic. It is important to note that a comprehensive local government system was put into place on a national scale, which led to a significant increase in the amount of activity within the media sector. This is something that should be taken into consideration. During President Musharraf's term, the number of available television channels increased dramatically, leading to a more diverse viewing experience. In order to make it easier to regulate the topic at hand, a number of legislative measures were put into effect. However, the administration that followed, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), has taken actions to encourage the growth of press freedom and the media (Khalil, 2020)”

The political history of Pakistan reveals that recurrent military interventions and their continuous involvement in politics have had a negative impact on the political and democratic growth of the nation. This is the case due to the fact that the military continues to be involved in politics. There was a noteworthy lack of elected civilian governments that were able to successfully serve their entire constitutional mandates beginning in 1947 and continuing until the third government that was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) between the years of 2008 and 2013. In addition to this, there were very few instances of power being transferred from one political party to another in a peaceful manner (Anwar, 2019). Despite this, Pakistan went through a democratic transition after the general election that was held in February of 2008. The aforementioned shift marked the end of the extended period of autocratic military rule over Pakistan that had been exercised by General Pervez Musharraf from 1999 to 2008. An election procedure was used to facilitate the transfer of power from the administration led by the military to the civilian government that was elected by the Pakistan People Party (Jaffrelot, 2016). In November 2007, General Ashfaq Kiyani replaced General Pervez Musharraf as the Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army. Musharraf had previously held this position. He made a solemn oath to see to it that members of the armed forces abstain from engaging in political activities and instead focus entirely on their primary responsibilities when stationed within the limits of the barracks. According to Misra (2011), it was possible to successfully separate high-ranking military officers from political activity. This separation was successful. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), in particular, were given an advantage in the elections of 2008 as a result of the military and establishment's non-interference policy. This policy favoured the mainstream parties over the Pakistan Muslim League-

Quaid (PML-Q), which had been led by General Pervez Musharraf and was the party that had previously held the position of ruling party. In addition, Jaffrelot (2016) makes the observation that the individual in issue was accountable for the implementation of the closure of the political branch of the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI). This particular wing of the organisation had in the past been used for the purposes of political coercion and negotiation within the context of the political environment of the nation. Parliament made significant steps to institutionalise democracy under the leadership of the PPP-led administration, including the absorption of democracy into the influential military institution (Fair, 2013). These efforts were made under the leadership of the government that was led by the PPP. The high level of professionalism shown by the military's leadership can be inferred from the fact that there has been no pushback from the military establishment against the reform agenda of the civilian government. In light of the "memo gate" scandal, the "Salala cheque post incident," the apprehension of Osama bin Laden, and his subsequent terrible demise, the military displayed restraint by refraining from engaging in political action or pursuing power over administration. On the other hand, the military institution was very careful to fulfil all of the constitutional duties that were assigned to it (Ullah, 2019; Croissant et al., 2013). An important shift occurred in the nature of civil-military relations throughout the specified historical era. This shift was distinguished by an interaction that was more harmonic and collaborative. This marked a break from the patterns that were documented in earlier historical records (Jaffrelot, 2016). Concerning an investigation of civil-military interactions, Shaber contended against the allegation that the soldiers did not venture outside of their barracks at any time during the years of 2008 and 2013. On the other hand, one may argue that when looking at both of these factors together, the political influence of the military was of relatively little importance (Shabir, 2020). Ahmad contends that Pakistan can be categorised as a security state, which leads him to the conclusion that the presence of the military in decision-making and the formulation of policy cannot be eliminated. However, because Musharraf's Martial Law was in effect for such a long period of time, the Army took a posture that was fairly unbiased in relation to political concerns and gave its support to the democratic government while the Pakistan People's Party was in power (Ahmad, 2020).

3.15 The Economy

Following their victory as the coalition government in 2008, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) assumed control of the economic challenges that were inherited from the autocratic military dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf. Despite the implementation of effective policies by the technocratic administration led by General Pervez Musharraf, with the goal of mitigating the severe economic crisis and improving the overall well-being of the populace, lasting resolutions were not effectively implemented to tackle the economic difficulties (Hussain, 2014). This was the case despite the fact that the administration had the objective of mitigating the profound economic crisis and improving the overall well-being of the populace. Babar expressed the viewpoint that once the PPP took control, the government was confronted with a multitude of challenges, such as a budget deficit, inflation, an energy crisis, poor investment, rising unemployment, and increased levels of poverty. In addition, the difficulties that were already present were compounded for the administration by the acts of terrorism that took place and the disastrous flood that took place in 2010. This was on top of the obstacles that were already present. However, the implementation of robust policies by the government was an essential factor in directing the country towards economic stability and political advancement. According to Babar (2020), the administration was able to successfully address the issues posed by terrorism and the rehabilitation of persons whose lives were disrupted by flooding. In addition, the government was successful in implementing a large number of comprehensive development initiatives spanning a variety of industries.

As soon as he took office as president, Asif Ali Zardari swiftly changed his earlier stance in reaction to the poor economic conditions, and he subsequently made a formal plea to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for financial aid. This was done in order to receive financial support. The decision described above finally led to an improvement and consolidation of the economy, a reduction in the fiscal deficit, a reduction in inflation to 13 percent, and a projection of a GDP growth rate of between two and three percent for the fiscal year 2009-2010. It is crucial to recognise that the predicted growth rate listed above is significantly lower when compared to the economic growth rates of other nations located within the South Asian region. This is something that needs to be acknowledged. According to Hussain (2014), the nation's economic stagnation was mostly attributable to

rampant corruption among high-ranking government officials, poor governance practises, and a substantial energy crisis. Moreover, Hussain (2014) proposed that the nation's economic stagnation was caused by a combination of these three factors. However, the pre-existing security problems, extensive acts of terrorism, and the catastrophic flood that took place in August 2010 made their economic woes much worse. These difficulties remained throughout the tenure of the civilian administration that was headed by the People's Party for a span of five years. The flood in August 2010 was particularly devastating. According to Talbot (2012), the political and constitutional accomplishments of the topic at hand were overshadowed by the deteriorating economic circumstances. He says this was the case because of the deterioration of the economy. Regarding the investigation of the current status of the economy as well as the state of the economy during the tenure of the Zardari administration, Ali presented the following argument:

Zardari took over as leader of Pakistan at a time when the country was dealing with a variety of problems stemming from both inside and without its borders. These problems included the threat posed by terrorist organisations, the deterioration of law enforcement, the growth of extremism, and the devastation caused by a flood. In spite of these challenges, the government that he led was able to successfully develop public policies with the intention of improving the well-being of the general population. The peaceful transfer of power that occurred during Imran Khan's rise to power is one of the hallmarks of his government, which, according to Ali (2019), has not been very effective in terms of providing assistance to the general public.

One of the commitments that was outlined in the Charter of Democracy (COD), a document that was agreed upon by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), was the replacement of the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), which serves as the primary anti-corruption agency, with a transparent and impartial accountability commission. This was one of the commitments that was outlined in the document. The suggested change aimed to completely do away with corruption by taking direct action against the basic elements that contribute to its continued existence. According to the provisions outlined in the charter, it was mandated that a joint parliamentary committee be responsible for granting approval to the nominee put forth by the Prime Minister and the opposition leader for the esteemed role of commission chairman (Dawn, 2006). This committee is comprised of an equitable representation of

members from both the treasury benches and the opposition benches. In addition to this, Pakistan became a signatory to the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) in the year 2003. Because of the pledge that was made earlier, the Pakistani parliament is obligated to take the proper actions that are targeted at reducing the amount of corruption that occurs inside the country's institutions. Despite the fact that Pakistan has a global responsibility and is a signatory to the Convention on Democracy (COD), the administration that was in power from 2008 to 2013 and was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) ran into problems when it tried to replace the controversial National Accountability Bureau (NAB) ordinance that had been implemented by the previous military government led by General Pervez Musharraf (Asghar, 2015).

3.16 Conclusion

This is because the inability to compromise and reach an agreement is one of the primary impediments to the successful operation of a democratic government. The existence of particular criteria is required in order to initiate the development of a politics based on consensus. The political culture, the agenda of the administration, and the interplay between the treasury and the opposition are all examples of these elements. According to Rasul (2018), the practise of politics based on consensus has challenges in Pakistan due to the phenomenon of the personalization of politics and the lack of tolerance towards opposition. Throughout the course of history, there has been a pattern of governing and opposition sides having a tendency to place a higher focus on confrontation rather than striving to achieve consensus. This tendency has been observed in both political parties. In order to expedite the process of decision-making, political parties were provided with incentives to work together and find common ground. This event marked a significant shift in the political landscape since it moved away from the conventional approach of confrontation and supported a more collaborative and all-encompassing style of government rather than the traditional strategy of confrontation.

PPP, PML-N, ANP, JUI, and MQM are among the national political parties that have reached an agreement to cooperate in addressing national challenges and promoting the democratic process, despite the fact that these parties share goals and a support base (Shafqat, 2018). The agreement was reached despite the fact that these parties have similar support bases and aims. During the time that the PPP was in power, the bulk of laws that were passed were the product of a methodical and collaborative decision-

making process that took place within the framework of the legislative system. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified through a process of consensus politics that required the cooperation of all of the main political parties (Rais, 2018). This amendment, which holds a significant place in the annals of American history, was ratified in a manner that carries great historical significance. In addition, an agreement was reached about the proposition of addressing the political engagement of the military forces, which was another topic that was discussed. All of the coalition partners have come to the conclusion that it is in everyone's best interest to actively pursue well-considered policies that have the end goal of fostering the nation's economic growth. A concerted effort to combat the presence of terrorist organisations, specifically the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Al-Qaida, was launched in the Swat valley and Malakand region in May 2009 through dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition party. The objective of this endeavour was to eliminate the threat posed by these organisations. In addition, an agreement was formed to avoid utilising aggressive political techniques and to avoid repeating the mistakes that were made in the 1990s (Shafiq, 2018). This was done in an effort to prevent a repeat of the faults that were seen during that decade. According to Rid (2020), within this cultural culture, it was accepted that resistance held substantial value, and the decision-making process included both political and non-political organisations. In addition, the decision-making process was collaborative. According to Anwar (2019), when the PML-N severed ties with the PPP alliance, the party adopted a cooperative opposition approach at the national level and offered support to the government. This was done in order to maintain its status as an opposition party. In addition, it is important to point out that in the province of Punjab, the government showed a level of respect for the majority held by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) that has never been seen before at any other time in history. This is a phenomenon that has not been witnessed in any other historical era.

REFERENCE

- Ahmad, B. (8 November, 2019). In Pakistan, the Azadi March Demands An end to PM Khan's Administration. The Global Voice
- Ahmad, I. & Ishaq, M. (2018). *Manifesto Importance in Election Campaign* in 2013, Journal of Politics and International Studies, 4 (1), 91-110
- Ahmad, K. (25 July 2018). *Post-Election Era*. The Nation, Islamabad
- Ahmad, K. (31 July 2018). *Post-Election*. The Nation
- Ahmad, M. (1993). *Pakistan Kay Syasi Ittehad, Lahore*: Frontier Post Publications.
- Babar, F. U (26 June 2020). Interviewed at his residence H.No.24-A, St-52, F-7, Islamabad
- Bakhtyar, (27 January 2020) Interviewed at his office, Northern University Nowshera
- Cookman, C. (2013). *Previewing Pakistan's 2013 Elections*. Center for American Progress, 111-22.
- FAFEN Report (2013). *Five Years Performance of the 13th National Assembly March 2008-March 2013*, 1-2, also Available at <http://fafen.org/five-years-performance-13th-national-assembly-pakistan-march-2008-maarch-2013>
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.
- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). *Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013*. Pakistan Vision, 19(1), 22- 35
- Haq, N. (2008). *Transition to Democracy*. Available on <http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff96.pdf> retrieved on 16/11/2019
- Homayoun, I. (2011). *Electoral Malpractices During the 2008 Elections in Pakistan*.
- Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad
- Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad
- Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad

- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) The Pashtun Spring. The Dawn, Islamabad
- Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) The Pashtun Spring. The Dawn, Islamabad
- Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) The Pashtun Spring. The Dawn, Islamabad
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). *Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies*, *Asian Social Sciences*, 8 (1), 82-84
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). *Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies*, *Asian Social Sciences*, 8 (1), 82-84
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). *Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies*, *Asian Social Sciences*, 8 (1), 82-84
- Iqbal, M. (2017). The Era of Reconciliation in Pakistan 2006-2017: A Critical Reappraisal. *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 22-29
- Iqbal, M. M. (2018). *CPEC: Through the Lens of Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research, 8-9
- Islam, S. (22, August 2019). Chairman Department of Political Science, Interviewed by the author at his Office
- Islam, S., Zubair, M., Muhammad, I. (2019). An Analysis of 2018 General Elections in Pakistan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 56 (2), 193-205
- Islam, U, F. (13 January, 2020). Interviewed at his office, Director Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar

- Kanwal, L. (2017). Political Development in Pakistan: Continuity and Change During Zardari. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 137-153
- Khan, A. (1993). Chronology of Events: September 1988-April 1992. In Charles H. Kennedy (Eds) *Pakistan 1992*.US: West View Press, 167-196
- Khan, A. (20 March 2020). Interview at his office District Youth Office Nowshera Khan, A. (2005). *We have Learn 't Nothing from History*, Karachi: Oxford University
- Khan, D. J. (1999). *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2016). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, I. (2015). *The Politics of Alliances in Pakistan (1988-2008)*. (MPhil Thesis), Islamia College University Peshawar.
- Khan, K. (21 November 2020). Interview at his Residence Khesghi Payan, Nowshera Khan, K. (23 March 2020). Interview at his office Peshawar
- Khan, M (09 January 2020). Interview at his office University Town, Peshawar
- Khan, M. (14 August 2020). Interview at his office Hakeemabad, Nowshera.
- Khan, S. (2009). Electoral Program of Political Parties: A case study of 2008 elections. (MA). Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar.
- Khan, S. H (1999). *Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Y. Bangash, S. (2015). Monitoring the Democratic Transition Pakistan 2013 Elections. *South Asian Studies*, 30 (2), 59-71.
- Memon, A. P. (2009). Political Instability: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (1), 31-34.
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Nazeer, A. M., Farooq, S., Rehman, M. (2017). *From Peace Talks to operation Zarb- e- Azb-Politics of Consensus Building for Counter-Terrorism*. *Global Social Science Review*, 2 (2), 122-136.
- Noreen, N. (2013). Protection of women rights through legal reforms in Pakistan.

- Noreen, N. (2013). Protection of women rights through legal reforms in Pakistan.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PILDAT. (December, 27 2007). Election 2008 manifestoes of political parties: Parties position remains vague on key Issues.
- Rizwan, M., Rafiuddin., Arshid, M., Waqar, M. (2014). Democratic Milestone in Pakistan: A Serener Transition of Command from PPP to PML-N. *ISOR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (9), 102-108
- Rizwan, M., Waqar, M., Arshad, M. (2014). *Revitalization of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan*. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 19 (2), 149-156.
- Rustow, A. D. (1970). Transition to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model: *Comparative Politics*, 2 (3), 337-363
- Samad, Y. (2017). Elections and Democratic Transition in Pakistan: One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward. *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55 (4), 509-530
- Shabab, L. (9 May, 2020). Interviewed at People Secretariate, Peshawar Shabir, J. (20 November, 2019).
- Shabab, L. (9 May, 2020). Interviewed at People Secretariate, Peshawar Shabir, J. (20 November, 2019). Interview at Press Club Peshawar
- Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: The Case of Punjab*. Centre for Public Policy and Governance, 15- 16.
- Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: A Case of Punjab*. 1-10
- Shafqat, S. Pakistan: Military, the Transition to Democracy and Future Relations with United States. *Journal of International Affairs*.
- Shah, A. (2012). The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Glue or Solvent for Nation Building and Citizenship in Pakistan. *Journal of Economics*, 6(2), 387-391
- Shah, A. (2012). The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Glue or Solvent for Nation Building and Citizenship in Pakistan. *Journal of Economics*, 6(2), 387-391

- Shah, A. (2012). The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Glue or Solvent for Nation Building and Citizenship in Pakistan. *Journal of Economics*, 6(2), 387-391
- Shah, A. (2016). Military and Democracy. In Christophe Jeffrelot (Ed.). *Pakistan at the Crossroads Domestic Dynamics and External Pressures*. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Shah, A. (2016). Military and Democracy. In Christophe Jeffrelot (Ed.). *Pakistan at the Crossroads Domestic Dynamics and External Pressures*. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Shah, A. (2016). Military and Democracy. In Christophe Jeffrelot (Ed.). *Pakistan at the Crossroads Domestic Dynamics and External Pressures*. New York. Columbia University Press.
- Shah, K. M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Election 2018: Analysis of Result and Implication*. Report no.78, Observer Research Foundation, 1-13
- Shah, K. M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Election 2018: Analysis of Result and Implication*. Report no.78, Observer Research Foundation, 1-13
- Shah, K. M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Election 2018: Analysis of Result and Implication*. Report no.78, Observer Research Foundation, 1-13
- Shah, S. (20, February 2020). Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad
- Shah, S. (20, February 2020). Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad
- Shah, S. (20, February 2020). Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad
- Shah, S.A. (2020). *Governance and Meritocracy*. The Express Tribune, 15 January 2020, Islamabad
- Shah, S.A. (2020). *Governance and Meritocracy*. The Express Tribune, 15 January 2020, Islamabad
- Shah, S.A. (2020). *Governance and Meritocracy*. The Express Tribune, 15 January 2020, Islamabad
- Shah, W.A (09 July 2018). *View from the Courtroom: Enforcing Women Specific-Provisions of Election Act, a test case for ECP*. The Dawn. Islamabad, also available on <https://www.dawn.com/news/1418851>
- Shah, W.A (09 July 2018). *View from the Courtroom: Enforcing Women Specific-Provisions of Election Act, a test case for ECP*. The Dawn. Islamabad, also available on <https://www.dawn.com/news/1418851>
- Shah, W.A (09 July 2018). *View from the Courtroom: Enforcing Women Specific-Provisions of Election Act, a test case for ECP*. The Dawn. Islamabad, also available on <https://www.dawn.com/news/1418851>

Tahir, S. (June 01, 2018). *Mainstreaming FATA and the PPP role*.

Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Karachi; Oxford University Press. Tariq, M. (15, July 2020). Interview at Directorate of Education, Peshawar The Daily Jang, 22 August 1992, Peshawar

The Express Tribune (29 April 2017). *Army Rejects PM Office Statement on Dawn Leaks Report*. Islamabad

The Nation (27 May 2019). *Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan*. Islamabad

The Nation (29 July 2017). *SC Ousted Nawaz Sharif from the Corridor of Power*

The Nation November 18, 1988, Islamabad.

The Nation, 01 April, 2008, Islamabad

The Nation, 01 August 2018, Islamabad The Nation, 09 April, Islamabad

The Nation, 18 August 2018, Islamabad

The Nation, 24 April, 2008, Islamabad

The Nation. 23 April 2019. Islamabad

The News (01, December 2007). *5E PPP Manifesto Launched*. Islamabad.

The News (20 October 2019). *Pakistan Troubled Local Governance*

The News (21 July 2018). Islamabad

The News (23 January 2020). *Economist Intelligence Units Democracy Index: Democracy in PPP, PML-N eras better than present govt.*

The News, 20 May, 2020, Islamabad

The News, 22 March, 2020, Islamabad.

