Role of Political Parties in the Democratic System of Pakistan

Master Thesis
Nadeem Akhtar
Master Program 'Global Studies'
School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg
Supervisor: **Isabell Schierenbeck**
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Abstract

This research was performed to investigate the role of political parties in Pakistan over the last two decades. This paper also attempts to discuss how parties and their actions affect the democratic culture in the state. I have investigated the roles of the political parties in Pakistan by examining their different functions, which include the responsibility to represent the civil society, to integrate the diverse elements of the society into a political system, and to respond to the demands and needs of the public. The internal politics of political parties in Pakistan and their criteria for recruitment and training leadership are discussed, as well as their effects on the political system of Pakistan.

The data were collected by researching secondary sources that discussed and evaluated the functions of political parties in Pakistan. A content analysis method was used to analyze the data and characterize the contributions of political parties to the political culture of Pakistan and their effects on the democratic system of Pakistan.

In this thesis, I have investigated the roles and mechanism of political parties in Pakistan based on an exploration of the roles of several prominent political parties, including the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz group) (PML (N)), the Pakistan People Party (PPP), the Awami National Party (ANP), and the Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM). During the past two decades, the PPP and PML (N) parties have remained prominent through the formation of alliances with other parties. This research discusses the roles of these parties in representation, integration, aggregation, recruiting, and training leadership during times in which these parties have held both power in government and represented the opposition.

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1. Introduction

The major purpose of this research is to shed light on the problems faced by political parties and their role in the political system of Pakistan. The parties considered in this work are the Pakistan People Party (PPP), the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group (PML (N)), the Awami (public) National Party (ANP), and the Mutahida (united) Quami (national) Movement (MQM). These political parties have held power in Pakistan at different times over the past two decades. This paper also attempts to discuss the functions of these parties, such as representation, integration, recruiting, and training leadership, and the conduct of political parties when they are in power or in opposition.

It has been argued that parties are "endemic to democracy, an unavoidable part of democracy"[1]. In a democratic system, political parties provide the proper mode of functioning for the government so that the majority party or a combination of parties controls the government, while other parties serve as the opposition and attempt to check the abuses of power by the ruling party. Citizens extend their desires, needs, and problems to the government through the political parties. In fact, political parties represent an essential and important tool that acts as a bridge between a society and its government. The existence of a strong and viable opposition keeps the ruling party alert. It is also the duty of political parties to promote policies that will educate the people about how a democratic system functions and offer different policy packages to the electorates. To some extent, political parties allow people to defend their rights, and the support of the people strengthens political parties. Therefore, political parties promote the welfare of the society as a whole. One basic need is to develop the political ideology and democratic roots within a state, which is a fundamental method of political development. The goals and objectives of political development could not be achieved without political parties.

Since independence was achieved in Pakistan on 14 August, 1947, only a small number of civilian governments have completed their constitutional tenure, and most of those who did were under the rule of a dictator. The political system in Pakistan has never functioned efficiently in sixty-four years of independence. During this period, Pakistan's political system has faced four military interventions, during which the army chiefs overtook political governments and imposed

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[1] J. R. Montero and R. Gunther (2002), P 3.

martial law. Pakistan still has not found a stable political equilibrium or clear directions to resolve its fundamental political conflicts. Because of these different types of government, the people of Pakistan are unsure of whether their government should be secular or Islamic and democratic or ruled by a military dictator. The main problems faced by political development are weaknesses among institutions, such as a lack of accountability and the presence of corruption; a lack of focus on people's needs; and an emphasis on increasing the assets of the leaders of the political parties. As stated by Rasul Bakhsh Rais: "The history of military dictators is characterized by deceit, institutional decay, political fragmentation, moral and social rot, (that produced polarization), insurgencies and alliances of the state with violent ethnic and religious groups"[2]. The occurrence of these incidents and events can only be explained by reviewing the circumstances under which the country was created. When an electoral political regime is in power, it will seek to prolong its control and satisfy key members by awarding them critical positions in important institutions. Furthermore, many internal problems in political parties lead to problems in the political system, such as an undemocratic structure and a lack of political values and practices. These problems decrease the popularity of political parties and reduce the trust of the leaders among the people.