Uddin, J. (13 February, 2020). Interview at his Hujra, Khushal Colony, Nowshera Cantt

Uddin, S. (27 July 2020) Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad

CHAPTER FOUR

A MORE TRANQUIL PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN PAKISTAN 2013-2018

In March of 2013, as the National Assembly of Pakistan reached the end of its constitutional term of five years, President Asif Ali Zardari of Pakistan dissolved the assembly and handed over power to a caretaker government. This action was taken with the intention of supervising the election process that took place on May 11, 2013, for the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan and the four provincial assemblies. The event in question is significant in Pakistan's political history because it marks the first time that a democratically elected civilian government, in this case the Pakistan People's Party (PPPP), has successfully completed the term of office that is mandated by the country's constitution to last for a period of five years (Cookman, 2013). This represents an important accomplishment for Pakistan. After the election that took place on June 5th, 2013, Pakistan's political history passed a key milestone. This milestone was accomplished as a result of the election. The inhabitants of Pakistan were witnesses to a momentous occasion, which culminated in the effective handover of power from one civilian elected administration to another via the electoral process. This event was characterised by democratic stability and took place in the context of a peaceful transition. According to Crisis Group (2013), an academic study characterised this power transition as a momentous occurrence in the political history of Pakistan, labelling it as "A Silent Revolution." The author of this article sought insights into the significance of the 2013 general elections in relation to the democratic advancement of Pakistan in an interview with Professor Fakhr ul Islam, the Director of the Pakistan Study Centre at the University of Peshawar. In his response, he reportedly stated the following, as indicated by Professor Fakhr ul Islam:

In the larger scope of political and democratic affairs, the general elections that took place in Pakistan in 2013 held a significant amount of weight. According to Islam (2020), the pre-election period refers to the span of time that encompasses the electoral processes and lasts for a total of five years during which the PPP government is in power. After the elections have been held, the post-election phase will involve the peaceful and orderly

transfer of power from one democratically elected administration to another political party. This will take place without resorting to violence.

4.1 Preparation for a Calmer Transition

The previous administration, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), was responsible for enacting a series of significant reforms to the constitution. These amendments are explicitly referred to as the 18th, 19th, and 20th amendments (Babar, 2020). Changes to the procedures used by the bodies in charge of election administration were brought about as a direct result of the revisions described above. The establishment of a caretaker administration and an independent Election Commission of Pakistan were two of the developments that came about as a result of these reforms. These alterations were made with the intention of ensuring that the future elections are carried out in a manner that is just, impartial, and fair to all parties involved. As a consequence of this, after the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan had served his five-year term as required, he and a number of other high-ranking officials were tasked with the responsibility of supervising and directing the electoral process that took place on May 11, 2013 (Rizwan et al., 2014). This was done in connection with the election that took place in Pakistan.

After the elections in May 2013, an independent and impartial election commission was established in Pakistan, which had a huge impact on the country's political scene. According to Anwar (2020), this incident represented a significant turning point in the political history of the country. The consensus that was formed among powerful political players led to the selection of Justice Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim as the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan. This decision was made in accordance with the consensus. According to Rizwan et al. (2014), the primary responsibility that was given to him was to be in charge of overseeing the electoral procedures for the upcoming elections in 2013. As a judge on the nation's Supreme Court, legal scholar and constitutional law specialist Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim garnered a great deal of respect for his knowledge and expertise in these fields. In addition to this, he served in a number of prestigious posts, such as that of law minister, attorney general of Pakistan, and governor of Sindh (Dawn, 20 August 2014).

4.2 Government under Caretaker Status

In a number of countries, the incumbent government assumes the role of a caretaker during the period leading up to elections. In this capacity, the government's authority is restricted to the performance of routine administrative responsibilities in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and the law. Pakistan, in contrast to the other nations that were listed earlier, has implemented electoral reforms, one of which is the adoption of a model that is considered "neutral" for the appointment of caretaker governments. The holding of fair elections and the orderly handover of power are both outcomes that should be facilitated by the implementation of this strategy, the overarching goal of which is to foster an atmosphere that is favourable to those outcomes. Prior to the appointment of the caretaker administration for the upcoming elections that are set to take place on May 11th, 2013, the election commission issued a series of recommendations in order to keep the electoral process fair. These elections are slated to take place on May 11th. According to the DRI (2013), the code of conduct made it very apparent that persons serving in caretaker cabinets, as well as members of their immediate families, were not permitted to participate in political campaigning activities or to seek candidature in elections. This rule applied to both candidates and noncandidates. The appointment of Justice (retired) Mir Hazar Khoso as the interim Prime Minister of Pakistan was made based on the suggestion of a legislative committee comprised of representatives from both political factions in order to achieve the goal that was stated above. This appointment was made with the intention of providing oversight for the elections that were to take place on May 11th, 2013, when they were due to take place. According to Rizwan et al. (2014)'s findings, caretaker governments were established in each of the country's four provinces. Justice (retired) Tariq Pervez Khan has been given the role of acting Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the interim government. Justice Zahid Qurban, who has since retired, has been appointed to serve in the role of acting Chief Minister in the province of Sindh. In order to ensure the smooth running of the next provincial elections, which are scheduled to take place on May 11, 2013, Nawab Ghaus Bux Barozi and Najam Sethi have been designated as the temporary chief ministers of Sindh and Punjab, respectively (IPCS, 2013). Their primary responsibility will be to oversee these elections.

In preparation for the general elections that took place in 2013, the Election Commission of Pakistan allotted symbols to a total of 111 different political parties. This number

included parties that had opted out of participating in the elections that took place in 2008. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, Jamaat-e-Islami, the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, and the Baloch Nationalist Party are all included in the list of political parties that are discussed in the research that was carried out by Haider (2014). The political parties that were in power prior to the elections had a significant impact on the electoral process. These parties included the Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Awami National Party (ANP), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) led by Imran Khan (EU Election Observation Mission, 2013).

Since the 1980s, the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) have had a preponderant amount of influence over the political dynamics of Pakistan's electoral landscape, with only a small number of opposition parties daring to challenge their control. In spite of this, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emerged as a new challenger in the political landscape of the elections held in 2013. (Rizvi, 2014) The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) positioned itself as a viable alternative to the current political parties with the goal of addressing issues related to corruption and gaining support from the voting community. Imran Khan, a former cricketer who later entered the world of politics, established the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) in 1996. The PTI is a political party that adheres to the centrist political philosophy. In spite of the fact that it was founded, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) did not have a significant influence on the political climate until the year 2011. However, by the time 2011 came to a close, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf had undergone a significant change, evolving into a politically inclusive movement that drew significant support from marginalised parts of the population, in addition to the middle class and urban youth. The aforementioned support was provided to persons of both genders, including those who experienced a sense of detachment from the personality-driven politics of the PPP and PML-N parties (Virani, 2012). This assistance was also provided to those individuals who were a part of the PPP and PML-N parties. The following are some of the assertions that Engr Ijaz Hussain Advocate, a former Nazim and Independent Candidate for PK-61, states in an interview with him:

Certain people, in particular those who struggle with socioeconomic difficulties and are marginalised in society, have the idea that this platform provides an advantageous channel for them to pursue their political aspirations. This is especially true for those

individuals. This impression is coloured by the fact that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) have a long history of aligning themselves with the interests of feudal and landed classes. It is generally agreed upon that the emergence of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) as a significant political body within the political landscape was a significant event that had far-reaching repercussions for the country. This view is shared by a large number of people. In addition to this, these developments would constitute a significant challenge to the established hegemony that is being upheld by the PML-N and the PPP. However, it was quickly apparent that the political party had been influenced by nonpolitical entities as well as a group of established politicians known as "electables," which resulted in a drop in the degree of popular support for the party (Hussain, 2020).

Multiple political parties in a diverse society have launched their election campaigns with the goal of amassing a sizeable voter base. These political parties have similar political manifestos and catchy slogans. In their respective manifestos, the individuals presented a vision for governance that placed a premium on the formation of a democratic and egalitarian society that adheres to the precepts of the rule of law. The persons in question also emphasised how important it is to solve issues such as poor management, corruption, and the formation of a system that is based on merit. In addition, the manifestos emphasised how critical it is to secure an adequate supply of energy resources in order to support the future ambitions of the nation. All of the political parties advocated for the implementation of an economic system that was based on market principles and included both international and domestic investment, in addition to the privatization of various industries. In addition, they emphasized the need of giving priority to the improvement of healthcare, education, civic amenities, and the holistic welfare of marginalized communities, such as peasants, the labouring class, and other socially disadvantaged parts of the population. This would include the provision of basic necessities such as water and food. According to Rizvi (2014), certain political parties have placed a focus on the inclusion of policies aimed at enhancing the social standing of women and youth in their manifestos. These measures include a variety of different approaches.

The Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) defined the government that was in power from 2008 to 2013 as ineffective and blamed the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) for a variety of problems, including poor governance, misadministration,

mismanagement, and corruption. These problems were linked to the PPP's tenure in power. The advocacy attempted to promote transformative reforms within the governance sector in order to solve the flaws observed in the administration of the PPP (P) government. The goal of the advocacy was to address the shortcomings highlighted. The manifesto is titled "Strong Economy, Strong Pakistan." It presents a series of significant proposals, which encompass the introduction of a minimum wage of Rs. 15,000 per month, the creation of 300,000 job opportunities to tackle the problem of unemployment, the implementation of housing initiatives aimed at assisting individuals who are impoverished and homeless, the organization of local government elections to decentralize political, administrative, and fiscal authority to the local level, and the organization of local government elections to decentralize political, administrative, According to Shafqat and Saleem (2014), the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) has established a strategy with the goal of integrating the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the larger societal framework and granting political rights to the residents of the FATA. This policy also has the objective of granting political rights to the residents of the FATA.

On the other hand, the PPP has stated that it is committed to ensuring that previous errors do not reoccur during its upcoming mandate and to efficiently operating the government during that time. The manifesto outlined a commitment to enhance the future chances of the general population, with a particular emphasis on addressing the financial and social needs of persons who were disadvantaged in society. According to Burki (2013), the aforementioned provisions included fundamental necessities such as nourishment, protection, housing, well-being, and knowledge. In addition to this, it underlined the importance of protecting the rights of marginalized groups, such as young people and populations of minorities, and it worked to advance the cause of women's empowerment. The resuscitation of the economy, the creation of employment possibilities, the improvement of infrastructure, and the effective management of the energy crisis were all emphasized in the manifesto of the PPP(P), which was distributed to party members. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) called for the adoption of a comprehensive National Security Plan with the primary goal of confronting and combating acts of terrorism. This plan would have included a wide range of security issues. In addition, the party emphasized how important it is to strengthen unity and collaboration among the provinces in order to consolidate the federation. In addition to this, the PPP emphasized the

significance of efforts to construct peace in the surrounding area. According to Shafqat and Saleem (2014), the primary goal of the most recent government was to give priority to the integration of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and its residents into the dominant sociocultural framework. This was the primary objective of the most recent government.

The Manifesto of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) articulated a comprehensive plan for the building of a prosperous and harmonious New Pakistan, with a strong focus on safeguarding the fundamental principles of the rule of law. The newly formed government prioritized, among other things, the provision of equal access to fundamental medical services for all individuals, the prompt and orderly conduct of local elections within a hundred-day time frame, and the creation of job opportunities for unemployed rural youth. This was done with the intention of promoting the devolution of power to local communities. The federal administrative structure and the civil service of Pakistan have both undergone significant changes as a result of recent reforms. The manifesto of the Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf party included a variety of different proposals. These proposals included the elimination of the discretionary developmental fund that was allotted to parliamentarians, the implementation of robust industrial and trade policies to foster economic expansion, the establishment of a standardized education system across the country, and the execution of initiatives designed to empower women and youth. The objective of the PTI manifesto was to foster peaceful ties with neighbouring nations such as India, in addition to prioritising the establishment of an anti-corruption system in Pakistan as a primary objective. In addition to this, it emphasized how important it is to cultivate fair and balanced partnerships with major global powers, most notably the United States of America, and it urged for opposition to the strategy that the United States takes in the war on terror. According to Ahmad and Ishaq (2018), the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party advocated for the necessity of reforms to be implemented within the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

The Awami National Party (ANP), a political organisation that focuses on Pashtun nationalism, has consistently advocated for a variety of important goals, such as the promotion of peace, ensuring security, advocating for provincial autonomy, and advocating for increased budgetary allocation towards the education sector. These are just some of the goals that the ANP has prioritized. In addition, the manifesto included a

number of other suggestions for reforms that may be implemented across a variety of different realms, including the political, legal, administrative, economic, monetary, and social spheres. In addition to that, it incorporated a comprehensive set of reforms that were designed with the Federally Administered Tribal Areas in mind (Rizvi, 2014).

The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) published a comprehensive 22-point manifesto with the goal of boosting the empowerment of citizens by substantial reforms in a variety of domains, including economics, social dynamics, administration, and fiscal policies. The manifesto was approved with the intention of enhancing the empowerment of persons through significant reforms in multiple domains. A thorough manifesto was given by the PML-Q party, which consisted of seven important principles, with the primary focus on addressing the issues of terrorism, corruption, and poverty (DRI, 2013). According to Rizvi (2014), the manifestos of a number of different Islamist groups, including JI, JUI, and JUI-S, support the purpose of building an Islamic state in which Sharia law is assigned the highest legal authority.

The conventional format of election campaigns consisted mostly of the coordination of large-scale assemblies, gatherings, and afterwards large-scale processions, which were accompanied by public rallies led by notable figures. Despite this, in the context of the general elections that took place in May 2013, various political parties and the leaders of those parties had trouble participating in traditional campaign practises. This was due to the demanding environment in which the campaigns took place. The existing conditions in this particular environment were distinguished by incidents of violence, the presence of militant groups, and occurrences of terrorist acts, all of which were perpetrated by non-state entities (Commonwealth, 2013). These conditions were characterised by the fact that non-state entities were responsible for all of these things.

The Pakistani Taliban Organization, also known as the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), directed the majority of its violence towards political parties that had previously served as coalition partners in the government. These parties included the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the Awami National Party (ANP), and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). The targeting of these parties can be linked to their dedication to secular politics and their resistance to the goals of the Taliban during the time of the Taliban's government that lasted from 2008 until 2013. The Taliban have asserted that the aforementioned elections violate Islamic precepts and have pronounced a wicked

judgement on them as a result of their actions. They have made it clear that they intend to frustrate the continuing electoral process in any way they can. As a result of acts of violence carried out by the Taliban and other extremist organizations during the period leading up to the elections, the lives of a tragically high number of people—over one hundred and thirty (130) in total—were sadly taken. The victims included people who were associated with a wide variety of political parties, in addition to many candidates who were running for office and others who were involved in electoral campaigns. In Pakistan, the public visibility of candidates and high-ranking officials from the former ruling parties, particularly the Pakistan People's Party, the Awami National Party, and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement, was limited due to the existence of an environment that was characterized by insecurity and perceived threats. In particular, these parties were the Pakistan People's Party, the Awami National Party, and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement. According to Hanif (2013), the individuals in issue were restricted in their ability to take part in overt campaign activities as a result of the restrictions that were placed on them. As an alternative to the traditional ways that election campaigns are run, political parties have turned to a variety of media channels, including print, electronic, and social media, in order to communicate with the voting populace in a manner that is both efficient and effective. Door-to-door canvassing and corner meetings were part of the campaign strategy that was used in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and rural Sindh, which also included Karachi (Commonwealth, 2013). This tactic was also implemented in Karachi.

4.3 The Outcome of the Election

Elections for both the national and provincial assemblies were held as scheduled on May 11, 2013, despite the very controversial and divisive nature of the campaign that preceded them. A sizeable population of politically engaged people, numbering in the millions, emerged from their homes to exercise their right to vote. By doing so, they refuted the assertions made by the Taliban and other organizations that are opposed to the government, while also demonstrating their support for the democratic system. According to reputable sources, the general elections that were held in 2013 registered a voter participation of 54.6 percent, which resulted in a total of 46.2 million people actively participating in the exercise of their democratic right. Following the very first general election that was ever held in 1970, this election saw the second biggest number of people cast their ballots ever recorded (ECP, 2013). The elections, which are renowned for their

unique qualities, garnered support from a variety of sectors, including the leadership of Islamist and secular organizations, the media, civil society, and the elites of the military. As a consequence of the significant mobilization and high turnout of voters, a discourse has emerged which emphasizes the idea that democracy is the only solution to overcome political problems. It is possible to interpret the current state of affairs in Pakistan as being consistent with the decision phase model proposed by Rustow (1970). The current phase of Pakistani society is going through a significant moment that is distinguished by the agreement among the powerful members of society to actively support democracy and promote democratic values. This agreement marks a turning point in the history of Pakistani society. After this, they provided significant assistance in the form of support to make the process of democratic transition easier.

During the course of the electoral process, the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz was able to amass a total of 14.8 million votes, which resulted in the party being awarded 124 seats in the National Assembly. As a direct consequence of this, it has established itself as the preeminent political party in terms of the distribution of seats. With a combined total of 6.8 million votes, the Pakistan People's Party, which had previously held the position of ruling party, was successful in winning 34 seats in the lower house of parliament. In the interim, the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf party was able to win 27 seats and a total of 7.5 million votes, which brought them to the top of the vote tally. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) was successful in obtaining a total of 18 seats, while the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F) was only able to win 10 seats. According to the data that was provided by Haider (2014), the allocation of the remaining seats was allocated among independent candidates and minor parties.

The elections in 2013 saw a considerable increase in both voter participation and registration, showing a stronger degree of citizen involvement in the electoral process as compared to the year 1970. This can be attributed to the fact that the number of people eligible to vote increased significantly. According to the report that was made public by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), the general elections that were held in 2013 displayed a considerable degree of voter involvement, as proven by a participation rate of 53.62% among registered voters. This information was taken from the report that was made public by the ECP. Since the beginning of the first general elections in 1970, the exhibited figure represents the most remarkable occurrence of voter engagement that has

been documented since the beginning of those elections. A total of 46,217,482 persons were counted as having cast ballots in the elections that took place in 2013, marking a significant rise from the previous election's turnout. When compared to the number of voters who were counted in the 2008 elections, which were 35,637,072, this statistic reflects a significant increase. According to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP, 2013), there was a discernible increase of about 11 million Pakistani individuals who actively participated in the electoral process by exercising their right to vote. This was evidenced by the fact that the number of people who voted in Pakistan's elections exceeded expectations. In spite of the fact that there were increasing acts of militancy and procedural flaws, the electoral process displayed some noteworthy characteristics, such as increased levels of rivalry and a substantial increase in voter participation, according to the findings that were detailed in the report that was produced by the Election Observation Mission of the European Union (EU EOM) in 2013. These characteristics were observed in spite of the fact that the EU EOM found that there were procedural flaws and that there were increasing acts of militancy. According to the findings of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) (NDI-ANFREL, 2013), the general elections that took place in 2013 were characterized by an impressively high level of voter turnout and enthusiasm.

4.4 The Post-Election Period

The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) emerged as the preeminent political party in the National Assembly elections, attaining a significant triumph. As a result, the federal government was formed through the establishment of alliances with its coalition partners, specifically the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) under the leadership of Maulana Fazlur Rehman and the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party led by Mahmood Khan Achakzai. As per Schaefer's (2013) research, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has undertaken the role of Prime Minister of Pakistan for the third occasion, in alignment with the stipulations delineated in article 91 of the constitution.

In the regional context, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) took on the responsibility of governing Punjab, with Shahbaz Sharif appointed as its chief minister. Furthermore, in accordance with a power-sharing agreement, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) formed a coalition government in the province of Balochistan, in collaboration with the Balochistan National Party (BNP). Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch, a

member of the National Party, was elected as the Chief Minister in the first half of the government's term, in accordance with the aforementioned formula. In contrast, Mr. Sana Ullah Zehri, who represents the PML-N, was appointed to assume the position for the latter half. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) emerged victorious in the elections held in the province of Sindh, leading to the establishment of a government under the leadership of Syed Qaim Ali Shah. In contrast, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) obtained a relatively small number of seats in the Sindh legislative assembly. The province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa witnessed a notable presence of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which enabled them to form a coalition government in conjunction with the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F). Nevertheless, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) made the strategic choice to grant the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) the opportunity to assume governance, thereby opting to occupy the opposition benches instead (Abbas, 2017).

Nawaz Sharif assumed his significant third term as the Prime Minister in a smooth manner. The individual conveyed a sincere farewell to the former president, Asif Ali Zardari, following the culmination of his term in office. Notwithstanding their reservations regarding the electoral process, the opposition, including the PPP(P), participated in the reception and demonstrated a gesture of goodwill towards the recently elected parliament under the leadership of the PML-N. However, despite a period of relative stability, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif repeated the same error as previously, thereby further deteriorating his relationships with the military establishments and opposition, consequently posing challenges to his leadership (Abbas, 2017).

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif faced challenges shortly after assuming the office of Prime Minister of Pakistan for his unprecedented third term. In defiance of the advice provided by prominent members of his political party, particularly Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan (the Interior Minister), the individual in question opted to undertake legal action against Pervez Musharraf, the former Army Chief and President of Pakistan, thereby sparking controversy. The present trial was concerned with the accusation of high treason as stipulated in article 6 of the 1973 constitution, particularly in connection with the declaration of a state of emergency on November 3rd, 2007. The decision was made during a transitional period when General Raheel Sharif assumed the role of Chief of Army Staff, succeeding General Ashfaq Parvez Keyani subsequent to his retirement. The

political analyst argued that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision was poorly timed, as he neglected to accurately assess the sentiments of the recently appointed military command and establishment. However, the PML-N government assumed a defensive stance and subsequently reversed its previous position, leading to the removal of Pervez Musharraf's name from the Exit Control List (ECL). As a result, this facilitated his departure from Pakistan. As per the findings of Abbas (2017), General Pervez Musharraf vacated the nation on March 18, 2016, and resettled in the United Arab Emirates.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb refers to a military campaign undertaken by the Pakistani armed forces with the objective of combating multiple militant factions situated in the northern region of the country. Preceding the Nawaz government, preceding administrations made efforts to tackle the issue of terrorism in Pakistan by employing a blend of political and military approaches. Nevertheless, these endeavours were ultimately deemed ineffective. During the Nawaz government's tenure, the military undertook a military operation called Zarb-e-Azb (Comprehensive Operation) to tackle the existence of diverse militant groups, including Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Al-Qaeda, Jundullah, Haqqani group, and other terrorist organizations, within the tribal agency of Waziristan. This particular geographic area has historically functioned as a refuge for a wide range of terrorist entities. Initially, the operation encountered a scarcity of political backing and did not enjoy the approval of the civilian populace. The religious clerics and the political party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), led by Imran Khan, voiced their dissent against the military operation and advocated for a diplomatic strategy to address the matter and foster regional tranquilly. To address the concerns of religious groups and change the public perception of Imran Khan, the military high command made a formal request for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to assume political accountability for the operation (Nazeer et al., 2017). The Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, encountered a substantial challenge when he confronted formidable opposition from diverse militant organizations, including Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Nawaz Sharif's decision to initiate bilateral dialogues with the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) through a peace process committee can be regarded as a highly controversial move. This decision resulted in a substantial schism within the military. Despite participating in numerous rounds of negotiations, the militant groups refused to disarm due to the rigorous conditions imposed, ultimately leading to the cessation of the dialogues without attaining any concrete results. The terrorist attack that occurred at the Army Public School (APS) in Peshawar had a notable influence on the

political environment, leading to a reevaluation of stances among different political figures, such as Mr. Imran Khan. After the occurrence, the aforementioned stakeholders modified their prior positions and conveyed complete endorsement for the military undertaking (Abbas, 2017).

In the inaugural year of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) government, Nawaz Sharif adopted a unique strategy to tackle the circumstances prevailing in Karachi. In contrast to preceding endeavours, Sharif introduced a widely recognised initiative known as the "across the board Karachi operation." This undertaking was executed by means of establishing an apex committee, which bestowed the Ranger force in the city with augmented authority and jurisdiction. The MQM party was deliberately singled out during the operation, as it was identified as one of the intended targets listed. As per Abbas (2017) findings, the Rangers successfully dismantled a significant portion of the militant factions that had received backing from the MQM. Consequently, they proceeded to demolish the organization's primary headquarters, Nine-zero, situated in Karachi. Throughout its evolutionary trajectory, the MQM party experienced a schism that led to the emergence of three discrete factions. The political entities referred to as MQM-London and MQM-Pakistan, under the leadership of Dr. Farooq Sattar, are headquartered in London and conduct their activities within the city of London. In the previous year, Mustafa Kamal, who previously held the position of Mayor of Karachi, founded the Pak-Sarzameen Party (BTI, 2018) after leaving the MQM. The disclosure of the arrest of former PPP minister Dr Asim Hussain shed light on the undisclosed tactics employed by the federal government, leading to the withdrawal of support from the PPP (P) and MQM as cooperative opposition (Abbas, 2017). This study examines the phenomenon of PTI Dharna (Sit-in) Politics and its implications for the political landscape of Pakistan.

The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which attained the runner-up position in the national elections and currently holds a majority in the Sindh provincial assembly, has levied accusations concerning the 2013 electoral process, contending that it was tainted by fraudulent practises and undue influence. The party made specific reference to the polls conducted by Returning Officers (ROs) in the Punjab province. As stated by Pildat (2013), the party leadership made the claim that the opposition parties had obtained their mandate in an illegitimate manner. Nevertheless, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which emerged victorious in the national elections and secured a majority in

the Punjab provincial assembly, voiced their dissent regarding the election results for the legislative assembly of Sindh. As a result, they made the decision to align themselves with the protest against elections, which was spearheaded by the Pakistan Muslim League-Functional (Dawn, 2013).

The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F) raised concerns regarding the equity of provincial elections in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region. Additionally, they expressed their refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's mandate (Mashriq, 2013). The Awami National Party (ANP), a prominent political entity in the Pashtun region, specifically Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, experienced a substantial electoral setback and alleged that the electoral procedure was tainted by widespread rigging and manipulation. Moreover, the party leadership publicly criticised the elections, characterising them as a sham and a deceitful act imposed upon the voting population (The News, 2013).

The Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid), a political party that previously held power, has expressed concerns, along with the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) based in Sindh, the Balochistan National Party (BNP), and various other minor political parties, regarding the perceived mismanagement and irregularities witnessed during the electoral process. Pildat (2013) raised concerns regarding the absence of equitable opportunities offered by the elections management bodies to all political parties, thereby raising doubts regarding the overall impartiality of the elections.

The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), although it attained the status of the largest political party in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial assembly, failed to obtain a majority in the national assemblies of Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan. As a result, the PTI has levied allegations against the elections, asserting that they were tainted by widespread rigging and fraudulent activities. The party, albeit with some reluctance, acquiesced to the overall outcomes, contingent upon the stipulation that an inquiry into electoral manipulation be carried out exclusively in four constituencies. This limited investigation would serve as a pilot study to ascertain the legitimacy of the electoral process. However, after duration of fourteen months marked by continuous appeals for an inquiry into four National Assembly constituencies, Imran Khan instigated a substantial demonstration in August 2014 as a result of the inadequate response received from the pertinent institutions. Following this, the protest transformed into a 126-day Dharna (sit-in) within the Islamabad capital territory, with the objective of addressing the alleged irregularities and

widespread manipulation witnessed during the 2013 general elections (Mamoon et al., 2017). The protestors presented a six-point charter of demands which included the following: the resignation of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, the dissolution of the assemblies, the arrangement of new elections under the oversight of an unbiased caretaker government, the creation of an impartial Election Commission (EC), and the execution of electoral reforms (The Nation, 2014). The demonstration orchestrated by Imran Khan was attended by the Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), under the leadership of Tahir ul Qadri, at the designated site of D-Chowk. The sit-in was marked by the widely recognized slogan "Go-Nawaz-Go." As per Pildat's (2018) findings, several political analysts contended that the sit-in was tactically orchestrated by the military establishment to exert influence over the Nawaz-led government's position on the Musharraf high treason case. Furthermore, a number of analysts have construed the PTI dharna as a "soft coup" masterminded by non-political actors in conjunction with anti-Nawaz politicians, aiming to depose the democratically elected civilian government of the PML-N. According to Sheikh (2018), Imran Khan and Tahir ul Qadri were characterized as military protégés who were strategically deployed during the crisis in order to accomplish their individual goals. Nevertheless, the military positioned itself as an intermediary between the governing body and opposition factions with the aim of facilitating the resolution of the prevailing dispute. According to a press release by the spokesperson of the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), it was underscored that it is crucial for all political stakeholders to actively participate in a productive discourse in order to resolve the existing impasse, with the ultimate objective of promoting the broader national and public welfare (Pildat, 2018). In the aforementioned political crisis, the military demonstrated a lack of adherence to its constitutional obligation by aligning with the opposition party (PTI) instead of maintaining a neutral position to facilitate the resolution of the deadlock between the government and the aforementioned opposition (Sheikh, 2018). Following the terrorist attack on the Army Public School (APS) in Peshawar, Imran Khan subsequently concluded the dharna sit-in by attaining a consensus with the pertinent party to establish a judicial commission responsible for examining the electoral irregularities (Dawn, 2018). Hence, after a span of four and a half months, the sit-in ultimately reached its conclusion without achieving its primary objective of toppling the democratically elected civilian government headed by Nawaz Sharif. The introduction of a novel cultural standard prompted additional political factions to apply influence on the legitimately elected administration and instigate social upheaval within the country. Sit-in politics has

emerged as a prominent aspect of Pakistan's democratic system since its inception. After the PTI dharna (sit-in) in 2014, there were subsequent deliberations and investigations concerning the legitimacy of the recently implemented form of protest within a developing democratic framework (Najam, 2019).

Philip Hammond, the former British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, expressed significant concern regarding the sit-in organized by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf. The speaker placed significant emphasis on his nation's support for the continuation of democratic principles in Pakistan. He urged political factions to resolve their disputes using democratic means, particularly through the parliamentary system. Moreover, he espoused the necessity of eschewing non-democratic practices as a means to fortify the democratic process. The European Union has expressed considerable concern regarding the political tactic of dharna employed by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), stating, "We hold deep concern regarding the current situation." The author underscores their conviction that the current impasse should be resolved through peaceful dialogue, in accordance with the constitutional framework. The authors of the article express concern that neglecting to take this action could potentially lead to the nation relinquishing democratic principles, thereby representing a substantial regression in the political sphere (Dawn, 2014). The impact of the PTI dharna on the economy and foreign relations of Pakistan has been assessed by researchers and analysts. According to Najam's (2019) research, the reports published in various national newspapers of Pakistan have indicated that the sit-in organised by the PTI and Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), along with subsequent protests throughout the country, led to a substantial economic loss estimated at around 3.7 trillion. The aforementioned circumstance had an adverse effect on the agrarian economy of Pakistan. Pakistan faced notable diplomatic consequences and strained relations with other countries and international organisations, in addition to the tangible losses it suffered. Due to its status as Pakistan's primary foreign investor and longstanding ally, China postponed the scheduled visit of its president to Pakistan in September 2014. The rationale behind this decision was influenced by the PTI sit-in that took place at D-chowk in the Islamabad capital territory. It is worth noting that this sit-in occurred during a crucial period when both nations were in the process of finalising the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project, which involves a substantial investment of billions of dollars. In addition, the political demonstrations orchestrated by

the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party had an adverse effect on the international perception of Pakistan (Malik, 2019).

During an interview with Professor Himayat Ullah Yaqobi, the author inquired about the PTI 2014 Dharna (sit-in) and its impact on the democratic system. In response, the professor presented his argument. In a democratic society, protests and demonstrations are widely recognized as fundamental rights. However, it is my observation that the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party seemed to have received strategic support from influential entities with the aim of countering other well-established political parties. The aforementioned support appeared to originate from an implicit understanding among these entities to curtail the sway of the security apparatus. The 2018 elections yielded substantial empirical evidence that supports the claim that the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) received substantial support from both civilian and military institutions in Pakistan. The aforementioned allegations were brought forth by multiple political parties, namely PML (N), JUI (F), and PPP (P). Ullah (2020) posits that the 2014 Dharna (sit-in) was widely regarded as a pivotal measure aimed at bolstering the prominence of the PTI and solidifying its position as a formidable political force.

Moreover, as stated by Rid (2020), it was articulated that; The opposition's demonstration of agitation and protest is a valid exercise of their rights. Nevertheless, the employment of sit-in politics may be deemed as undemocratic and in conflict with the fundamental tenets of democracy. The implementation of democratic governance occurs. The utilization of sit-ins within a parliamentary system is not conducive to its effective functioning, as they disrupt the established procedures and protocols that govern the legislative process. The parliament, as a democratically elected representative institution, fulfils the essential role of providing a suitable forum for the purpose of engaging in thoughtful discussion, exchanging diverse viewpoints, and reaching informed decisions pertaining to matters of public concern. Hence, it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of parliamentary institutions and give them precedence.

Rid (2020) argues that the resolution of issues can be effectively attained through engaging in a process of dialogue and debate between the treasury and opposition benches. The 21st Amendment to the Constitution led to the creation of this study, which studies the implementation of military courts in reaction to the passage of the amendment. As a direct response to the sad event that took place at the Army Public School (APS) in

Peshawar in December 2014, the government of Pakistan authorized the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP), which was then sanctioned by the government (BTI, 2018). The removal of hostile organisations that were working inside the country was another one of the goals of this plan, along with the more effective combating of the problem of terrorism. On the 5th of January in the year 2015, a joint session of the national assembly and the senate was conducted by the Parliament in order to propose the 21st amendment to the constitution that was written in 1973. The aforementioned amendment made it possible to establish military tribunals for a period of two years, as required by the updated Army Act of 2015 (as outlined in the previous sentence). The primary objective of these tribunals was to launch legal actions against individuals who were suspected of having been involved in terrorist acts. According to Zahid (2015), the two largest religious political parties in the parliament, Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamaat-e-Islami, have both expressed their disagreement with the modification and chosen not to participate in the vote as a result of the individual reservations held by each party (JUI and Jamaat-e-Islami).

Concern among political observers is at an all-time high as a result of the constitutional protections afforded to the construction of a parallel system of military courts. According to Siddiqi (2015), the implementation of military courts through the 21st amendment has strengthened the influence of the armed forces in shaping the political course. This has led to a violation of the principle of separation of powers as well as an encroachment upon civilian supremacy, judicial autonomy, and the protection of human rights. Siddiqi (2015) argues that this has led to a violation of the principle of separation of powers. Instead of deciding to set up military tribunals, the highest-ranking officials in the military and political leaders should have collaborated on the development of an all-encompassing plan to combat terrorism. This would have been the most prudent course of action. In addition to this, they might have concentrated on enhancing the efficiency of the current judicial and legal structure through the implementation of a number of different reform efforts. According to Dawn (2015), the individuals who were affected by the occurrence described above saw it as evidence that politicians had given up and as a breach of the faith placed in them by the general public. The military courts ceased to function after they had served their initial mandate of two years and were subjected to significant levels of criticism both domestically and internationally. Subsequently, on March 31, 2017, in accordance with the updated Army Act 2017, the military courts were

reestablished after a period of inactivity lasting two months. This came as a result of the implementation of the 23rd constitutional amendment, which had taken effect two months before to this date. The reactivation in question has once again undermined the democratic process by putting the legitimacy of civilians and the openness of the judicial system at jeopardy. The current condition of affairs is frequently referred to as an illustration of an informal military rule by academics and independent critics. These observers express their concerns to civilian stakeholders on the expansive jurisdiction of military tribunals, which extends beyond the prosecution of individuals suspected of terrorism. They emphasise that military courts may also be utilised against individuals who indicate resistance to their policies. These persons may include members of the political opposition, journalists and other members of the media, as well as members of separatist groups located in Balochistan. According to Wolf (2019), during the early judicial hearings over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the military tribunals were able to effectively quell opposition to the project. Bakhtiyar (2020) asserts that the presence of both civil and military tribunals within a nation raises concerns regarding the legitimacy of the existing judicial system and the preeminence of civilian authority. These concerns stem from the fact that military tribunals operate alongside civil courts. In addition, the problem with the Dawn Leaks is connected to this discussion in some way.

In October 2016, the revelation of the Dawn-leaks episode generated a significant scandal, further increasing the breach between civil and military authorities. In October of 2016, there was a meeting that was held in private to discuss problems of 'national security.' This meeting was attended by notable members of the armed forces as well as officials from the administration. The Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif presided over the proceedings of the meeting as the meeting's chair. On the other hand, the specifics regarding this gathering were revealed, and then later on, they were published as the lead news piece in The Dawn, which is a well-known newspaper in Pakistan, on October 6th, 2016. According to a story published by Dawn in 2016, the headline of the article claimed, "Exclusive: Military urged by civilians to either take action against militants or face international isolation." In response to an increase in pressure from the military, the government decided to take action and establish an investigating committee. The purpose of the investigation into the dawn leaks was for the committee to find out who was responsible for leaking information about the high-level civil-military conference to Cyril Almeida, the journalist who was responsible for

authoring the contentious story. Specifically, the committee wanted to identify the individuals who were responsible for leaking the material. As a result of the recommendations that were made by the investigative committee throughout the course of the proceedings, Syed Tariq Fatemi, who served as the special assistant to the Prime Minister on matters pertaining to foreign affairs, was relieved of his responsibilities. In addition, it was decided that Rao Tehseen Ali, who occupies the position of Principal Information Officer (PIO) under the information minister, should initiate processes in accordance with the E&D Rules 1973 as a consequence of the perception that he has failed to fulfil his responsibilities. This decision was made because of the perception that he has failed to fulfil his responsibilities. Because of his inability to effectively prevent the publication in question, Pervez Rasheed, who had previously served as the Minister of Information, was relieved of his ministerial responsibilities and fired from his position. The narrative around Down syndrome further exacerbated the tensions that were already present in the working relationships between the civic and military sectors. The military has officially stated that the morning leaks incident was a calculated and coordinated action that was orchestrated by the administration, and they have denied the suggestions that were put out there by the investigative committee. The arguments that were put out by the military establishment were consistently dismissed by the administration (The Express Tribune, 2018).

4.5 Panama Leaks and the Premature Disqualification of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

Since the country won its independence from British colonial control in 1947, the nation's governance has been subject to recurrent changes between military and civilian leadership. These changes have occurred periodically since the country acquired its independence. These shifts have occurred at regular intervals throughout history. Pakistan has been around for 72 years, yet throughout that time it has had a hard time achieving social, political, and economic stability. This is primarily related to a lack of political sophistication, imbalances in institutional structures, and the lack of integrity displayed by its governing bodies. In addition, the lack of political sophistication has led to institutional imbalances. According to Siraj and Waheed (2019), Pakistan's political culture is characterised by a number of persistent phenomena, some of which include fraud, political bribery (also known as horse dealing), nepotism, floor crossing, financial

misappropriation, and corruption. In addition, floor crossing is a term that is used to refer to the practise of crossing one's own bloodline. The political system of the country is defined by the prevalence of large corruption scandals that include state officials from both the civilian and the military sectors of the economy. These concerns are also known as "floor crossing." It is probable that the lack of accountability that exists within their system was a contributing factor to the comparatively low degree of corruption that was uncovered when the military was in charge of the country. On the other hand, it is anticipated that corruption within civilian administrations will be more exposed as a result of an improved level of accountability and transparency that these administrations will have (Khan, 2016). This is because these administrations will have greater levels of both accountability and openness. It has been observed that, up to this point, no Prime Minister who has won office by electoral means has been able to successfully finish a whole five-year tenure in line with the provisions of the constitution. This is due to the fact that the laws of the constitution require a Prime Minister to step down after serving for a total of five years. The reasons for this can be found in the traits discussed before. In 2012, the Supreme Court of Pakistan removed Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani from his post as Prime Minister of Pakistan, which he had been elected to do while the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was in control of the civilian government in Pakistan. This occurred while the PPP was in control of the civilian government. The aforementioned course of action was carried out as a direct result of his failure to submit a written letter to the government of Switzerland asking the starting of procedures to revisit a case pertaining to the unlawful transfer of funds, in which Asif Ali Zardari is accused. The letter would have requested that the case be reexamined to determine whether or not Asif Ali Zardari was in fact involved in the illegal transfer of funds. The fact that he did not send the communication resulted in this action being taken against him. If Gillani had given his consent to carry out this strategy, he would have been the first Prime Minister in the annals of Pakistani history to successfully complete a full term as prime minister that lasted for the entire five years it was intended for. This would have elevated him to the status of being a significant historical figure. After this, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which at the time was led by Raja Pervez Ashraf, accomplished a significant aim by successfully completing a full term of five years (Siraj & Waheed, 2019). This was a huge accomplishment for the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The PPP achieved a significant victory with this result. In a similar spirit, the Supreme Court of Pakistan issued a ruling in July 2017 that ultimately led to the removal of Nawaz Sharif from his post as Prime

Minister of Pakistan. This decision culminated in the removal of Nawaz Sharif from his position. The decision was made as a response to the allegations of corruption that came to light as a result of the exposure of the Panama Papers leak (The Nation, 2017). The allegations were brought to light as a result of the leak of the Panama Papers.