1.1.   Relevance of study

Democratization is an important phenomenon of globalization. The process of democratization can occur in a number of ways, as identified by Jan Aart Scholte: "public education; measures to improve transparency and accountability of regulatory bureaucracies; reform of judicial procedures; steps to expand and upgrade civil society activities; redistribution of resources in favor of structurally disadvantaged groups; and revision of constitutions to recognize supraterritorial publics".[3]

An organized political system provides stable institutions, an accountable form of government and public participation in decision-making processes as indicators of political development. Political development is a process of rebuilding or modernizing for the wellbeing of the people at large. This process also creates awareness among the citizens regarding the development of political institutions that can respond according to the goals of the society and fulfill the common demands of people. Thus, a stable political system, including the institutions and their operations, contributes to political development. This can be helpful in the development of a healthy society at the nation level as well as globally. Such institutions consolidate political power and institutionalize the system to achieve the goals of political development. Jan Aart

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[2] Rasul Bakhsh Rais (2011)

Available at: < http://tribune.com.pk/story/254975/democracy--the-only-road-to-be-on/>

[3] J. Aart Scholte (2006), *Political Parties and Global Democracy, CSGR Working Paper No 200/06*, p. 13.

Scholte argued that political parties can contribute to the global development of democratization. He further argued that "political parties could be leading agents of public scrutiny over a state's involvement in global affairs"[4].

Every state has its own political system. Developed states have more stable institutions and governments, which possess the capabilities and legitimacy necessary to govern those systems. On the other hand, less democratically developed states are often frail politically and economically. "It is usually believed that economic growth can take place only in the presence of political stability"[5]. In these less democratic states, one group frequently holds the power. These governments are authoritarian and during their reign, human rights are abused. Furthermore, political violence, assassinations, torture, and wars are common practices under these circumstances. These types of undemocratic states are obstacles to the welfare of the common people and are vulnerable other problems. For example, in several regions of Pakistan, the political system is not developed properly. Therefore, some areas and people are deprived of proper leadership, resulting in the deprivation of basic needs and resources, and they are vulnerable to groups, such as the Taliban, who are considered to be a danger to Pakistan and to the rest of the world. Appropriate leadership in these regions can change this situation; however, none of the political parties has been able to provide proper leadership and understand the needs and problems of people in these areas.

Modern democratic institutions cannot operate successfully in the absence of political parties. Political parties are considered important for the functioning of modern government. Pakistan falls into the category of states that have not been able to achieve the goals of political development. After sixty-four years of independence, major segments of society are still living without proper healthcare, sanitation, education, clean drinking water, housing, and transport. In this age of globalization, many are still facing chronic poverty, unemployment, hunger, super-exploitation, repression, injustice, police brutality, religious extremism, military domination, and the capitalist and feudal system every day[6].

1.2.   Statement of the problem

Using the platform of political parties, the people propagate their desires, needs and problems to their government. Political parties have to harmonize the different segments of the society and combine them into a political system which serves all citizens. Inside of a successful political system, there is a balance between both citizen's demands and interests and political purposes. And, this has as consequences a good system which serves the citizens. These prominent political parties of Pakistan are the PML (N), the PPP, the ANP, and the MQM – over the past two decades. This research will discuss the roles of these parties in view of representation,

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[4] *ibid*, p 18
[5] Ishrat Husain (2009), p. 1-18.
[6] Bhatti Khalid (2007).

integration, recruiting, and training leadership. Furthermore, I will examine the activities of these parties during times when they have been in power and when they have been in opposition.