A vast number of powerful persons all over the world, including several members of the Pakistani parliamentary assembly, were found to be involved by the Panama Papers, which were made public after being stolen from a secure location in April of 2016. The current Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, became the second prominent world leader to be convicted in connection with offshore corporate firms. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who had previously served as President of the Republic of Turkey, was the first world leader to be convicted of such a crime. The decision made by the Prime Minister of Iceland to step down from his position was influenced in part by the revelations contained in the Panama Papers, which were published earlier this year. Although Nawaz Sharif was not directly implicated in the offshore firms and his name was not included in the Panama Papers, it is important to acknowledge that his daughter, Maryam Nawaz, as well as his two sons, Hassan Nawaz and Hussain Nawaz, were identified as beneficiaries of the aforementioned commercial transactions (Specia, 2017). Maryam Nawaz was also identified as a beneficiary of the aforementioned commercial transactions. In addition, Nawaz Sharif was not mentioned once in any of the leaked documents from the Panama Papers. Since the 1980s, members of the Sharif family have been the focus of allegations of bribery and other types of corrupt behaviour. The emergence of the Panama Papers, which led to a renewed rise of claims against the Sharif family (BBC, 2017), posed further challenges for the Sharif family, which they needed to overcome.

Imran Khan, Chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Siraj-ul-Haq of the Jamaat-i-Islami, the Pakistan People's Party, and other members of the opposition have all rapidly lobbied for the establishment of an inquiry panel under the supervision of the current Chief Justice of Pakistan. Members of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, the Pakistan People's Party, and members of other political parties were also included in the opposition. The Sharif family has been accused of bribery and corruption, and the purpose of this commission would be to look into such claims and determine whether or not they are true. On the other hand, the authorities within the administration have made it plain that they

are in favour of launching an investigation into the situation with the assistance of a committee that is made up of people who have past experience working in the legal system. These individuals have previous experience working in the judicial system. On April 25, 2016, opposition parties expressed their disagreement with the investigation panel that the government proposed and instead asked for the establishment of a commission through constructive discourse. This request was made in response to the government's proposal to create an inquiry commission. In June of 2016, Imran Khan filed an official complaint with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), requesting that Nawaz Sharif be barred from standing for office. Khan referenced the requirements specified in articles 62 and 63 of the constitution inside the appeal that he submitted. In August of 2016, the most major opposition groups, namely Jamaat-i-Islam and Imran Khan, each submitted their own petition to the Supreme Court of Pakistan, requesting that the court launch an investigation into the crisis surrounding the Panama Papers. In their petitions, the groups specifically asked the court to look into Jamaat-i-Islam and Imran Khan's involvement in the issue. Simultaneously, Imran Khan oversaw the organization of a large protest in front of the residence of the prime minister in the city of Lahore. The purpose of this demonstration was to exert extra pressure on the various institutions of the state. During the later phase of the demonstration, Khan reportedly issued a call for the resignation of the prime minister and warned about the likely execution of a lockdown in Islamabad. The report was carried in Dawn (2018).

The applications that were brought by opposition parties were granted preliminary approval by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in October of 2016. As a direct consequence of this, a commission consisting of five individuals was convened and charged with conducting an investigation into the Panama Papers affair. However, after more deliberation, the court came to the conclusion that these appeals should be dismissed. After a court proceeding that was held over the course of a total of six months, the Supreme Court of Pakistan decided on April 20, 2017, to establish the Joint Investigation Team, also known as the JIT. The JIT is made up of a total of five different people. This group was tasked with conducting an investigation into the Panama case within the allowed time frame of two months and then providing its conclusions regarding the inquiry after the investigation had been completed. Personnel from a number of different agencies were brought together to form the Joint Investigation Team (JIT). These agencies included the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Military Intelligence (MI), the

National Accountability Bureau (NAB), the Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP), and the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP). The Panama case was decided by a verdict that was divided down the middle, with a judgement that was handed down that was 3-2. This brought the matter to an end. (Dawn, 2018).

On July 10, 2017, the Joint Investigation Team (JIT) presented the Supreme Court of Pakistan with a detailed report regarding their investigation. On that day, the report, which had a total of 275 pages, was submitted to the court where it was being heard. The involvement of the Sharif family in the Panama case is the primary emphasis of the inquiry that is presented in this report, which is centred on the subject matter of the case. The Supreme Court of the United States met once more on June 17, 2017, in order to proceed with the hearings in the Panama case. The Supreme Court finished its hearings in the Panama Case on July 21, and since then, the court has refrained from issuing a ruling (Dawn, 2018). The case involves whether or not Panama should be allowed to keep its tax haven status.

On July 28, 2017, just one year before the elections that are due to take place, the Supreme Court of Pakistan handed down a historic judgement when it disqualified the Prime Minister of Pakistan on the grounds that he was corrupt. This decision was made exactly one year before the upcoming elections are scheduled to take place. Following this event, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party came to the conclusion that an experienced politician named Shahid Khaqan Abbasi should be selected for the position of newly appointed Prime Minister. This decision was reached in order to preserve the democratic process and adhere to the party's legally required five-year term in office. At the same time, the previous Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, along with further members of his family, were each sentenced to ten years in prison (The Nation, 2019).

This marked the third time that Nawaz Sharif was ousted from his position as prime minister prior to the completion of his full five-year term in office, and it occurred as a result of this occurrence. Additionally, this was the event that brought about the removal. In the year 1990, he assumed his position as Prime Minister of Pakistan for the very first time. This is the very first time that he has held this role. However, in 1993, the then-president Ghulam Ishaq Khan removed him from office in accordance with article 58(2) b. Khan's decision was based on allegations of corruption and poor management on the part of the former president. As a direct result of the election that took place in 1997,

Nawaz Sharif was able to successfully gain a position as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a second time. He was elected with the support of the vast majority of voters. According to the New York Times (2017), a military coup that took place in the early hours of the morning on October 12, 1999 was successful in removing the government that had been led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. General Pervez Musharraf was in charge of leading the coup.

It is important to note that Nawaz Sharif was not removed from his position as a result of the implementation of Article 58(2)(b) or a military intervention. Rather, he was removed from his position as a result of a verdict delivered by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which was based on the conclusions presented in the Joint Investigation Team (JIT) report. This is why it is important to remember that Nawaz Sharif was not removed from his position. This conclusion was arrived at after reviewing the findings that were included in the study. The participation of an individual affiliated with the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and another associated with the Military Intelligence (MI) within the Joint Investigation Team (JIT) has prompted numerous concerns over the legality and justification of their engagement in a highly politicised issue (PILDAT, 2017). These concerns have been prompted as a result of the participation of an individual affiliated with the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). These worries have arisen as a direct result of the involvement of a person who is linked with the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) organisation. According to the findings of Wolf's (2017) research, the analysts discovered that the processes of the courts were described as straying from the standards of justice and breaching the circumstances of a trial that is both free and impartial. This was found in violation of the conditions of a trial that is both free and impartial. According to Shams (2017), a number of analysts have stated that the allegations that led to Nawaz Sharif's ouster from government were politically motivated and intended to subvert democratic procedures. In addition, the individuals expressed their viewpoint that these procedures were coordinated by the military institution, hinting that it was a judicial takeover by their use of the phrase "coup." This is the assertion that Shams (2017) makes. Wolf (2017) came to the opinion that the departure of Nawaz Sharif from his post as prime minister was orchestrated by non-political parties with the intention of reducing their impact on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). This action was taken in order to make the construction of the CPEC go more smoothly. According to Wolf (2017), the fact that Nawaz's stint as prime minister of Pakistan was cut short before it was supposed to have

ended for the third time has hampered the country's efforts to advance democratically. The author has conducted their own research, which serves as the basis for this assertion. The ruling political party, the PML-N, has maintained that the reason Nawaz Sharif was removed from his position was due to a conspiracy involving the military and the court. They say this conspiracy was responsible for his removal. Nawaz Sharif laid all of the responsibility for his ouster at the feet of the military, which he humorously referred to as "Khalai Makhloq" (Alien Spacecraft) (Nawaz, 2019). During the course of an academic conversation with a segment of society that was well-versed in its subject matter, a researcher posed a query concerning the impact that early disqualification has on the functioning of the democratic system. The repercussions of a premature disqualification were the topic of the conversation. Mr. Azad provided his viewpoint and said that the removal of the prime minister occurred in a manner that was in conflict with the constitution. He said this in response to a question. Throughout his entire address, he reiterated this point. This incident took place during a period in which the country was making significant strides forward; yet, the policies adopted by the prime minister were not congruent with the goals of the military, which led to challenges for the prime minister. The interests of the military were in direct opposition to the policies that had been set by the prime minister. The premature removal of a prime minister who was democratically elected prior to the expiration of their tenure as mandated by the constitution has a substantial impact on the evolution of democratic development in the nation. This is because the constitution states that the prime minister's term must expire upon the expiration of their term. As a result of the inclusion of approximately 400 persons from Pakistan in the Panama Papers, these individuals should also be subject to legal actions (Azad, 2020). As a direct consequence of their participation, there is an immediate and pressing requirement to hold a trial that is fair.

The untimely removal of the elected prime minister so close to the upcoming elections was a deliberate operation conducted by politically non-aligned figures of major importance. The dismissal of the prime minister occurred so close to the upcoming elections. This event took place not too far away from the elections that were to take place shortly. The event had a huge influence on the democratic process that was going on in Pakistan at the time. It is of the utmost relevance to grant the Prime Minister the opportunity to complete the remainder of the term that is prescribed by the Constitution (Rid, 2020).

According to Kamal (2020), the political climate in Pakistan has been typified by an ongoing rivalry between political elites and non-political elites. This competition has been going on for quite some time. This competition has led to a trend of consistent victories for the non-political elites over their political counterparts, and it has been the case throughout. According to Kamal (2020), one contemporary instance of conflict between the civilian administration and the military is the recent dismissal of an incumbent prime minister. In addition to this, Farooqi made the comment that there is a historical precedent for the unexpected removal of an elected prime minister from office. An analysis of the political history of Pakistan reveals a recurrent pattern in which non-political persons persistently hinder the development of democratic institutions. This pattern has occurred repeatedly throughout Pakistan's history. Over the course of Pakistan's history, this pattern has recurred on numerous occasions. In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq orchestrated a coup d'état, which resulted in the overthrow of the democratically elected government and the following suppression of democratic practises. This led to the ouster of the democratically elected government. The government that had been democratically elected was overthrown as a direct consequence of the coup d'état. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a significant figure in the field of democracy, was put to death by means of execution after a length of time spanning a span of two years. After these occurrences, General Zia seized complete control of the nation and ruled it with an iron fist for more than eleven years, during which he exerted authoritarian power over the general population. In 1999, a situation quite similar to this one occurred, and it involved the civilian administration that was led by Nawaz Sharif. During this time, General Musharraf orchestrated the removal of the government that had been democratically elected and carried it out in the early hours of the night by the use of a coup d'état. It is crucial to note that in contrast to the events that took place in the past regarding the removal of Nawaz Sharif from his job, the current removal did not take place as a consequence of the execution of Article 58(2b) or by a military coup. This is important to keep in mind when comparing the two scenarios. It is essential that you keep this in mind because it is an important aspect. In its stead, the event took place as a result of the course of a legal lawsuit that received backing from the recognised institutions of the country. The findings that were presented in Farooqi (2020) can be summarised as follows:

During the course of the interview with Himayatullah, the researcher asked a number of questions concerning the three different situations in which Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

was improperly dismissed, as well as the implications that these occurrences have for the democratic process. Himayatullah arrived at the opinion that Nawaz Sharif's manner of dealing with the matter was unsuitable and lacked the necessary level of expertise. Despite the fact that the gentleman has achieved a great deal of success in the corporate world, he has had a lot of trouble getting where he wants to go in the political world and has had to overcome a lot of obstacles to get there. He does not stray from his standard practise of putting the economic security of his family at the top of his list of priorities at any point. The involvement of a single person in a significant scandal, followed by that person's dismissal from their position as a direct result of their involvement in corrupt practises, has led to unfavourable outcomes for democratic institutions. These unintended consequences can be linked to the individual's participation in the activity. In addition to the political climate, Ullah (2020) analyses the subject matter of the establishment of various institutions.

The civilian administration of Pakistan, led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and during which the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party was in power, was able to accomplish a significant number of victories despite the fact that it faced a variety of obstacles and experienced both internal and external difficulties. This was possible during the tenure of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party.

4.6 Devolution and Local Government Institutions

As the third and final level of governance, the local government system is an essential component of democratic regimes at the federal level. Pakistan's constitutional structure is distinguished by a federal democratic system that is organized into three separate tiers of governance. These tiers are: the federal, the provincial, and the local. These levels of administration consist of the national, provincial, and municipal levels, respectively. In spite of this, a thorough examination of Pakistan's political history spanning from 1947 to 2013 demonstrates that the domestic governance structure made only slight advancements and ran into uncertain prospects during times when democratically elected civilian administrations were in place. According to Zubair (2012), the delegation of power is a prerequisite that is specified in article 140 (A) of the constitution. It is vital that each and every province implements a local government structure, whereby political, administrative, and monetary responsibilities and authorities are given to the members of the local government who were elected to serve in that capacity. In addition, it is essential

to recognise that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is constitutionally obligated to oversee the organisation and execution of elections for local bodies (BTI, 2018). This is an extremely important fact to keep in mind. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that the establishment of local government institutions in Pakistan was carried out exclusively by military administrations previous to the time of civilian governance from 2013 to 2018. This period of time lasted from 2013 to 2018. It is possible to consider the BD System, which was implemented in 1960 under the direction of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, to be the progenitor of the system of local government that is currently in place in Pakistan. The subsequent events led to the formation of various local bodies during the reign of General Zia-ul-Haq, which lasted from 1977 until 1988. 1979, 1983, and 1987 were the years in which elections for the local bodies were held while Zia-ul-Haq was in power as head of the military dictatorship. The 'Devolution of Power Plan 2001' was begun by General Pervez Musharraf during his reign that lasted from 1999 to 2008 and resulted in the transfer of authority to local government bodies in the year 2001. This transfer of authority took place as a direct result of the implementation of the plan. Following the subsequent elections that took place in 2001 and 2005, a process of decentralisation was undertaken, which resulted in the transfer of power and authority to the municipal level. The age of representatives came to an end in 2009 under the leadership of General Pervez Musharraf (DTCE, 2013).

After the 18th Amendment was ratified in a public ceremony, the democratically elected civilian administration that was in power in Pakistan from 2013 to 2018 moved forward with holding elections for local government institutions in each of the country's four provinces. The preceding action was carried out in observance of the constitutional mandate and in accordance with the decision made by the Supreme Court. The Election Commission of Pakistan was in charge of overseeing the management of these elections in accordance with the legislation that was delegated to the provinces as part of the autonomy system (Siddique, 2016). Earlier than the governments of Sindh, Punjab, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the provincial government of Balochistan in December 2013 began the process of establishing local government institutions and devolving political authority to elected representatives at the grassroots level (PILDAT, 2019). This was the first time that such actions had been taken in Pakistan. The full realisation of local self-government, as shown by the election of representatives, was hampered by constraints on local ability and autonomy. This was reflected through the election of representatives. Because

ministers and members of the provincial assembly were largely responsible for supervising the distribution of developmental financing, a hierarchical relationship was established in which municipal authorities were subject to those of the province government. Despite this, it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge the considerable relevance of these institutions of local governance. In contrast to other institutions, which were established under the influence of military regimes or the federal government, these organisations were established under the guidance and supervision of provincial governments. Other organisations were established under the influence of the federal government. According to Malik and Rana (n.d.), this development is widely recognised as a significant step forward in the development of Pakistan's federal democracy. As was made abundantly evident in the PTI's election platform for 2018, the newly formed government led by the PTI is anticipated to result in the genuine empowerment of the institutions that make up the local government. The manifesto includes a promise to promote change in Pakistan by establishing a decentralised approach to authority and decision-making, with a focus on empowering citizens. This commitment is outlined as part of the manifesto. Building a strong network of local governments would be the means through which this goal would be accomplished. Imran Khan, who was only recently elected as Prime Minister and has long been a proponent of decentralized administration, highlighted the primary purpose of the government, which is to devolve governance authority to elected representatives at the local level. According to a report in the News (2019), the current state of affairs of the various entities of local government can be classified as dysfunctional.

4.7 The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Also Known as the CPEC

The historical connection between China and Pakistan dates all the way back to the primordial eras of both countries' respective histories. During the 1950s, China and Pakistan became the first two countries in the world to establish diplomatic relations with one another. Since that time, the two countries have kept up friendly relations that are characterised by a sense of mutual confidence. The passage of time has a cumulative effect of further reinforcing these relationships. It is generally agreed upon that China is the most dependable investor in Pakistan. China is currently in charge of a large number of projects in Pakistan, including the Gawadar Deep Sea-Port, which is being supervised by Chinese government officials. According to Riffat and Maini (2016), the China

Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) serves as a symbol of the robust and durable connection that exists between China and Pakistan.

During the time that the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) party was in control of the Pakistani government from 2013 until 2018, the President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, paid an official visit to Pakistan in April 2015. The previously mentioned visit had been rescheduled in the past as a result of the ongoing political unrest that was taking place in the region. During the course of his official visit, Chinese President Xi Jinping performed the ceremony that officially launched the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, also known as CPEC. This project is intended to improve the energy and transportation infrastructure in Pakistan. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, also known as CPEC, is a massive infrastructure project that was previously estimated to cost \$46 billion. This undertaking, which covers a span of more than 3,000 km, has attracted considerable interest, and updated cost estimates have been provided up to 2018. The in question infrastructure plays a large part in the establishment of a significant connection between the city of Gawadar in Pakistan and the city of Kashghar in the Xingjian region of China. Gawadar is located in Pakistan, while Kashghar is located in China. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, also known as CPEC, is an essential component of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) strategy being implemented by China. In addition, the One Belt One Road (OBOR) plan aims to promote regional connectivity by constructing transportation and commercial networks connecting China with 65 countries spread across three continents, including the Middle East, Central Asian Republics (CARs), Africa, and Europe. This initiative is part of China's larger goal to connect the world's economies through the creation of a "One Belt, One Road" The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) serves as a framework to promote connection between China and the aforementioned regions through Pakistan. As a result, economic integration and collaboration are facilitated and strengthened. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is often considered as a catalyst for significant changes in the larger area, with its impact spreading to economically deprived provinces and underprivileged populations within Pakistan (Naz, 2019). This view is supported by the fact that the CPEC was named after the economic corridor that would be built between the two countries. According to Wang Yi, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is an initiative that carries significant weight not only for Pakistan but also for the surrounding region. The author uses figurative language to depict the initiative as an

integrated symphony. The One Belt One Road project represents the entirety of the composition, while the establishment of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor serves as the opening movement of this lovely symphony (Downs, 2019). The author's use of figurative language to describe the initiative as an integrated symphony is supported by the author's use of metaphorical language. The purpose of this discussion is to shed light on the possibilities that have been available to the country of Pakistan as a direct result of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

4.8 The Preoccupation with The Economy

Through the utilization of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) with a cumulative value of \$2 billion, Pakistan will be able to realise the promotion of economic expansion through the process of domestic industrialization and the exportation of goods to neighbouring regions. This will be achieved through the exportation of goods to neighbouring regions. It is predicted that the allotment of a budget equal to \$0.786 billion for the formation of a free trade zone at Gwadar port, together with the establishment of a market-oriented metropolis in the surrounding area, will make a significant contribution to the expansion of Pakistan's economy. It is anticipated by Mirza et al. (year) that the establishment of the economic corridor will result in a sizeable increase in Pakistan's gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate, with forecasts predicting a rise from 2.5% to 7.5% by the year 2025.

The prolonged energy crisis in Pakistan, notably the ongoing issue of load shedding, has been a significant drag on the country's economic expansion. The enormous dependency of domestic industrial organisations on electricity as their primary source of energy is the primary component that is contributing to this issue, and it is also the most significant contributor. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project has designated an appreciable portion of its financial resources, amounting to a total of \$33 billion, exclusively for the purpose of carrying out activities that are associated with the provision of energy. These programmes encompass a diverse range of approaches to the production of energy, including hydropower, coal, wind, solar, and liquefied natural gas (LNGs), amongst others. In addition, a sizeable sum equaling \$2.5 billion has been set aside in order to assist the transport of liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Iran to the cities of Nawab Shah and Gwadar in the country of Pakistan. Through the construction of a pipeline network, it is hoped that this allocation will help the nation overcome its

persistent problem of an inadequate supply of available energy resources. According to Mirza et al. (2019), it is anticipated that the energy cooperation that takes place across the borders of Pakistan and Iran, also known as the "peace pipeline," will boost the two countries' bilateral relations.

It is anticipated that the launch of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will assist in the creation of additional employment opportunities. One estimation suggests that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) initiative will result in the creation of more than 700,000 new job openings between the years 2017 and 2030. According to a report that was published by The Express Tribune on June 6, 2019, it was said that the execution of numerous projects that are part of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would successfully enable the integration of skilled labour throughout the rest of the nation.

Within the framework of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a sizeable portion of the total investment equal to \$46 billion—specifically \$11 billion—was designated for the goal of significantly enhancing the transport infrastructure in Pakistan. This percentage accounts for approximately 24 percent of the total investment. The allocation of cash was largely meant to promote the improvement of essential transport arteries, such as the Lahore-Karachi road that spans 1100 kilometres and the Karakorum highway that connects Rawalpindi and Kashghar. Both of these roads are part of the Karakorum highway system. Additionally, the construction of supplemental rail infrastructure would be a part of the project. This infrastructure will be used to create connections between Peshawar and Karachi, as well as between Gwadar and Jacobabad via Quetta. In addition, in the framework of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a number of supplementary transport projects, such as connecting roads and railway lines, are currently being carried out in conjunction with the important efforts that were previously stated. It is anticipated that the upgrading of Pakistan's transport infrastructure will boost accessibility to Chinese markets, hence helping China to successfully reach its consumer base in Pakistan. In addition, it is anticipated that this development will lessen the amount of money spent as well as the amount of time spent travelling between provinces, which will, in turn, result in an improvement in the effectiveness of the interprovincial transportation of goods and services (Hussain, n.d.).

4.9 The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): A Critical Analysis via the Lens of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

According to Fatima (2019), the primary goal of a nation's foreign policy should be to safeguard and advance its own national interests. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the flagship project of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), has enormous economic benefits and is a noteworthy milestone in the trajectory of Pakistan's foreign policy. The establishment of the corridor presents Pakistan with the possibility of opening up new opportunities in the area of the country's foreign policy. In Pakistan's regional foreign policy, India has always been given top priority, and the country has done so throughout its entire history, with the ultimate goal of ensuring that Pakistan's security is maintained. In addition, there has been a noticeable emphasis placed on developing alignment with Western countries, specifically with the United States, as a strategy to neutralise the threat that is considered to be posed by India. As part of this plan, we have been looking to the United States for both economic and military help (Iqbal, 2018). The creation of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is largely responsible for Pakistan's decision to direct its attention away from the United States of America (USA) and towards the People's Republic of China. The aforementioned modification is a component of Pakistan's strategic strategy to placing itself within the increasing multipolar global framework (Korybko, 2019). More specifically, Pakistan's participation in the One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative is the means by which this approach is being implemented (Korybko, 2019). According to Iqbal (2018), the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has the potential to act as a significant catalyst in the facilitation of peace within the area through the cultivation of cooperation endeavours with Iran and Afghanistan. This was accomplished through the cultivation of cooperative endeavours with the Chinese government.

The Corridor is of significant importance and could result in outcomes that are mutually beneficial for China and Pakistan. The programme has the ability to radically alter Pakistan's socioeconomic landscape and contribute significantly to the country's overall advancement in terms of national development. Despite this, Pakistan's regional rivals do not believe the country's economic steadiness and prosperity to be of a sufficient level for them to consider Pakistan a satisfactory competitor. Furthermore, the established powerhouse nations have a difficult time accepting China's growing influence in the

domain of global politics. China's rise to prominence has been met with limited acceptance. In light of the fact that these political and security risks already exist, it is essential to proceed with extreme caution when carrying out the construction of the corridor (Rokhila, 25 September 2019).

4.10 The subject of discourse concerns Electoral Reforms, with particular emphasis on the Election Act of 2017

In response to claims of electoral manipulation voiced by opposition parties in the aftermath of the 2013 elections, which were then followed by the PTI sit-in (Dharna) in Islamabad, the foundation of the all-party Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reforms (PCER) was launched. PCER is an acronym for the Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reforms. According to the findings of Nazeer's (2018) research, the Parliamentary Committee on Election Reforms effectively responded to the constant plea of political parties to introduce significant adjustments to the current election legislation in order to assist the implementation of reform measures. The goal of these amendments was to make it easier for the government to implement reform measures.

According to the provisions described in the Election Act of 2017, the Parliament has established a comprehensive legal framework that replaces and nullifies the previous eight election laws. This was done in accordance with the provisions that were outlined in the Election Act of 2017. These laws include the Electoral Rolls Act of 1974, the Delimitation of Constituencies Act of 1974, the Senate Elections Act of 1975, the Representation of People's Act of 1976, the Election Commission Order of 2002, the Conduct of General Elections Order of 2002, the Political Parties Order of 2002, and the allocation of Symbol Order of 2002. Other laws in this category include the Representation of People's Act of 1976 and the Senate Elections Act of 1975. The above listed pieces of legislation have been combined and included into the Elections Act of 2017, which was only recently passed into law (Dawn, 2018).

In October of 2017, Pakistan saw political upheaval and violence as a result of the implementation of new electoral rules, which led to the passage of new electoral legislation. In an effort to have the Elections Act 2017 declared unconstitutional, the principal political parties that are part of the opposition in Pakistan have filed petitions and appeals with the Supreme Court of Pakistan, challenging its constitutionality and

calling into doubt its legality. Tehreek-i-Labbaik Ya Rasool Allah (TLP), a politically active organisation with a religious worldview, on the other hand, was the group that was responsible for organising rallies in open disobedience of the recently enacted electoral legislation. The level of severity of the demonstrations rose throughout the latter half of November, which tragically resulted in the loss of lives and resulted in injuries to a large number of other people. In the end, the rally resulted in Zahid Hamid, who had been serving as the federal minister of Law and Justice, voluntarily resigning from his position (DRI, 2018).

The election act of 2017 was subjected to significant criticism from members of the general public as well as members of the media in reaction to the events as they unfolded. In spite of the fact that there were worries and evaluations that were unfavourable, the passage of the Elections Act of 2017 and its subsequent implementation was a significant step forward in the direction of electoral reform. This was because it was the first major piece of legislation that the Pakistani parliament attempted to pass after the country's first ever general elections. The legislation, without a shadow of a doubt, has parts that display characteristics of inconsistency and lack precision. This condition, which can be linked to a biased and insufficient comprehension of the Elections Act, can be attributed to the fact that the bulk of print and digital media outlets have largely concentrated on these well-known components. There are occasions when electoral regulations include technically written documents that are exhaustive, detailed, and succinct. (DRI, 2018) The Elections Act of 2017 brought together eight separate pieces of legislation that had been passed in the past and also included some new provisions.

As it has a wide variety of measures that are deserving of commendation, the proposal that was presented by MPs in Pakistan is deserving of higher attention and merits less examination. According to a research that was published in 2018 by Democracy Reporting International, the credibility of elections in Pakistan has the potential to be significantly improved if the procedures that are specified by the law are carried out in an appropriate manner.

Article 218 Section 3 of the Constitution of 1973 makes it clear that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is an institutional entity that was established in line with the provisions of the Constitution. This is mentioned plainly in the section. The major responsibility of the Election Commission is to prepare and carry out elections while

simultaneously adopting measures to safeguard the integrity, fairness, and adherence to legal principles of the electoral process and aggressively combating corrupt practises. In other words, the commission's primary task is to ensure that elections are conducted in accordance with the law. In addition, according to Article 219 of the Constitution, it is the responsibility of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) to prepare and routinely update electoral rolls, to conduct by-elections for the national and provincial assemblies, and to designate election tribunals (Hamid, 2018).

In the original constitution of 1973, Article 220 established that executive agencies operating under federal or provincial governments were obligated to lend help to the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) in the performance of the ECP's responsibilities and obligations. This support was to be provided in order for the ECP to fulfil its responsibilities and obligations. The Election Commission of Pakistan has the capacity to make use of the expertise and information that is held by the judicial authorities in Pakistan. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is given the authority, as stated in The Gazette of Pakistan (2017), to develop any required regulations for the appointment of its staff and the performance of its tasks.

4.11 The Elections Act of 2017 delineates several noteworthy improvements.

The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has been provided with increased fiscal independence as a result of recent legislation, in addition to the constitutional criteria that were previously outlined. A level of quasi-judicial authority comparable to that of a high court has been conferred upon the Electoral Commission of Pakistan (ECP). The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has been given the right to begin disciplinary processes against any of its employees who are found to have engaged in inappropriate behaviour or breached electoral rules or regulations while carrying out electoral procedures. These employees can be held accountable for their acts through the imposition of fines and other sanctions. Historically speaking, this would be the electoral commission.

The Pakistani government encountered challenges when attempting to exercise its authority and ran into problems when attempting to execute appropriate sanctions on officials, especially those officials who were employed in other government ministries (Hamid, 2018). The Election Act of 2017 provided the Election Commission of Pakistan with the authority to define and control its own operational processes, carry out its

obligations, and issue appropriate instructions to ensure that its functions were carried out in an effective manner. The responsibility of allocating funds from the federal consolidated fund to cover the electoral commission's total expenditures, which includes the compensation of the Chief Electoral Commissioner, the four members of the electoral commission, other officers, and other administrative personnel, has been delegated to the electoral commission. The Election Act of 2017 provided the Election Commission of Pakistan with the authority to create regulations governing the conduct of election procedures and gave them the authority to do so. In the past, in order for the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) to create election regulations, it was traditional for them to first gain the consent of the President of Pakistan. As a result of this practise, the execution of electoral procedures was significantly slowed down. It is necessary to recognise that the aforementioned action needs the consent of the President in order to effectively handle any issues that may arise during the execution of tasks by the Election Commission of Pakistan (The Gazette of Pakistan, 2017). This is something that has to be acknowledged since it is important to handle any difficulties that may develop during the implementation of tasks by the Election Commission of Pakistan.

Increasing the amount of responsibility and openness that exists inside an organisation or system is the principle that is referred to as "enhanced accountability and transparency." In order to do this, it is necessary to put into place procedures and systems that encourage a higher level of accountability for both actions and choices. The requirements of the constitution were followed in the process of establishing the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), which stands for Election Commission of Pakistan. Maintaining accountability is essential for the ECP, just as it is for a large number of other public institutions. The purpose of the legislation is to attain this objective by incorporating a number of measures, one of which is the requirement that the ECP must offer the general public with the opportunity to provide input by making its regulations available for public observation and criticism. Within the confines of this particular structure, the primary function of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is to compile and provide an annual report to both the Federal Government and Provincial Governments of Pakistan that clearly details the operations and initiatives that it is responsible for. After that, this report is presented for consideration and analysis before both the National Parliament and the several Provincial legislatures. In addition to releasing a post-election assessment report, it is the responsibility of the Election Commission of Pakistan to develop a

detailed strategy that outlines the essential provisions for arranging a lawful general election at least four months before the date that has been set for the election. This responsibility falls on the Election Commission of Pakistan. In addition, the legislation provided the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) with the responsibility of establishing and maintaining an Electronic Results Management System (ERMS) in order to increase the level of transparency that is present in the communication of election results. In addition, it is necessary that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) engage in proactive disclosure of the results of each polling station, after which they should be uploaded on the ECP's official website. The legislation mandated that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) ensure that a Results Transmission System (RTS) is put into operation. This was done with the intention of increasing transparency. The aforementioned system utilises mobile phones and specialised software in order to simplify the transmission of result forms from presiding officers at polling stations to Returning Officers and the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). This is achieved through the facilitation of the aforementioned system. In spite of this, there is a possibility that the implementation of the Results Transmission System (RTS) would be hindered by the fact that it is highly dependent on cellular data, which may not be easily accessible in all regions of Pakistan. In addition, the implementation of this approach will call for a sizable financial investment, particularly for the training of polling workers who will be required to make use of mobile devices (DRI, 2018). This is the primary cost associated with the implementation of this method.

4.12 Participation of Women in Political Processes and the Optimization of Voter Registration Procedures

The Election Act of 2017 provided the Election Commission of Pakistan with the authority to overturn election results in constituencies where there was a failure to conform to the stipulated laws and regulations. This authority was granted to the Election Commission of Pakistan. The election legislation that was just recently passed has successfully incorporated a variety of provisions with the goal of enhancing and preserving the political involvement of women. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has been given the authority to overturn the results of elections in certain seats if the percentage of female voters who participated in the election is less than 10%. In addition, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is vested with the right to take

appropriate action against political parties that make use of coercive measures, such as the use of agreements, in order to obstruct the participation of women in the election process. According to the legislation that was mandated by The Gazette of Pakistan (2017) and Nazeer (2018, p.70), political parties were required to distribute 5% of party tickets for women candidates in elections for both the national and provincial parliament. According to Dawn (2018), the implementation of the strategy was hailed as exceptional and received great praise for its efforts to increase the number of women who participated in election operations. In addition, the Electoral Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has made a great deal of effort in the direction of achieving the highest possible registration rates among the country's young people and female population. The piece of legislation that was passed included provisions that would streamline the voter registration procedure. Individuals who have attained the age of 18 and have submitted an application for a Computerised National Identity Card (CNIC) through the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) are automatically listed as voters on the electoral roll under the provisions of this piece of legislation. The individual's current or permanent address is used to determine whether or not they are registered (DRI, 2018).

Individuals are now given the right to register complaints with the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), which is a significant development that has taken place in accordance with the provisions that are outlined in the Election's Act of 2017, which is a piece of legislation that was passed in 2017. Citizens now have the chance to voice their concerns over instances of misconduct or illegal acts that may have occurred during the voting process thanks to a capability that was just recently gained. It is provided that the Election Commission of Pakistan is obligated to quickly investigate and address such complaints within the timeframe of one month, as specified by the statutory rules. Additionally, it is envisaged that the commission would give detailed information regarding these complaints on its official website, with the exception of petitions relating to candidate eligibility and election results, which are only accessible to the individual candidates. The requirements for the submission of a petition pertaining to candidature and election results have been significantly reduced to make them easier to fulfil. Candidates now have the opportunity to personally submit their petitions to the election's tribunal; however, in the past, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) was responsible for accepting and forwarding such petitions to the tribunal. At the present time, candidates have the ability to personally submit their petitions to the election's tribunal. It is

predicted that this strategy will effectively solve the delays that were noticed in the procedure that came before it, when the transfer of petitions from the Electoral Commission of Pakistan (ECP) to the electoral courts took a number of months (DRI, 2018).

The statute made it very apparent what the authorities and responsibilities of a caretaker government are, as well as the parameters that define the scope of authority that can be exercised by such governments. It has been acknowledged that boundaries and restrictions have an effect on the process of formulating policies and making decisions. In order to carry out elections for local bodies, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) is required to strictly stick to a timetable that has been established, which is subject to a number of legislative restrictions. According to Nazeer (2018), it is now required that these elections take place within a period of one hundred twenty days following the expiration of the ECP's term in office or in the event that it is dissolved. This need comes into effect in either scenario. As a result of the 24th constitutional amendment being put into effect, the parliament was given the authority to conduct a new delimitation of seats, making use of the provisional census data. This was done in advance of the forthcoming general elections, which are scheduled to take place on July 25, 2018. According to Nazeer (2018), the part of Article 51 that was altered outlines the process of redistribution of parliamentary seats at the national level among the several provinces. This process was originally defined in Article 51.

REFERENCE

- Abbas, H, (2002). *Pakistan Drifts into Extremism Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. USA: Yale University Press.
- Abbas, M. (August 02, 2017). *Nawaz Sharif's third term*. The News, Islamabad Afzal, M. (24 April, 2020). Interview at his residence, Peshawar
- Anwar, F. (2019). *Political Participation in Pakistan: A study of voting behavior in DG Khan Division (Elections 2008 and 2013)*. [PhD dissertation], National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.
- Babar, F. U (26 June 2020). Interviewed at his residence H.No.24-A, St-52, F-7, Islamabad
- BBC. (20 April 2017). *Panama Papers: Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif to face investigators*.
- BBC. (23 July, 2018). Viewpoint on Pakistan Dirtiest Election in Years.
- BTI. (2018). *Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2018 Country Report — Pakistan*.7-11
- Burki, S. J. (2013). *Manifesto and Political Preferences in Pakistan*. ISAS Special Report, (2)1-7.
- Cookman, C. (2013). *Previewing Pakistan's 2013 Elections*. Center for American Progress, 111-22.
- DTCE. (2013). *An Analysis of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Statutes*, 11-225
- Election Commission of Pakistan (2014). *The 2013 General Elections in Pakistan*.
- Election Commission Official (07, December 2019). Interview at his office, Islamabad
- Election Commission Report on General Elections 2018. Election Commission Report on General Election 1993. Election Commission Report on General Elections 1990.
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.

- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). *Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013*. Pakistan Vision,19(1), 22- 35
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). *Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013*. Pakistan Vision,19(1), 22- 35
- Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad
- Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad
- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) The Pashtun Spring. The Dawn, Islamabad
- Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) The Pashtun Spring. The Dawn, Islamabad
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). *Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies*, Asian Social Sciences, 8 (1), 82-84
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). *Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies*, Asian Social Sciences, 8 (1), 82-84
- Iqbal, M. (2017). The Era of Reconciliation in Pakistan 2006-2017: A Critical Reappraisal. *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 22-29
- Iqbal, M. M. (2018). *CPEC: Through the Lens of Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research, 8-9
- Khan, A. (1993). Chronology of Events: September 1988-April 1992. In Charles H. Kennedy (Eds) *Pakistan 1992*. US: West View Press, 167-196

- Khan, A. (20 March 2020). Interview at his office District Youth Office Nowshera Khan,
- A. (2005). *We have Learn't Nothing from History*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, D. J. (1999). *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2016). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, I. (2015). *The Politics of Alliances in Pakistan (1988-2008)*. (MPhil Thesis), Islamia College University Peshawar.
- Khan, K. (21 November 2020). Interview at his Residence Khesghi Payan, Nowshera Khan,
- Khan, K. (23 March 2020). Interview at his office Peshawar
- Khan, M (09 January 2020). Interview at his office University Town, Peshawar
- Khan, M. (14 August 2020). Interview at his office Hakeemabad, Nowshera.
- Khan, S. (2009). Electoral Program of Political Parties: A case study of 2008 elections. (MA). Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar.
- Khan, S. H (1999). *Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Y. Bangash, S. (2015). Monitoring the Democratic Transition Pakistan 2013 Elections. *South Asian Studies*, 30 (2), 59-71.
- Khattak, D (23 June 2020). Interview at his residence, F-7, Islamabad
- Khattak, I. (28 February 2020). Interview at his residence Manki Sharif Nowshera
- Korybko, A. (2019). *CPEC: Is the future of your foreign policy*. One World Global
- Malik, A. (25 October, 2014). Senior leader of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Candidate for NA-69, by Pakistan Today, also available on <http://www.pakistatoday.com.pk/2014/10/25/impact-of-dharnas-on-economy-and-foreign-relation>, retrieved on 25/10/2018
- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK: New Holland Publisher.
- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK:
- Malik, M. R. (2018, July 25). *Elections 2018: Perspective & Prospects*. The Nation, Islamabad

- Malik, N., Rana, A. (no date). The History of Local Governance in Pakistan: What Lesson Learn. *Journal of International Politics*, 1 (3), 25-40
- Malik, R. M. (01, August 2018). *2018 elections: Analysis and Aftermath*. The Nation, Islamabad
- Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year*, *Politics & economics*, South Asian voice
- Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year*, *Politics & Economics*, South Asian Voice, 1-6
- Memon, A. P. (2009). Political Instability: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (1), 31-34.
- Mirza, F.M., Fatima, N., Ullah., K. (2019). *Impact of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Pakistan Future Energy Consumption and Energy Saving Potential: Evidence from Sectorial time series analysis*. *energy strategy reviews*, (25), 34-46.
- Najam, D. (December 12, 2019). *The Politics of Dharnas*. The Express Tribune, Islamabad
- Nawaz, S. (2019). *The Battle for Pakistan: The bitter US friendship and the tough neighborhood*. Penguin Books
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Nazeer, A. M., Farooq, S., Rehman, M. (2017). *From Peace Talks to operation Zarb- e- Azb-Politics of Consensus Building for Counter-Terrorism*. *Global Social Science Review*, 2 (2), 122-136.
- Nazeer, A. M., Farooq, S., Rehman, M. (2017). *From Peace Talks to operation Zarb- e- Azb-Politics of Consensus Building for Counter-Terrorism*. *Global Social Science Review*, 2 (2), 122-136.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.

- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
- PILDAT. (December, 27 2007). Election 2008 manifestoes of political parties: Parties position remains vague on key Issues.
- PILDAT. (December, 27 2007). Election 2008 manifestoes of political parties: Parties position remains vague on key Issues.
- PILDAT. (December, 27 2007). Election 2008 manifestoes of political parties: Parties position remains vague on key Issues.
- Richter, L. W. (1993). *The 1990 Elections in Pakistan*. In Charles, H. Kennedy (Eds), Rid, S. A (11, July 2020). Interview at his office, Quaid-e-Azam University

- Richter, L. W. (1993). *The 1990 Elections in Pakistan*. In Charles, H. Kennedy (Eds),
Rid, S. A (11, July 2020). Interview at his office, Quaid-e-Azam University
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan, A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*. Islamabad: PILDAT, 11-39
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan, A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*. Islamabad: PILDAT, 11-39
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan; A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*, Islamabad, Pildat, 11-.39.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). *The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan; A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103*, Islamabad, Pildat, 11-.39.
- Rizwan, M., Rafiuddin., Arshid, M., Waqar, M. (2014). Democratic Milestone in Pakistan: A Serener Transition of Command from PPP to PML-N. *ISOR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (9), 102-108
- Rizwan, M., Waqar, M., Arshad, M. (2014). *Revitalization of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan*. Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. 19 (2), 149-156.
- Rokhila, A. (The Nation, 25 September 2019). *Neither Pakistan Economic stability is acceptable to its regional competitors nor China Emergence as global Power*. Islamabad
- Rustow, A. D. (1970). Transition to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model: *Comparative Politics*, 2 (3), 337-363
- [SAEYLw5G2dYkHZxBoKkIpdIRCuuIHfrU8xeX0n6cTFHGuvYoPz1w](#)
- Schaefer, D. (2013). *Nawaz Sharif and the Crisis of Political Authority in Pakistan*.
- Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: The Case of Punjab*. Centre for Public Policy and Governance, 15- 16.
- Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: A Case of Punjab*. 1-10
- Shafqat, S. Pakistan: Military, the Transition to Democracy and Future Relations with United States. Journal of Internation
- Shams. (2017). *Premature third time Ousting of Nawaz*.
- Siddiqi, Faisal (26, January 2015). *Constitution's Crooked timer*. Dawn, retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1159408>

- Siddiqi, Faisal (26, January 2015). *Constitution's Crooked timer*. Dawn, retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1159408>
- Siraj, S. A., Waheed, A. (2019). *Framing of Panama Leaks in Pakistan's Leading Newspapers*. *Pakistan Journal of Criminology*, 11 (01), 84-100.
- Specie, M. (July 28, 2017). *How the Panama Papers Changed Pakistani Politics*. The New York Times
- The Express Tribune (29 April 2017). *Army Rejects PM Office Statement on Dawn Leaks Report*. Islamabad
- The Express Tribune, 6 June 2019
- The Gazette of Pakistan, 02 October 2017, National Assembly Secretariat, Islamabad, 1443-1445
- The News (01, December 2007). *5E PPP Manifesto Launched*. Islamabad.
- The News (20 October 2019). *Pakistan Troubled Local Governance*
- The News (21 July 2018). Islamabad
- The News (23 January 2020). *Economist Intelligence Units Democracy Index: Democracy in PPP, PML-N eras better than present govt.*
- The News, 20 May, 2020, Islamabad
- The News, 22 March, 2020, Islamabad.
- Ullah, F. (2014). *Voting Behaviour in Pakistan: (A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2008 General Elections)* [Ph.D], Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar
- Ullah, F., Khan, S. (June, 2020). *Quality of General Elections 2018: An Appraisal in the light National and International Election Observer Reports*. *Pakistan-Bi- Annual Research Journal*, vol. 56, No. 18, 282-301
- Ullah, I. (1997). *Essays on State and Democracy in Pakistan*. 242-244
- Ullah, I. (2010). *Structural Imperatives for fair Elections*. Lahore: Vanguard Book Agency
- Ullah, R. (11 November 2019). Interview at his office E-11/3 Markaz, Islamabad
- Ullah, R. (20 November, 2019) Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar
- Ullah, R. (2017, December 10). *If the MMA is revived*. The News. Islamabad
- Ullah, Z. (2009). *Role of Leadership in Political Development (A Case Study of Benazir Bhutto (PPP) in 1988 Elections)*. *Journal of the Pakistan Study Centre*, 33-44.
- Virani, F. (2012). *The Youth Factor*. The Herald, 45(11), 36-37
- Wolf, O. S. (2019). *The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor of the Belt and Road Initiative: concept, Context and Assessment*. Switzerland: Springer.

Wolf, O.S. (2017). *An Assessment of the latest Premature end of Nawaz Sharif's Prime Minister ship*. South Asian Democratic Forum, (97) 1-7

Zahid, F. (2015). *The 21st Amendment Act of Pakistan: A Matter of Serious Concern for Islamist parties*, Center for Research and Security Studies

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In 1947, the political system of democracy was formed as the essential framework for the formation of the state of Pakistan, conforming to the visionary objectives of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the nation's founding father. Pakistan became independent from British rule in 1947. Pakistan is an independent nation-state that is committed to preserving the democratic principles outlined in its constitutional framework. The current political structure is marked by a federal parliamentary system, in which the government is democratically chosen by the public, which facilitates the populace's direct involvement in the process of governing. Additionally, the political structure is characterized by a democratic election process. The political history of Pakistan, which spans over a period of 72 years, has been defined by periods of departure from democratic rule. These periods have occurred at various points. In each of these instances, there has been a protracted period of military domination, and there has been a lengthy period of authoritarian administrations. A sense of disempowerment and marginalization pervades the general public as a direct result of the weakening of the democratic system, which is a direct consequence of the pervasive authoritarian attitude and the ruling class's drive for power. Unfortunately, these factors have contributed to this situation.

There have been four separate periods of civilian rule in Pakistan's history, and there have also been four intervals of military governance. Together, these periods account for nearly half of Pakistan's existence. Within the framework of the civilian administration, the formulation of policies and the making of decisions are both subject to the major influence of the armed forces. After the country gained its independence in 1947, a period of democratic rule ensued, which lasted until 1958, when General Ayoub Khan instituted a period of martial law. The years 1947–1958 were typified by the formation of constituent legislatures, which were then afterwards dissolved, as well as the premature removal of a large number of prime ministers. In the first eleven years after Pakistan's founding, the country went through a total of seven prime ministers who were ousted from office in quick succession. The early years of civilian democracy in Pakistan were distinguished by a number of important elements, such as the absence of regular general elections, a diminished representative institution, constitutional instability, the influence

of the military-bureaucratic elite, and the occurrence of a military coup. In addition, the early years of civilian democracy in Pakistan were marked by the presence of a diminished representative institution. The first instances of the military being involved in political issues may be traced back to the beginning of the 1950s. As a consequence of this development, the military has been effective in maintaining its power over the administrative apparatus of the state. The armed forces of Pakistan have a long-standing tradition of laying claim to the unofficial role of the nation's "self-designated guardian of the political framework." Political parties, constitutions, and administrations have all gone through a variety of shifts, transitions, and even total overhauls during the course of human history. In spite of these fluctuations, there is one institution that has remained stable over time, and that is the basis of the state that is made up of people who are not elected.

There is a connection that can be made between the political intolerance shown by Z.A. Bhutto and the irrational approach taken by General Yahya Khan, both of which were factors that were further exacerbated by the results of Pakistan's first general elections, which took place in 1970. The separation of Pakistan's eastern wing in December 1971 was the result of this connection. Nevertheless, in the portion of Pakistan that was still unexplored, Z. Benazir Bhutto, the prominent person at the helm of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), had a vital role in establishing the political landscape of Pakistan during a distinct age that was distinguished by the reemergence of democratic administration, which is frequently referred to as populist democracy. Benazir Bhutto was at the helm of the PPP throughout this time. Z's civilian administration went through a period during which considerable changes were implemented, most notably the adoption of a parliamentary constitution in 1973 and several socioeconomic adjustments. From 1971 till 1977, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto served as Prime Minister of Pakistan. His tenure lasted from 1971 until 1977. However, the Bhutto administration was characterized by a style of governance that was founded on familial relationships and a restricted acceptance of alternative ideas, both of which contributed to a highly volatile political atmosphere. Bhutto served as the prime minister during this time. As a direct consequence of this, on July 5, 1977, General Zia ul Haq was forced to become involved in the conflict. Zia effectively prolonged his rule by enacting policies focused on Islamization, assassinating Bhutto, fostering the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, establishing jihadi groups, not holding multiparty elections, and introducing the 8th constitutional amendment. The

aforementioned aspects of his authoritarian leadership were believed to be irreversible and produced significant consequences as a result.

The unsolved death of General Zia ul Haq in August of 1988 marked the beginning of Pakistan's third phase of democratic governance and set the stage for the country's current political climate. Existing political institutions and non-political organizations engaged in a noteworthy power struggle throughout the era of democratic transition that followed Zia's administration (1988-1999). This conflict lasted for the entirety of the Zia administration. In the context of the power troika, the prime minister, who is elected by the population, and the parliament, which is comprised of representatives, primarily embodies symbolic functions, whilst the president and the military leader act as influential intermediates. The president is elected by the populace, and the representatives in parliament are elected by the populace. It is important to keep in mind that the armed forces are in possession of the authority to use veto power. The elected governments of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PLM-N) were removed from power prematurely by the president, with the assistance of the military, by invoking the powers stipulated in Article 58 (2) b of the constitution. This took place during the specified timeframe.

After a protracted period of authoritarian military rule led by General Pervez Musharraf from 1999 to 2008, the election in 2008 marked the beginning of the fourth unbroken phase of democracy in Pakistan. This followed a period of autocratic military governance from 1999 to 2008. Since the year 2008, there has been a string of significant developments that have taken place, each of which has had a dramatic effect on the political landscape of Pakistan. A series of three consecutive electoral events took place, one after another, during the course of a certain time period. It is important to note that the 13th and 14th national assembly's both successfully completed their full constitutional terms of five years, marking a crucial milestone in the process. Following the end of the elections in July 2018, the transfer of power took place in accordance with the protocols that had previously been set, which resulted in the installation of the newly elected civilian government of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf.

Elections in 2008 marked the beginning of the end of long-term military rule by General Pervez Musharraf and the beginning of the restoration of civilian governance under the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). A significant accomplishment was

completed by the coalition government, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). This was done in order to bring the constitution of 1973 up to date with the ideas specified in the Charter of Democracy (COD), and it was done under the leadership of the PPP. As a result of the aforementioned transition, which was met with complete assent from each and every relevant stakeholder inside the parliament, Pakistan's political structure was transformed from a presidential system into a parliamentary republic. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution was put into effect, which resulted in the president's powers being reduced. This, in turn, led to the Prime Minister and the Parliament receiving more authority than they had previously. After the 18th amendment was put into effect, there was a change in the balance of power in the executive branch, with authority moving from the president to the prime minister. Article 58(2) b of the constitution was rendered ineffective by the 18th amendment to the constitution, deleting the provision that set constraints on the power of the president to dissolve legislatures. This was accomplished by repealing the provision. In accordance with the fundamental tenets of parliamentary democracy, the most recent iteration of the framework for the dissolution of the National Assembly now says that the president is required to obey the orders issued by the prime minister. This provision was added to the previous version of the framework. According to Clause 90 of the article that was revised, the authority to appoint the chairman of the Public Service Commission, the chief of the Pakistani Air Force and Naval, and the chief of the Pakistani Army has been given to the prime minister of Pakistan. This obligation was previously held by the president of Pakistan. Throughout the course of our nation's history, this duty has traditionally been carried out by the President.

The administration that was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) decided to implement the committee system, which facilitated the growth of a political atmosphere characterised by consensus and increased the efficiency of parliamentary democracy. The composition of the parliamentary committees displayed a distribution of members hailing from both the treasury benches and the opposition benches in a manner that was close to equal. This strategy not only recognizes the significance of opposition, but it also ensures that the legislative system is able to perform its duties in an efficient manner. The process of appointing judges and high-ranking officials of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), including the chief election commissioner and caretaker governments, is heavily influenced by the committees that are established inside the Pakistani parliament. The

construction of a fair voting system is the primary objective of electoral commissions; their work is done with the intention of facilitating the orderly transition of power from one political party to another.

In order to bolster Pakistan's federalist structure, the adjustment that was made attempted to reorganise the interaction that takes place between the federal government in Islamabad and the individual provinces. In addition, the concurrent list will no longer exist, which will result in increased levels of autonomy for the provinces. This is just one of several significant changes brought about by the amendment. As a direct consequence of this, the provincial governments are now responsible for around forty-seven areas of jurisdiction in addition to twenty-five to thirty government departments. The National Financial Commission (NFC) award was the mechanism that was used to effectuate the distribution of national revenue between the federal government and the province governments. In addition, a formula has been developed in order to assist the equal distribution of resources in subsequent allocations in accordance with the mandate of the national financial commission. This formula may be found in the following sentence. The revitalization and strengthening of the Council of Common Interest (CCI) and the National Economic Council (NEC), both under the direction of the Prime Minister, are notable examples of parliamentary democracy in action.

In 2011, the government, which was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), passed adjustments to the frontier crimes regulation (FCR) and extended the scope of the political parties order 2002 to include the federally administered tribal areas (FATA). Both of these changes were made under the auspices of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Both to fulfill the obligations made during their campaign and to address the concerns raised by the tribal population, this action were performed in order to fulfill the commitments made. This project's principal purpose was to guarantee the tribal communities' fair and equal participation in democratic procedures while also facilitating the integration of tribal communities into the larger social framework of our society as a whole. As a direct consequence of this, a significant step forward was accomplished when political parties were, for the first time, granted permission to function within the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). In addition, the government of Pakistan, which is led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), launched a project called Aghaz Hooq-e-Balochistan with the intention of absorbing Baluchistan into the larger national

framework and bolstering the unity of the federal government. These goals were accomplished by embracing Baluchistan.

In a similar vein, significant legislative adjustments were made during the term of the democratically elected civilian administration that was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). These additions to the constitution came in the form of the 19th and 20th amendments. The aforementioned processes were put into place to enhance the level of transparency of the elections that took place in 2013 and to facilitate a seamless transition of power between different political parties. Between the years 2013 and 2018, Pakistan had a series of events that had a variety of repercussions for the democratic framework of the country. Some of these occurrences provided support for the democratic framework, while others posed challenges to it. In terms of Pakistan's political history, the general election that took place in May 2013 that was held in the country might be characterized as a watershed point in the nation's democratic evolution. The election in question represents a significant accomplishment because it marks the first time in history that a democratically elected civilian administration has occurred. This administration was led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and it successfully completed its entire constitutional term of five years. It then handed over authority to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which is led by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. This is an important step forward in the evolution of democracy in Pakistan. A fair and impartial election process was ensured thanks to the neutrality of the caretaker administration as well as the impartiality of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), both of which helped facilitate the power transition. Without the participation of any other political party, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was chosen to serve as Prime Minister of Pakistan for a third consecutive term. This event is significant because it represents the development and growth of democratic procedures inside the nation. However, the assessment of his third academic period revealed that he had not made nearly as much progress in his knowledge acquisition as he had throughout his first two years of schooling. In a manner analogous to this, the challenges that the Nawaz government experienced in the beginning stemmed from the imbalanced dynamics that existed between the civil and military sectors. Despite the establishment of the National Security Committee (NSC), which was designed to encourage dialogue between various institutions regarding issues relating to national security, these concerns persisted. A prominent driver for friction within the civil-military dynamic was the original and

premature prosecution of General Pervez Musharraf on accusations of high treason. During the dharna (sit-in) that took place in 2014 near the Parliament building, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and the Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) called for the premature resignation of the Prime Minister, the dissolution of the legislative assembly, and then the holding of new elections in accordance with newly amended electoral legislation. Because of the aforementioned event, the democratic government led by Nawaz Sharif is now in a more precarious position than it was before, since it has given the majority of Pakistanis the impression that a military coup may take place at any time in the not-too-distant future. This has contributed to the government's diminished prestige. Because of the pervasiveness of this idea, government officials had already begun making arrangements to resign from their respective positions. The protest dharna was organised by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and the Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT), in partnership with forces that maintain an adversarial position against democratic norms. The protest dharna was witnessed by members of the international community. Due to the volatile and unclear circumstances that currently exist, Pakistan encountered challenges in terms of hosting the visit of the Chinese President that was scheduled to take place in September of 2014. The significance of this visit rests in the fact that it will serve as the stage for the formalization of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) accord, which marks a significant milestone in the annals of Pakistan's political history. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project was launched in April 2015 as a result of joint efforts made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, and the President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a trade route that would connect China and Pakistan. This effort, which is estimated to cost \$46 billion, aims to foster economic growth through the establishment of special economic zones (SEZs), which will promote regional connection, improve transport infrastructure, address energy constraints, and strengthen regional connectivity. There is no doubt that the economic corridor has the potential to bring about life-changing results, not only in Pakistan but also throughout the entirety of the region.

In response to objections from some political groupings, the 21st amendment to the constitution of 1973 was finally ratified on January 5, 2015, which resulted in the establishment of military courts with the goal of implementing the National Action Plan (NAP). The general public as well as political experts who argue for democratic values have expressed significant worry regarding the establishment of a parallel system of

military tribunals within the context of constitutional safeguards. This concern has been raised by the implementation of a parallel system of military tribunals within the context of constitutional safeguards. The argument that has been put forward by the authors is that the establishment of military courts would increase the influence that the armed forces have in determining the political direction of the country. This would run counter to the idea that there should be a separation of powers, would undermine the authority of civilians, would put the independence of the judicial system at risk, and would violate human rights.

The Dawn leaks, which took place on October 6, 2016, were an important event that brought to light the ongoing tension that had existed between the civilian and military spheres for a period of three years. The Panama Papers, which were leaked to the public in April of 2016, implicated a large number of influential people all around the world, including some members of the Pakistani parliamentary assembly. As a result of the verdict, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is the second head of state in the world to be convicted in relation with offshore corporate enterprises. Nawaz Sharif was removed from his position as prime minister on July 28, 2017, despite the fact that he had no direct participation in any offshore firm entities and that his name did not appear in the Panama Papers. The conclusion reached by a Joint Investigation Team (JIT), which included members of both Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Military Intelligence (MI), served as the foundation for the judgement that was ultimately made. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, no prime minister in the annals of Pakistani history has ever been successful in serving the whole constitutionally mandated term of five years.