1.3. Research questions

Main research question:
- *What is the role of political parties in the political system of Pakistan?*

Sub questions:
- *How do political parties represent the population?*
- *How do political parties integrate the populace in a political system?*
- *How do political parties recruit and train leaders?*
- *What roles do political parties play when they are in government or in opposition?*

1.4. Delimitation of the subject

Pakistan has a multiple-party political system. It is particularly difficult to gather all available information on all the political parties, and this would be a vast topic for a Master's Thesis. Therefore, I have narrowed my research to the prominent political parties in Pakistan: the PPP, the PML (N), the ANP, and the MQM. These parties have held power in Pakistan at different times during the last twenty years. I sought to explore these prominent political parties in Pakistan and their roles in developing the political culture. Their different actions and reactions are examined.

1.5. Disposition

The second chapter explores the political historical background of the Pakistan from its beginning until now. The history of Pakistan is divided into small segments, and the successes and failures of the political system and role of the leadership in Pakistan are discussed. Later, this chapter discusses the history of several political parties and their roles, which have remained prominent over last two decades.

Chapter three illustrates the theoretical framework for this thesis. First, this chapter defines the concept of a political party, describes the types of parties, and explains the linkages between parties. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the essential concepts and theories used in this paper. This section describes Vicky Randall and Lars Svåsand's "series of potential functions" (representation, integration, recruiting and training leaders, making the government accountable, and organizing opposition) in detail to explain and examine the political parties of Pakistan.

Chapter four explains the methodology used to conduct this research.

Chapter five narrates the results of this research. Chapter six discusses the role of political parties according to a theoretical framework. This section discusses every political function in view of the political system of Pakistan. The existence and nonexistence of the political functions in Pakistan are discussed. This chapter also explains the processes that the political leaders of different political parties have adopted to fulfill the requirements of the political functions and the advantages and disadvantages regarding the political system of Pakistan.

Chapter seven returns to the questions and the aim, offering a broad analysis, and summarizes the conclusions, including a discussion on what can be learned from this study more generally. This chapter concludes with recommendations of directions for future research.

2.   Background of Pakistani politics

The month of August 1947 brought a major change to the world map with the establishment of the two independent states of Pakistan and India on the 14 and 15 of August, 1947, respectively. Independence marked the end of a long British rule that lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years. It had been decided that the division between Pakistan and India would be made on the basis of the populations of Muslims and Hindus. Muslim-majority cities would be included in Pakistan, and Hindu-majority cities would be included in India. A large number of Muslims in the Indian part of the subcontinent migrated to Pakistan. Approximately two million people were killed due to communal violence and hatred between Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims. The majority of the victims of these victims were Muslims.

Soon after independence, the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the First Governor General of Pakistan; however, he died in 1948. Quaid-e-Azam was the most influential person in the party (Muslim League), having the total support of the people of Pakistan. He was the only person who could unite all the political leaders and ordinary people under a single national identity, and his death affected the politics of Pakistan badly. His successor, Liaqat Ali Khan, became prime minister and attempted to fill Quaid-e-Azam's gap, but he was assassinated in October 1951.

The Muslim League is the founding party of Pakistan. "But after his death Muslim League has never been able to transform itself from a nationalist movement a national party"[7]. After Quaid-e-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan were lost, the Muslim League faced a deficiency of competent leadership in Pakistan. Power-hungry politicians remained representing groups of opportunists who had already opposed the formation of Pakistan[8]. On the other hand, a struggle began between the Mohajir (refugee) community, the aristocracy, and the religious leadership for gains

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[7] Veena Kukerja (2003), p. 5.
[8] Available at: <http://ghazali.net/book1/chapter_2.htm>

in political power. All the weakness and incompetency led to a lack of political non-consensus, and bureaucrats resolutely became politicians who assumed power[9]. A former bureaucrat, Ghulam Muhammad, was appointed as prime minster, and he succeeded another bureaucrat with an army background. The ruler never attempted to pay attention to the problems of the common people during the early years[10]. Furthermore, these politicians were not able to finalize a constitution for Pakistan.