It is essential to emphasize that the removal of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from office did not occur as a result of the implementation of Article 58(2)(b) or a military coup for the third time. However, the decision to fire him was ultimately carried out by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, which relied on the findings that were provided in the report written by the Joint Investigation Team (JIT). The inclusion of a person from Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and another from Military Intelligence (MI) within the Joint Investigation Team (JIT) during a considerably politically charged situation has prompted questions over the legality of their membership and the rationale of their participation. The court proceedings have been criticized by experts, who contend that they went against the principles of justice and went against the values of a trial that is both free and

fair. These critics say that the proceedings deviated from conceptions of justice and went against the ideals of a trial that is both free and fair. The mainstream discourse claims that the actions that were recounted above could be defined as a judicial "soft coup" that was carried out by non-political players. Some commentators contend that the allegations that led to Nawaz Sharif's ouster from power were motivated by political considerations and were made in an effort to undermine democratic procedures. According to the conclusions of Wolf (2017), the removal of Nawaz Sharif from his position as prime minister was a staged coup that was carried out by non-political parties in an effort to lessen their influence on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The untimely dismissal of Nawaz Sharif from the office of Prime Minister for the third time has had a negative impact on the democratic growth of Pakistan. This is the case because Nawaz Sharif was removed from his position for political reasons.

In spite of the fact that it held executive power throughout its constitutionally mandated five-year term, the democratically elected administration of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which is affiliated with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), was found to have exhibited a perceived lack of strength when negotiating with the military establishment, which is an apolitical entity. This conclusion was reached following the conclusion of the PML-N's term. The previously indicated deficit manifested itself when the government was unable to effectively exercise its executive authority and preserve its political hegemony among the various governmental organizations. Nawaz Sharif expressed his belief, as said in an interview, that having multiple governments in power at the same time makes it more difficult to effectively administer a nation. It is absolutely necessary to put a stop to this behaviour. The constitutional government is an example of a governance system that is unique in character.

There was a visible rise in the intervention and importance of nonpolitical institutions inside the political sphere during the period of time when Pakistan was governed by a civilian administration that was led by the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). This administration lasted for a total of five years. The electoral system appears to have played a role in the rise of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) as a significant third political party, providing an alternative to the prevalent two-party system consisting of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N),

which have taken turns in governing Pakistan since 1985. The PPP and the PML-N have been in power in Pakistan since 1985. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was able to establish itself as the major political party in Pakistan following the nationwide elections that were held in 2018. This was made possible by the strategic approach that the PTI adopted. Out of the 342 open seats in the legislative body, a total of 156 were won by candidates.

It is generally agreed upon that the elections that took place in 2018 were a key event in the political history of Pakistan. This event marked the beginning of the third general election in a row, which also coincided with the beginning of the second transition to a democratic government in a row. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was given the opportunity to form its government and pursue its democratic goals, despite the fact that it had expressed concerns regarding irregularities during the pre-poll and polling day processes, which were purportedly influenced by the military, and despite the assertions made by political parties questioning the legitimacy and democratic nature of the Parliament led by Imran Khan. Despite these assertions, the PTI was given the opportunity to form its government. The PTI government, under the influence of nonpolitical and unelected individuals, adopted a strategy of "divide and rule" rather than using the parliament as a means to promote consensus and reconciliation by engaging the opposition in formulating a strategy to address their mutual conflict and enhance the democratic process. This was done in lieu of utilising the parliament as a means to promote consensus and reconciliation by engaging the opposition in formulating a strategy to address their mutual conflict and enhance the democratic process. In order to accomplish this goal, it was necessary to launch a political campaign directed at the rival party by utilising an accountability programme.

In the pursuit of their campaign agenda, which was oriented around significant governance reforms, the legislative efforts that were performed by the parliament led by the PTI have exhibited a lack of efficacy in the achievement of their goals. On the other hand, a sizeable portion of the parliamentary body's time has been devoted to taking part in a debate on the assignment of responsibility. There is no evidence that the administration that is now in power, which is led by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), has been effective in formulating policies that are intended to address the current state of the economy and improve the conditions that are experienced by the less fortunate

members of society. The portion of the population that is struggling socioeconomically, the middle class, the business and mercantile sectors, government employees, and educated youth, both male and female, who had high expectations for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party and its transformative agenda are currently experiencing distressing circumstances as a result of the significant rise in inflation, economic instability, unemployment, poverty, and a variety of other challenges.

The current legislative administration, which is being led by Imran Khan and is being supported by the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party, is displaying a political framework that is typified by a lack of representation. This is because non-political groups wield a significant amount of influence in the creation of policies and the processes through which decisions are made. The government of the PTI is characterised by authoritarian tendencies, a shortage in robust representative institutions, a scarcity of competent leadership, a fragmented opposition, media regulation, the dominance of a single political party, and a civil society that is in a state of disorganization. The character of democracy in Pakistan is being shaped as a result of the fact that the political landscape in the country is marked by a substantial degree of political turmoil. Despite this, the majority of the population has gravitated towards the preferred form of governance, and it has been widely implemented. The current condition of circumstances necessitates the holding of a series of following elections that are conducted in an open and honest manner in order to address the myriad of problems that the country is currently confronted with.

A number of democratic breakthroughs were witnessed during the general election in 2018, the most notable of which was the considerable impact that social media had on the political socialization of citizens. In addition, there has been a discernible change brought about in the political realm as a result of the active participation of both male and female citizens. In addition, the creation of new political factions within the existing political framework served as a further component to bolster these democratic progressions, which was an important factor.

This study looks into the parliamentary elections that have taken place in Pakistan between the years of 2008 and 2018, with the goal of determining how well they comply to democratic standards. The period of the investigation has allowed the researcher to become aware of a variety of topics that call for further research to be conducted on them. It's possible that future academics may do research on the current status of civil-military

contacts and the consequences those connections have for democratic institutions. In a similar vein, the researchers might do a study on the voting patterns that were seen across the various general elections that took place between the years 2008 and 2018. The current time period is remarkable because it has recently witnessed the staging of three elections in quick succession. Throughout these elections, the voting populace has consistently demonstrated a preference for and extended support to a newly established political party. It is important to note that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) emerged as the party with the greatest number of seats during the elections that took place in 2008. In a similar vein, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) was the party that emerged victorious in the elections held in 2013 and assumed the role of ruling party. On the other hand, in the elections that took place in 2018, the voting population demonstrated a preference for, and offered significant support for, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). As a result, it is possible to investigate each election on its own; focusing primarily on the elections that took place in 2008, 2013, and 2018.

RECOMMENDATIONS The Election Management System (EMS) is a software application that was designed with the intention of expanding and perfecting the management of election processes. Its name comes from the acronym for "election management".

The construction of elections that are consistent, unrestricted, equitable, and open is essential for the development of a robust democratic framework. Elections serve as the fundamental principles of democratic governance, hence their establishment is essential. It is recommended that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) implement an Electronic Voting System (EVS) as a tool to address instances of electoral manipulation and to eliminate inconsistencies in the tabulation of the results in order to promote transparency. This will help to ensure that the results are as accurate as possible.

It is of the utmost importance to make certain that election results are promptly disseminated at the constituency level, both within polling stations and on the official website of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). Throughout the entirety of the electoral process, it is critical to fully implement the electronic Result Transmission System (RTS) in order to mitigate the danger of results being altered in any way. It is proposed that the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) give higher priority to cellular networks and internet connection in order to improve the effectiveness of data compilation and transfer from rural regions.

It is of the utmost significance to make sure that all political parties that are involved in election procedures get a fair shot at winning. The election process should be characterized by inclusivity, which means ensuring the participation of all political parties and individuals of political significance in accordance with established legal criteria. This should be done to ensure that the election is conducted fairly. It is the responsibility of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), along with the other relevant stakeholders, to create an atmosphere that is amenable to the conduct of election campaigns. Through the use of structured assemblies and conventions, this proposal would make it easier for political parties and election candidates to disseminate their party manifestos and agendas to the general public. The concept of civil-military relations refers to the complex interaction and interdependence that exists between civilian authorities and military establishments within the framework of a particular society.

There is an immediate and pressing requirement for the reorganization of civil-military relations within the confines of the constitution. As a result of the military institution adhering to its specified constitutional obligations and refraining from participating in political activities, political parties will be able to independently solve the difficulties that they face. The Ministry of Defense (MOD) is the government agency that is accountable for exerting control over a variety of facets that are connected to the armed forces, such as the formulation of policies, the management of budgets, and the distribution of funding. The formation of a National Security Committee (NSC) by the government in accordance with the provisions of the constitution is an important step towards the achievement of the goal of enhancing the relationship that exists between the civilian and military spheres of society within the framework of a democratic system. The topic of female participation in political life has attracted a significant amount of attention from academics, and it has been the target of both detailed research and examination.

The formation of an institution of local government is an essential component in the creation of a democratic system that operates well. As a result, it is essential for the government of Pakistan to continue putting in place institutions of this kind in a manner that is consistent with Pakistan's constitutional structure. The concept of freedom of the press and media refers to the inalienable right of individuals and organisations to communicate their ideas and disseminate information without being subject to unwanted interference or repression. This concept is typically regarded as being of utmost

significance in democratic nations, on account of the fact that it makes it possible for the general public to access a diverse assortment of informational resources. It is imperative for the government to uphold the freedom of the press and media while simultaneously safeguarding the well-being of journalists and other media personnel in light of the fact that each state guarantees the fundamental rights of individuals, which include freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and access to information. This is because each state ensures that individuals have these rights.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

- Abbas, H. (2002). *Pakistan Drifts into Extremism Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. USA: Yale University Press.
- Afzal, M. (2019). *An Inflection Point for Pakistan's Democracy*. Democracy & Disorder
- Afzal, M. R. (2001). *Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-1971*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, B. (8 November, 2019). In Pakistan, the Azadi March Demands An end to PM Khan's Administration. The Global Voice
- Ahmad, M. (1993). *Pakistan Kay Syasi Ittehad, Lahore*: Frontier Post Publications.
- Anwar, F. (2019). *Political Participation in Pakistan: A study of voting behavior in DG Khan Division (Elections 2008 and 2013)*. [PhD dissertation], National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.
- Baqir, S. (2018). *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan: An Analysis of PPP and PML-N governments (2008-2018)*. (M.Phil.). The Islamia University Bahawalpur.
- Baxter, C. & Wasti, S. R. (1991). *Pakistan: Authoritarianism in 1980s*, Lahore: Vanguard Books.
- Burky, S. J. & Baxter, C. (1991). *Pakistan under the Military: eleven years of Zia ul-Haq*. UK: Pak Book Corporation.
- Burney, I. H. (23 July 1977). *The March 1977 Elections an Analysis*. The Economist.
- Cookman, C. (2013). *Previewing Pakistan's 2013 Elections*. Center for American Progress, 111-22.
- Devotta, N. (2016). *An Introduction to South Asian Politics*. UK: Routledge Publisher.
- Downs, E. (2019). *The China Pakistan Economic Corridor Power Projects: Inside into Environmental and Debt Sustainability*. Center on Global energy policy, Columbia
- Esposito, J. Voll, O. J. (1996). *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Fair, C. (2011). *The Pakistan Military's New Coup Playbook: Democracy is still on leash in Islamabad*. Published by the Council of Foreign Affairs, available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/136260>
- Farhatullah, B. (n.d) *Democracy and Elections: How Elections are Rigged in Pakistan*. Peshawar: Peoples Institute of Democracy.
- Feldman, H. (2001). *The End and Beginning: Pakistan 169-71*, Karachi Oxford University Press.
- Hague, R., Harrop, M. (2004). *Comparative government and Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- Haider, K. S (2014). *2013 General Election in Pakistan*, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab.
- Haider, K. S. (2013). *Pakistan General Elections 2013*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab, 5-6.
- Haider, K. S. (2014). *Pakistan General Elections, 2008*. Pakistan Study Center: University of Punjab.
- Hamayun, I. (2011). *Electoral Malpractices During the 2008 Elections in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Harmon, J.M. (2003). *Political Thought: From Plato to Present*. New York: McGraw-Hill Primes Publishing.
- Hassan, M. (1988). *Reconstruction of Political Thought in Islam*. Islamic Publications (Pvt) Limited.
- Humayun, K. (1995). *Sheikh Mujib's 6-points formula: An Analytical Study of the Breakup of Pakistan*: Karachi, Royal Book Company
- Huntington, S. P. (1999). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*. Norman; University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hussain, A. (2009). *Politics of Alliances in Pakistan 1954-1999*. [PhD], Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.
- Iqbal, M. M. (2018). *CPEC: Through the Lens of Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research, 8-9

- Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Jefrelot, C. (2016). *Pakistan at the Crossroads, domestic dynamics and external pressure*. New York; Columbia University Press.
- Junejo, S. (2015). *Pakistan: A State at Risk or A Failing State, the Last Dance*. School for Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London.
- Khan, A. (1993). Chronology of Events: September 1988-April 1992. In Charles H. Kennedy (Eds) *Pakistan 1992*. US: West View Press, 167-196
- Khan, D. J. (1999). *Pakistan Leadership Challenges*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2009). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, H. (2016). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, I. (2015). *The Politics of Alliances in Pakistan (1988-2008)*. (MPhil Thesis), Islamia College University Peshawar.
- Khan, S. (2009). Electoral Program of Political Parties: A case study of 2008 elections. (MA). Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar.
- Khan, S. H (1999). *Problems and Prospects of Democracy in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Kukreja, V. & Sing, M. P. (2005). *Pakistan Democracy, Development and Security Issues*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lyon, S.M (2002). *Power and Patronage in Pakistan*. (PhD Dissertation), University of Kent, Canterbury
- Mahmood, S. (2000). *Pakistan Political Roots and Developments 1947-1999*. Lahore: Jang Publishers.
- Mahmood, S. (2000). *Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-88*. Lahore: Jang Publishers.

- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK: New Holland Publisher.
- Malik, I. (2010). *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation*. UK.
- Mechkova, V., Anna, L., Lindberg, S.I (2017). How Much Democratic Backsliding.
- Misra, A. (2011). Pakistan Triadic Politics and Chronic Political Instability: Is democracy the Panacea. *In Pakistan's stability paradox domestic, regional and international dimensions*, Routledge, 23-25
- Muhammad, F. (Dawn, 28 July 2018). ANP to Protest Election rigging across KP. Islamabad
- Nawaz, S. (2019). *The Battle for Pakistan: The bitter US friendship and the tough neighborhood*. Penguin Books
- Niaz, H. (2019). *Cooperation between China and Pakistan its impacts on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*. (Mphil). Pakistan Study Center, University of Peshawar
- Niazi, K. (1991). *Aur Line Kut Gayee*. Lahore: Jang Publications.
- Noreen, N. (2013). Protection of women rights through legal reforms in Pakistan.
- Palmer, N. D. (1975). *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Performance of the 14th National Assembly of Pakistan 2013-2018, Free and Fair Election Network, 7-8.
- PILDAT. (2013). *Assessment of the Quality of General election 2013*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2018). *Future of Democracy & Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan Developments in 2017*. PILDAT Publicatio.
- PILDAT. (2018). *State of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: A study of five years 2013-2018*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (2019). *Local Governance laws in Pakistan*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency.
- PILDAT. (December, 27 2007). Election 2008 manifestoes of political parties: Parties

position remains vague on key Issues.

Rais, B. R. (2018). *The Khan Factor Versus Reform Challenges*. Aljazeera Centre for Studies, 1-6

Role and Powers of Senate: Senate of Pakistan. 19-28

Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. p. 245

Rummel, R. J. (1966). Democratization. In William Voegelé and Roger Powers, *Protest, Powers, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action From ACT-Up to Women's Suffrage*, Hamden: CT Garland Publishing,

Sayeed, B. K. (1967). *The Political System of Pakistan*. New York: Prager Publications.

Sayeed, B. K. (1980). *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, New York: Prager Publications.

Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: The Case of Punjab*. Centre for Public Policy and Governance, 15- 16.

Shah, A. (2016). Military and Democracy. In Christophe Jeffrelot (Ed.). *Pakistan at the Crossroads Domestic Dynamics and External Pressures*. New York. Columbia University Press.

Shah, S.A. (2020). *Governance and Meritocracy*. The Express Tribune, 15 January 2020, Islamabad

Shukla, A. (2018). *Challenges before the Imran Khan Government*. Issue Brief, Indian Council of world Affairs, p.1-3

Siddiq, A. (28 January 2020). *Pakistan's long-ailing democracy is now dead, thanks to its political Parties*. The Print

Staffan I. Lindberg, M. Coppedge, J. Gerring, J. Teorell (July, 2014) V-Dem: A new way to measure Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol; 25, No. 3, 159-169. Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press

Ullah, F. (2014). *Voting Behaviour in Pakistan: (A Case Study of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2008 General Elections)* [Ph.D], Pakistan Study Centre University of Peshawar

- Ullah, I. (2010). *Structural Imperatives for fair Elections*. Lahore: Vanguard Book Agency
- Virani, F. (2012). *The Youth Factor*. The Herald, 45(11), 36-37
- Waseem, M. (1994). *Politics in the State in Pakistan*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 360-361 see also Khan, Hamid (2012). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Waseem, M. (1996). *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 1993 Election*.
- Wolf, O. S. (2019). *The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor of the Belt and Road Initiative: concept, Context and Assessment*. Switzerland: Springer.
- Younas, S. (1993). *Siyasi Ittehad Aur Pakistan Ki Siyasat Par Asarat 1947-90*, Lahore: Jang Publishers.
- Yousaf, H. (1999). *Pakistan: A Study of Political Development 1947-1997*. Lahore: Sange-e-Meel Publications.
- Zahid, F. (2015). *The 21st Amendment Act of Pakistan: A Matter of Serious Concern for Islamist parties*, Center for Research and Security Studies
- Ziring, L. (1962). *The Failure of Democracy in Pakistan: East Pakistan and the Central Government 1947-1958*, (Ph.D.). USA: Columbia University.
- Zubair, M. (2012). *Local Government in Pakistan: Basic Democracy vs Devolution of Power, A Comparative Study* (MA). Department of Pakistan Studies, Islamia College Peshawar.

Journals:

- Afzal, M. R. (1986). Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958. *Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research*, (1),117-118
- Ahmad, I. & Ishaq, M. (2018). Manifesto Importance in Election Campaign in 2013, *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, 4 (1), 91-110
- Akhtar, J. Mahmood, S. Haq, S. (2010). Elections of Pakistan and Response of Social Scientists: A Study of Theoretical Understanding. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 30 (2), 453-466.