In 1958, Pakistani politics fell into an even worse state when Skandar Mirza took full advantage of the weaknesses of the political parties. At that time, there was only one way to avoid a general election i.e. imposition of martial law. Due to the failure of the political parties, martial law was declared on 7 October, 1958. President Mirza issued a proclamation to cancel the Constitution and declare martial law throughout Pakistan. He abrogated the central and provincial governments by dissolving the national and provincial assemblies. Two weeks later, Mirza was forced to retire, and General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the chief martial law administrator and supreme commander of the armed forces, took his place. During Ayub's regime, the bureaucracy became empowered increasingly in Pakistan as Ayub Khan depended heavily on the bureaucracy to manage the political setup. General Yahiya Khan, the commander in chief of the army, succeeded Ayub Khan. Yahiya Khan ruled Pakistan for more than two years under the cover of martial law. From 1947–1958, not a single national election was held because most of the politicians knew that the electorate would reject them. Between 1958 and 1968, two indirect elections were held, but neither was conducted on a free and fair basis.

Ayub Khan introduced the first constitution of Pakistan. The presidential form of government was introduced, and all power was vested in the president. A basic democratic system was introduced, and only eighty thousand basic democrats elected the president. The military has ruled Pakistan for more than thirty-four of the sixty-four years of Pakistani independence. The feudal landlords and the capitalist class of people did not aid in the development of democracy in Pakistan. These "power motivated"[11] groups failed in state building and were unable to articulate or aggregate the interests of the people, which is necessary to develop meaningful socio-economic policies for newly born nation[12]. As a result, the poor and the middle class were trapped in a cycle of poverty, and these classes continue to decline today.

The first direct general election was held in 1970, almost twenty-three years after the birth of Pakistan; only two parties participated in these elections: the PPP from West Pakistan and the ANP from East Pakistan. These two parties achieved overwhelming success in these general elections.

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[9] Veena Kukerja, *op. cit*., p. 9.
[10] Rizv H Askari, Available at: <http://www.democracy-asia.org/qa/pakistan/Hasan%20Askari.pdf>
[11] *ibid.*
[12] *ibid*.

The results of the elections indicated that the PPP had emerged as the majority party in Pakistan with a clear majority in Punjab and Sindh. In these elections, Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman's ANP in East Pakistan won an absolute majority of seats in the National Assembly, and this result was not acceptable to Z. A. Bhutto, whose PPP had won a majority of seats in the assembly from West Pakistan. Hence, President Yahiya Khan dismissed the legislature. This suspension led to a cry for independence in East Pakistan, which Yahiya Khan sought to suppress by military repression, and this resulted in a historical disaster: the separation of West Pakistan (presently Bangladesh) from East Pakistan (presently Pakistan).

Z. A. Bhutto was more successful in restoring parliamentary government in Pakistan. He helped to create a new constitution, the nation's third in twenty-six years, which was adopted in 1973. He established a National Assembly of two hundred and seven members and four provincial assemblies of proportionate size. All representatives were to be elected directly for five-year terms. Under the constitution provision, Bhutto became prime minister of the government, elected by the majority of the National Assembly.[13]

National elections were again held in 1977, and Z. A. Bhutto faced a strong alliance of political parties (Pakistan National Alliance, PNA). Bhutto won the election, and the PNA was able to obtain only thirty-six seats out of two hundred and seven in the Pakistan National Assembly. The opposition declared that the election had been rigged and began to agitate against the PPP's government. Bhutto called in the army to restore law and order and to negotiate with the PNA.

The army chief of staff Zia ul Haq seized the reins of the government. Hence, a new and long-lasting era of martial law began, which ended in 1988 with the assassination of Zia ul Haq. Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Z.A. Bhutto came into power with majority votes after the elections of November 1988. But in 1990, her government was dismissed for charges of corruptionby Ghulam Ishaq Khan the existing president of Pakistan at that time[14]. Following the 1990 elections, Nawaz Sharif became prime minister of Pakistan with a majority of the votes, but his government was also dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan. The democratic era (1988–1999) continued to alternate between B. Bhutto and Sharif until 1999, when the general public became fed up with the democratic era and the corruption of the politicians. In 1999, the dictator General Pervaz Musharaf imposed martial law and ruled until 2008 with so-called democracy. At first, the people of Pakistan welcomed this change of government in the hope that the unjust economic, social and political system would be reformed, but after two years, the economy of Pakistan fell into decline.

2.1.   Political parties of Pakistan

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[13] Dutt Sanjay (2000), p. 6.

[14] Bhatti Khalid (2007).

Pakistan has a multi-party system such that no one party is likely to gain absolute power alone (except in one case), and the parties work with each other to form a coalition government.

2.1.1. Pakistan Muslim League (N)

The Pakistan Muslim League (PML) is the oldest political party of Pakistan. Before partition, the PML was known as the All India Muslim League. Before the formation of the All India Muslim League, a political party existed that had come into being in 1885, referred to as the Indian National Congress. With the passage of time, it became the most powerful political party in India. The Indian National Congress's attitude towards Indian Muslims was not favorable, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised Muslims not to join this party. According to his views, the Congress was a Hindu organization that only worked for the betterment and interests of the Hindus of India.

At that time, Muslims needed a proper political forum for their projection and a safeguard of their political interests. On the 30 December, 1906, the annual meeting of the Muslim educational conference was held at the residence of Nawab Salumullah Khan of Dacca. All Muslim leaders were present at that session. After the meeting of the educational conference, Nawab Saleem UIlah Khan discussed the importance of the Muslim political body. He also presented a resolution for the formation of the political party for Indian Muslims and suggested the name of the All India Muslim League.

Two famous individuals at that time, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, supported this suggestion. Therefore, on 30 December 1906, the All India Muslim League was formed. NawabWiqar-ul-Malik was appointed as the first president, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was appointed as the first General Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

The reasons for the establishment of the All India Muslim League were:

1. To promote the feelings of loyalty among the Muslims of India and British Government.
2. To protect the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India.
3. To eliminate the feelings of hostility among the Muslims of India and other communities.[4]

In 1963, M. Ayub Khan was elected in Pakistan as the chairman of the newly created political party, the Convention League, which became the country's ruling party. This party at the same time became subordinate to the government, and M. Ayub Khan hoped to consolidate his

position further and secure support from the party for himself in the next presidential elections. In this way, this part of the Muslim League became a puppet in the hands of a dictator.

In 1985, President Zia-ul-Haq decided to restore the democratic government step by step. Non-partisan general elections were held in 1985. According to the Eighth Amendment, the president was empowered to nominate the prime minister. Therefore, Muhammad Khan Junejo was nominated to be prime minister, and he took a vote of confidence from the parliament house. When the political system began to function, the house was divided automatically into two groups: one group headed by Muhammad Khan Junejo that formed the government, and the other group that acted as the opposition. Thus, the restoration of party titles became imperative because the parliamentary group mostly consisted of members of the Muslim League; hence, this party was re-named the Pakistan Muslim League, headed by Muhammad Khan Junejo. Zia ul Haq dismissed the government of Muhammad Khan Junejo. Junejo lost power, and the party was divided into two groups: the PML Junejo group and PML Nawaz Sharief group. Nawaz Sharief was the Chief Minister of Punjab (a province) and became the major leader of the second PML group. PML (N) remains an important contender in the contemporary politics of Pakistan.

2.1.2. Pakistan People's Party

Zulifqar Ali Bhutto launched a new political party after resigning from Ayoub Khan's cabinet. With Islam as the faith, democracy as the political system, socialism as the economic system, and power in the people, a new party named the PPP emerged from the political system of Pakistan in Lahore in 1967. Mr. Bhutto was elected as this party's first chairman. Since its inception, the party raised its voice for equal measures of government and criticized the governing process. Soon, this party became popular in Pakistan. The party took part in elections using the slogan Roti (bread), Kapra (clothes), Makan (house). With its populist program, the PPP had a wide range of supporters.

In the 1970 general election, the PPP was very successful in West Pakistan, but it failed completely in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan lost the war in East Pakistan, causing the separation of Bangladesh. After the separation, the PPP established the government in the rest of Pakistan, and its main achievement was the approval of the Constitution in 1973, which satisfied all parties. This was the first constitution after twenty-six years of independence that was acceptable for all groups present in Pakistan. A military dictator removed the PPP government in 1977. The main allegation was the rigging in the 1977 election. The elected Prime Minster of the PPP was jailed and later hanged on 4 April, 1979.