- Baqai, H. (2014). Pakistan in Transition towards a Substantive Democracy. *Review of History and Political Science*: 2 (1), 75-88
- Haider, K. S., Ali, S. S. (no date). Impact of Benazir Bhutto death on Performance of PPP and Electoral Politics of Pakistan 2008-2013. *Pakistan Vision*, 19(1), 22- 35
- Hamid, S. (2018). *The Elections Act 2017: powers and responsibilities of the election Commission of Pakistan*. DAI-CDIP). *Briefing Paper*. 1-10
- Haq, N. (2008). Transition to Democracy. Available on <http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff96.pdf> retrieved on 16/11/2019
- Hashmi, R. S. (2018). Modern Democracy: Issues in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol: 25, No,1, 1-32
- Hussain, M. & Ullah, R. (2012). Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan: Success and Controversies, *Asian Social Sciences*, 8 (1), 82-84
- Insaf. *Indian Journal of Politics and international relations*. 11 (1& 2), 118-120.
- Iqbal, M. (2017). Th Era of Reconciliation in Pakistan 2006-2017: A Critical Reappraisal. *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 22-29
- Islam, S., Zubair, M., Muhammad, I. (2019). An Analysis of 2018 General Elections in Pakistan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 56 (2), 193-205
- Javed, A., Ahamad, Z. (2018). *Role and Significance of Senate in the federation of Pakistan: An Analysis before and after the 18th amendment to the constitution of 1973*. Margala Papers, 19-32
- Kanwal, L. (2017). Political Development in Pakistan: Continuity and Change During Zardari. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 54 (2), 137-153
- Key, V. O. (1955). A Theory of Critical Elections. *Journal of Politics*, 3 (18).
- Khan, Y. Bangash, S. (2015). Monitoring the Democratic Transition Pakistan 2013 Elections. *South Asian Studies*, 30 (2), 59-71.
- Larry, P. G. (2008). Pakistan after Musharraf: The 2008 Elections. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4), 5-15

- Malik, N., Rana, A. (no date). The History of Local Governance in Pakistan: What Lesson Learn. *Journal of International Politics*, 1 (3), 25-40
- Mamoon, D., Javed, R., Abbas, R. Z. (2017). Political Instability and Lessons for Pakistan: Case Study of 2014 PTI Sit in/Protest. *Journal of Social and Administrative Sciences*, 4 (28).
- Memon, A. P. (2009). Political Instability: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (1), 31-34.
- Mirza, F.M., Fatima, N., Ullah., K. (2019). Impact of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Pakistan Future Energy Consumption and Energy Saving Potential: Evidence from Sectorial time series analysis. *Energy strategy reviews*, (25), 34-46.
- Mustafa, G. (2010). Alliances Politics in Pakistan: A Study of United Front, *Journal of History and Culture*, XXI, (1), 106-118
- Nazeer, A. M (2018). Decade of Democracy in Pakistan: Parliament from 2008 to 2018. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Retrieved on 5/3/2109 Available on <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15169.pdf>
- Nazeer, A. M., Farooq, S., Rehman, M. (2017). From Peace Talks to operation Zarb- e- Azb-Politics of Consensus Building for Counter-Terrorism. *Global Social Science Review*, 2 (2), 122-136.
- Pakistan Security Research Unit (PSRU), *Briefing paper* (68), 3-9.
- Parveen, S. & Nawaz, B. (2018). Freedom of Expression and Media Censorship in Pakistan. A Historical Study. *Journal of Historical Studies*, 4 (2), 1-21
- Riffat, H., Maini, T. S. (2016). The China Pakistan economic Corridor: Strategic Rationales, External Perspectives and Challenges to the effective Implementation. *The Stimson Center*, 1-29.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). The first 10 General Elections of Pakistan, A story of Pakistan's transition from democracy above rule of law to Democracy under rule of law 1970-2103. Islamabad: *PILDAT*, 11-39

- Rizwan, M., Rafiuddin., Arshid, M., Waqar, M. (2014). Democratic Milestone in Pakistan: A Serener Transition of Command from PPP to PML-N. *ISOR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (9), 102-108
- Rizwan, M., Waqar, M., Arshad, M. (2014). Revitalization of Parliamentary Democracy in Pakistan. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 19 (2), 149-156.
- Rustow, A. D. (1970). Transition to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model: *Comparative Politics*, 2 (3), 337-363
- Samad, Y. (2017). Elections and Democratic Transition in Pakistan: One Step Forward and Two Steps Backward. *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55 (4), 509-530
- Shafqat, S. Pakistan: Military, the Transition to Democracy and Future Relations with United States. *Journal of International Affairs*.
- Shah, A. (2012). The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Glue or Solvent for Nation Building and Citizenship in Pakistan. *Journal of Economics*, 6(2), 387-391
- Sheikh, S. (2018). The Promise of *Naya Pakistan* and the Rise of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. *Indian Journal of politics and International Relations*, 11 (1& 2), 108- 125
- Siraj, S. A., Waheed, A. (2019). Framing of Panama Leaks in Pakistan's Leading Newspapers. *Pakistan Journal of Criminology*, 11 (01), 84-100.
- Taylor, D. (1992). Parties, Elections, and Democracy in Pakistan. *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 30 (1), 96-113
- The statistical portal, proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments of Pakistan from 2005 to 2017. Also available on <http://www.Statista.Com/Statistics/730579/pakistan-proportion-of-seats-held-by-women-in-national-parliament>, retrieved on 17/12/2019
- Ullah, I. (1997). *Essays on State and Democracy in Pakistan*. 242-244
- Ullah, Z. (2009). Role of Leadership in Political Development (A Case Study of Benazir Bhutto (PPP) in 1988 Elections). *Journal of the Pakistan Study Centre*, 33-44.

Upadhyay, A. (2019). Decimating Democracy in 140 Characters or Less: Pakistan Army's Subjugation of State Institutions through Twitter. *Strategic Analysis*, 43 (2), 101-113, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2019.1600823>

Waseem, M. (2006). Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the 2002 Election.

Wolf, O.S. (2017). An Assessment of the latest Premature end of Nawaz Sharif's Prime Minister ship. *South Asian Democratic Forum*, (97) 1-7.

Documents / Reports:

Barker, M. (2018, July 26). Imran Khan claims victory in Pakistan elections. *The Guardian*, 4-8

Batool, F. (2019). One Year in: The PTI's legislative Report Card. Politics & economics, *South Asian Voice*. 1-10

BTI. (2018). *Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2018 Country Report — Pakistan*.7-11

Burki, S. J. (2013). *Manifesto and Political Preferences in Pakistan*. ISAS Special Report, (2)1-7.

Crisis Group Asia Report N* 249 (18 September 2013) *Parliament Role in Pakistan's Democratic Transition*.

Crisis Group Asia Report N*203 (30 March 2011). *Reforming Pakistan's Electoral System*. 13-15

Democracy International Report (2013). *The May 2013 Elections in Pakistan*.2-4.

Democracy Reporting International (2018). *Pakistan's Elections Act 2017: What You Need to Know*. Retrieved from <https://democracy-reporting.org/pakistans-elections-act-2017-what-you-need-to-know/>

DTCE. (2013). *An Analysis of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Local Government Statutes*, 11-225

Election Commission of Pakistan (2014). *The 2013 General Elections in Pakistan*.

Election Commission Report on General Elections 2018. Election Commission Report on General Election 1993. Election Commission Report on General Elections 1990.

EU Election Observation Mission. (2013). *Pakistan General Election-11 May 2013*,p.24.

- FAFEN Report (2013). *Five Years Performance of the 13th National Assembly March 2008-March 2013*, 1-2, also Available at <http://fafen.org/five-years-performance-13th-national-assembly-pakistan-march-2008-maarch-2013>
- Homayoun, I. (2011). *Electoral Malpractices During the 2008 Elections in Pakistan*.
- Hussain, A. (2019, August 24). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. p.4
- International Crisis Group N*249 (September 18, 2013). *Parliament Role in Pakistan Democratic Transition*. 37-38.
- Jan, F. (2010). *Pakistan: A Struggling Nation-State*. Democracy and Security.
- Kriti, M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Elections 2018: Analysis of Results and Implications*. Observer Research Foundation: Report No.78
- Maryam, H. (2018). *Through Trials and Triumph: A new Spell of democratic transition in Pakistan*. 12-13
- NDI (1990). *The October 1990 General Elections in Pakistan*, p. 196-197
- Pakistan 2013 General Elections-11 May 2013 available on, <http://www.eueom.eu/eu-eom-pakistan-2013.p> retrieved on 12/8/2019
- Rehman, Z. (2018, March 25). *The right side of politics*. The News. Islamabad Report of Inter-Parliamentary Union, *Women in Parliament: A Review 2017*
- Report of the Commonwealth Observer Mission, *Pakistan General Elections*, 11, May 2013, Commonwealth Secretariat
- Schaefer, D. (2013). *Nawaz Sharif and the Crisis of Political Authority in Pakistan*.
- Shafqat, S. & Saleem, M. (2014). *Electoral Politics and Electoral Violence in 2013 Election: A Case of Punjab*. 1-10
- Shah, K. M., Sareen, S. (2018). *Pakistan General Election 2018: Analysis of Result and Implication*. Report no.78, Observer Research Foundation, 1-13
- The Report on Constitutional Eighteenth Amendment Bill, 2010. *Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms, National Assembly of Pakistan*, Article 175 A. also available on www.na.gov.pk

Ullah, F., Khan, S. (June, 2020). Quality of General Elections 2018: An Appraisal in the light National and International Election Observer Reports. *Pakistan-Bi- Annual Research Journal*, vol. 56, No. 18, 282-301

Women and the Vote. 2018. Jinnah Institute [available at <http://jinnah-institute.org/infographic-women-the-vote/>]

Zafar, I. (2019). *New year may bring an end to Naya Pakistan*. Asia times. Also available on, <http://www.asiatimes.com/2019/12/opinion/new-year--may- bring-an-end-to-naya-Pakistan/>

Interviews:

Richter, L. W. (1993). *The 1990 Elections in Pakistan*. In Charles, H. Kennedy (Eds), Rid, S. A (11, July 2020). Interview at his office, Quaid-e-Azam University

Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Karachi; Oxford University Press. Tariq, M. (15, July 2020). Interview at Directorate of Education, Peshawar The Daily Jang, 22 August 1992, Peshawar

Abbas, M. (August 02, 2017). *Nawaz Sharif's third term*. The News, Islamabad Afzal, M. (24 April, 2020). Interview at his residence, Peshawar

Qadir, G. (03 April, 2018). *The Pakhtun Renaissance*. The Dawn, Islamabad Qureshi, S. (N.D). *The Political Culture in Pakistan*. Sang-e-Meel Publication. Rabbi, F. (01 July, 2020). Interview at his office, Islamabad

Amir, M. (2018, May 20). *The roll of religious polls*. The Dawn, Islamabad Anwar, F. (11 July, 2020). Interview at NIPS Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad

Islam, S. (22, August 2019). Chairman Department of Political Science, Interviewed by the author at his Office

Ullah, R. (11 November 2019). Interview at his office E-11/3 Markaz, Islamabad Ullah, R. (20 November, 2019) Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar Ullah, R. (2017, December 10). *If the MMA is revived*. The News. Islamabad

Election Commission Official (07, December 2019). Interview at his office, Islamabad

Ali, W. (09 January 2020). Interview at the office neighborhood council, Johar Town, Lahore

Khan, M (09 January 2020). Interview at his office University Town, Peshawar

Islam, U, F. (13 January, 2020). Interviewed at his office, Director Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar

Bakhtyar, (27 January 2020) Interviewed at his office, Northern University Nowshera

Aurangzeb, Shazia. (11, February, 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar

Uddin, J. (13 February, 2020). Interview at his Hujra, Khushal Colony, Nowshera Cantt

Shah, S. (20, February 2020). Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad

Khattak, I. (28 February 2020). Interview at his residence Manki Sharif Nowshera

Korybko, A. (2019). *CPEC: Is the future of your foreign policy*. One World Global

Hoti, H. K. (07 March, 2020). Interview at Hoti-House Mardan <http://geo.tv/urdu.htm,19 April 2010 at 10 Pm> <http://sama.tv/news.htm,19 April 2010 at 10pm>

Hussain, I. (14 March 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar

Dawar, M. (17 March 2020). Interview at University of Peshawar

Khan, A. (20 March 2020). Interview at his office District Youth Office Nowshera Khan,

A. (2005). *We have Learn't Nothing from History*, Karachi: Oxford University

Shabab, L. (9 May, 2020). Interviewed at People Secretariate, Peshawar Shabir, J. (20 November, 2019). Interview at Press Club Peshawar

Maqam, A. (16 June 2020). Interview at his office provincial Secretariate PML-N, Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Khattak, D (23 June 2020). Interview at his residence, F-7, Islamabad

Wali, I. (25 June 2020). Interview at his office provincial secretariate PML-N, Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Babar, F. U (26 June 2020). Interviewed at his residence H.No.24-A, St-52, F-7, Islamabad

Yaqobi, H. U. (01 July, 2020). Interview at his residence Barako, Islamabad

Khalil, H. (12 July, 2020). Interview at his office, Director National Institute of Pakistan

Studies, QAU, Islamabad

Farooqi, A. R (18 July, 2020). Interview at his office, Dean Social Sciences, Northern University Nowshera

Uddin, S. (27 July 2020) Interview at Parliament Lodges, Islamabad

Khan, M. (14 August 2020). Interview at his office Hakeemabad, Nowshera.

Safi, S. (20 November, 2020). Interview at Bacha Khan Markaz Peshawar

Khan, K. (21 November 2020). Interview at his Residence Khesghi Payan, Nowshera

Khan, K. (23 March 2020). Interview at his office Peshawar

Newspapers:

Fatima, A. (2019). *A Strategic Shift in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan under CPEC*. The Asia Dialogue.

Hanif, M. (2013). *Have We defeated the Taliban or sent them a friend Request?* The Guardian, p.5-15.

Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year*, Politics & economics, South Asian voice

Malik, S. (2019). *Taking Stock: The PTI Government's Economic Performance in its first year*, Politics & Economics, South Asian Voice,1-6

The Nation (2018). *Third Consecutive democratic transition in Pakistan*. Islamabad, 1-3, retrieved from <http://www.nation.com.pk-third-consecutive-democratic-transition-in-pakistan>

Waseem, M, (2020). *PTI Two Years in Government*, The Dawn, Islamabad

Zafar, I. (2020). *Democracy sent to gallows by Pakistan's political elite*. January 03, Asia Times, 3-4

Pakistan Times, March 8, 1954

The Dawn, A Sad day, 03 January 2015
The Dawn, January 8, 1977

The Daily Mashriq, August 18, 1988, Peshawar

Frontier Post, November 18,1988

The Dawn, 18 November 1988, Islamabad

The Nation November 18, 1988, Islamabad.

The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, August 22, 1992, Peshawar
The Daily Jang, August 22, 1992

The Daily Jang, April 18, 1993

The News (01, December 2007). 5E PPP Manifesto Launched. Islamabad.

The Dawn, 20 March, 2008, Islamabad

The Nation, 01 April, 2008, Islamabad

The Nation, 24 April, 2008, Islamabad

The Dawn, 21 September, 2008, Islamabad

Dawn, 08 September 2009, Islamabad

Jahangir's World Times. (May 2010). *Milestone Reforms*, Lahore 4 (8), 10-90

The Tribune Express (22 December 2010). *The National Assembly Approves the 19th amendment bill*. Islamabad

Dawn (12 August 2011). *Major Changes made in FCR: FATA people get political rights*. Islamabad also available at <http://www.dawn.com/news/651369>, retrieved on 25/8/2019

Malik, A. (25 October, 2014). Senior leader of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Candidate for NA-69, by Pakistan Today, also available on <http://www.pakistatoday.com.pk/2014/10/25/impact-of-dharnas-on-economy-and-foreign-relation>, retrieved on 25/10/2018

Siddiqi, Faisal (26, January 2015). *Constitution's Crooked timer*. Dawn, retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1159408>

Asghar (25 March 2015). *New move in NA for consensus accountability law*. The Dawn Islamabad, Available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/1171762>. Retrieved on [25/08/2019](https://www.dawn.com/news/1171762)

The Dawn (December, 04, 2015). *Pakistan's Contrary years (1971-1977): A Cultural History of the Bhutto Era*.

Hassan, A. (21 August 2016). *The long Road to Democracy*. Pakistan Today

BBC. (20 April 2017). *Panama Papers: Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif to face investigators*.

The Express Tribune (29 April 2017). *Army Rejects PM Office Statement on Dawn Leaks Report*. Islamabad

Specie, M. (July 28, 2017). *How the Panama Papers Changed Pakistani Politics*. The New York Times

The Nation (29 July 2017). *SC Ousted Nawaz Sharif from the Corridor of Power*

The Gazette of Pakistan, 02 October 2017, National Assembly Secretariat, Islamabad, 1443-1445

Abass, M. (2018, April 20). *How to have vote sanctity*. The News Islamabad

The Daily Times. (30 April 2018). *A Quest for Sanctity: Vote to Voters*

Shaukat, Z. (2018, May 06). *Women in Today's Politics*. The News, Islamabad Sheikh, S. (2018). *The Promise of Naya Pakistan and the Rise of Pakistan Tehreek-e-*

Butt, T. (The News, 09 May 2018). *PTI-JSM merge to ensure vote split*. Islamabad Commonwealth (2013). *Pakistan General Election, 11 May 2013*.

Butt, T. (2018, May 17). *Myth of Victory of electables*. The News. Islamabad

Lashari, A. (20 May 2018). *Activism to Seraiki Province*. The News, Islamabad

Tahir, S. (June 01, 2018). *Mainstreaming FATA and the PPP role*. The Express Tribune

Shah, W.A (09 July 2018). *View from the Courtroom: Enforcing Women Specific-Provisions of Election Act, a test case for ECP*. The Dawn. Islamabad, also available on <https://www.dawn.com/news/1418851>

The News (21 July 2018). Islamabad

BBC. (23 July, 2018). *Viewpoint on Pakistan Dirtiest Election in Years*.

Ahmad, K. (25 July 2018). *Post-Election Era*. The Nation, Islamabad

Malik, M. R. (2018, July 25). *Elections 2018: Perspective & Prospects*. The Nation, Islamabad

The Dawn (July 26, 2018). *Record number of 171 women in the run for NA general seats*. Islamabad

Ahmad, K. (31 July 2018). *Post-Election*. The Nation

Malik, R. M. (01, August 2018). *2018 elections: Analysis and Aftermath*. The Nation, Islamabad

The Nation, 01 August 2018, Islamabad
The Nation, 09 April, Islamabad

The Nation, 18 August 2018, Islamabad

Sohail, W. (December 10, 2018). *A Barelvi Revival*. The News Islamabad see also Islam, S., Zubair, M., Muhammad, I. (2019). An Analysis of 2018 General Elections in Pakistan. 56(2), 193-194

The Dawn, 18 December 2018, Islamabad

Dawn (24 December 2018). *How Pakistan's Panama papers probe unfolded*.

The Dawn 20 August 2014, Islamabad
The Dawn, 02 April 2019. Islamabad

Hussain, K. (08 April, 2019) *The Pashtun Spring*. The Dawn, Islamabad

The Dawn, 19 April 2019. Islamabad

The Nation. 23 April 2019. Islamabad

The Dawn, 30 April 2019. Islamabad

The Nation (27 May 2019). *Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan*. Islamabad

The Dawn, 31 May 2019. *Bilawal reiterates demand for production orders of MNAs Mohsin Dawar, Ali Wazir*. Islamabad

The Express Tribune, 6 June 2019

Mahboob, A. B. (2019, August 11). *The Assembly's first year*. The Dawn, Islamabad see also The News, 17 August 2019, *First Parliamentary year Completes Today*. Islamabad

Hussain, A (24 August 2019). *Imran Khan: A Year Facing Pakistan's Harsh Realities*. BBC, Islamabad

Rokhila, A. (The Nation, 25 September 2019). *Neither Pakistan Economic stability is acceptable to its regional competitors nor China Emergence as global Power.* Islamabad

The News (20 October 2019). *Pakistan Troubled Local Governance*

Najam, D. (December 12, 2019). *The Politics of Dharnas.* The Express Tribune, Islamabad

The Dawn, 19 December 2019. Islamabad

Murtaza, Solangy (11 January 2020). The News, Islamabad

The News (23 January 2020). *Economist Intelligence Units Democracy Index: Democracy in PPP, PML-N eras better than present govt.*

The Dawn (February, 10 2020). Islamabad

The Dawn, 22 March, 2020, Islamabad.

The News, 22 March, 2020, Islamabad.

The News, 20 May, 2020, Islamabad

Bari, F. (05 July, 2020). *Hollow Promises of Reform.* The News, Islamabad

Jillani, S. (05 July, 2020). *Standing Exposed.* The News, Islamabad also available at [https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/681461-two-yearson?](https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/681461-two-yearson?fbclid=IwAR0iGsoSAEYLw5G2dYkHZxBoKkIpdIRCuuIHfrU8xeX0n6cTFHGuvYoPz1w)

Waseem, M. (05 July, 2020). *Governance Crisis.* The News, Islamabad retrieved from <https://www.thenews.com.pk/tns/detail/681461-two-years-on?fbclid=IwAR0iGsoSAEYLw5G2dYkHZxBoKkIpdIRCuuIHfrU8xeX0n6cTFHGuvYoPz1w>