After his death, Z.A. Bhutto's daughter Benazir Bhutto agitated the party due to her political activities. She kept to house arrest and was later exiled to the United Kingdom. She returned to Pakistan in 1986 and activated the party. The PPP won the general election of 1988, and Benazir

Bhutto took oath as the first female prime minster of Pakistan. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the PPP's government, and the PPP contested the next election through an alliance named the PDA (Peoples' Democratic Alliance). In this election, the party only formed a government in Sindh (province). The party played oppositional role in the National Assembly. The PPP again came to power as a result of the 1993 election, and this election was won without any alliance under the PPP banner. This time, Benazir Bhutto took oath as the prime minister and Sardar Farooq Ahmad Lagari was sworn in as the president of Pakistan. However, again the PPP government could not complete its constitutional tenure, and the president dissolved the PPP's government in 1997.

2.1.3. Mutahida Qaumi Movement (United National Movement) MQM

The Mutahida Qaumi Movement, generally known as the MQM, is a liberal-secular political party in Pakistan. This party holds immense mobilizing potential in the urban area of the province of Sindh. The MQM is the second largest party in Sindh and traditionally the third largest in the country. However, it currently holds the fourth highest number of seats in the National Assembly while maintaining its second position in the Sindh Assembly.

In 1978, Altaf Hussain formed a student organization called the All Pakistan Mohajir (refugees) Student Organization (APMSO). The emerging student organization quickly attracted students from Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba (IJT), the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami. In doing so, it sealed its future as an adversary of the IJT. The APMSO and IJT clashed regularly on the college campuses in the early 1980s, and they have continued to clash.

In 1984, the MQM was established by Altaf Husain. Between 1984 and 1986, Husain worked to recruit key members and then launched the party on the national stage with a massive rally in Karachi on 8 August 1986. Between 1986 and 1988, the MQM worked towards an alliance between Sindhis and Muhajirs (refugees). In 1988, the MQM fought national elections (under the name Haq-Parast) in an alliance with the Sindhi-dominated PPP led by Benazir Bhutto. In the elections, the MQM emerged as the third largest party with thirteen seats in the National Assembly. The MQM also achieved a landslide victory in municipal elections (1987) in Karachi.

The MQM's first term in sharing power was mainly unsuccessful in delivering real material improvements, as both infighting within the MQM and active damage caused by Bhutto's PPP hindered its progress. The MQM removed its support of the Bhutto government and fought the next election in an alliance with Nawaz Sharif's PML (N). The Mohajir-Sindhi alliance provided the only real chance to frustrate the Punjabi dominance in Pakistani politics. The PPP's narrow mindedness and the MQM's need to deliver on promises it had made to its voters led to an early demise to the alliance.

The coalition of Islami Jamouri Ittehad (IJI or Islamic Democratic Front) gained power in the 1990 elections. Between 1990 and 1992, the MQM had free reign under Jam Sadiq Ali. However, disputes and a lack of discipline accompanied the power. In June 1992, the military launched Operation Cleanup to overthrow Altaf Husain and his rising MQM. All of this was done with the complete approval of Prime Minister Sharif. While the Operation was officially conducted to 'weed out a criminal', it turned into a fight against all of the MQM. The military not only performed forced entries to the offices and houses of the party members, but it also led a media assault by releasing photos that depicted the MQM as a terrorist organization that ran torture chambers and gun running operations.

Disagreements between Altaf Husain and the MQM's two prominent leaders, Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan, first surfaced towards the end of 1991. The military-led campaign, along with a political campaign, helped to create a rebellion within the party leaders and led to the formation of the "Real MQM". In the elections of October 1990, the MQM emerged as the third strongest party in the country. This time, it made its alliance with the PML (N) to establish a provincial government in Sindh, whereas the PML (N) formed the federal government. The MQM boycotted the subsequent 1993 general elections claiming organized military intimidation, but it participated in the provincial elections. Again in 1997, the MQM boycotted the general elections and officially changed its name from the 'Muhajir' (refugee) Quami (national) Mahaz (front) to the Mutahida (united) Quami (national) Movement.

In 2001, the MQM boycotted the local body elections, but in the 2002 general elections, the MQM won seventeen out of two hundred and seventy-two seats in the National Assembly.

The MQM currently holds twenty-five seats in the National Assembly of Pakistan and thirty-eight seats in the Provincial Assembly of Sindh. The MQM also has six Senators and two Federal Ministers.

2.1.4. Awami (public) National Party (ANP)

The ANP is one of the leading socialist parties in Pakistan and is affiliated with Socialist International. A strong ally of the Pashtun nationalism, its main area of electoral influence is in the Pashtun-dominated provinces, with some influence in the Balochistan and Sindh provinces. In 1986, the National Democratic Party joined with several other progressive political and ethnic nationalist groups to form the ANP. Abdul Wali Khan was elected as its president, and the Sindhi nationalist Rasul Bakhsh Palijo was elected its secretary general.

From 1986–1988, the party participated in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The party formed a coalition government with the People's Party in NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Islamabad after the 1988 election. This coalition disintegrated in April 1989 due to

differences between the leaders of the two parties. The ANP formed an alliance with the PML in early June 1989, which led to a formal split in the party with many activists aligning themselves with the PPP. After the election of Sharif in the 1990 elections, the ANP again formed a coalition with its former rivals, the PML. This alliance proved longer lasting, surviving until 1998 when it collapsed due to differences over the Kalabagh Dam and the renaming of the province Pakhtunkhwa. The party then joined the Grand Democratic Alliance, campaigning against the increasingly dictatorial Sharif government's policies. After Pervez Musharraf overruled Sharif, the party remained an active member of the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy until the September 11 attacks in the United States in 2001, when it left the alliance over the support of the United States' ousting of the Taliban. The party's reputation was damaged during this period following the arrest of former federal minister and the senior party leader Azam Khan Hoti. In the 2002 elections, the party struck up an alliance with the PPP, however both parties were routed electorally in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by the religious-political alliance designated as the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) due to anti-American sentiment in Pakistan.

In the 2008 elections, the party ran on its own and won a plurality of votes in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as well as seats in Baluchistan for the first time in fifteen years and seats in Karachi for the first time. It subsequently formed a government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and supported the PPP government in Sindh and Baluchistan.

2.2 Previous Research

The political system in Pakistan is a multi-party system. For a comprehensive study concerning to the role of political parties in the political system from Pakistan, I used electronic and printed media information, articles, biographies, books and newspapers as main sources. The bias for my research includes investigations concerning to parties which acting in many specific regions. Using all these sources, we have drawn some independent conclusions.

The work of Asif Hussain (1979) reveals that in the political system of Pakistan, the landlord elites, political elites, religious elites, industrial elites, professional elites, and military elites have been the main competitors for power. The primary problem that has faced the political system of Pakistan is how the military has used the feudal lords and bureaucrats to establish hegemony over the political system. According to Hussain, Pakistan's initial problem was more administrative in nature than political. His work revolved around the role of in military ruining the political system of Pakistan. He investigated how the political system was affected by excluding popular forces, such as the political parties, from the process of setting up the government. Hussain's work explained the destruction of a political system by the civil and

military elites[15]. In contrast, I discuss the role of political parties in Pakistan with an emphasis on the participation of the popular forces in the political system and its output.

Keith Callard (1968) proposed that Pakistanis have always idealized democracy, but they did not know how to implement it. In his view, the initial period of Pakistan's history was a period of change and uncertainty. Political parties have increased and declined, and they have suffered several interruptions in Pakistan. Collard's work describes the incapability of the religious leaders of Pakistan to improve the political system due to the military and civil bureaucracy. My discussion revolves around the role of political parties in the formation of the political system of Pakistan[16].

Lawrence Ziring (2003) also blamed the political leaders of different political parties for the weakness of the political system of Pakistan, citing the lack of interest of the political parties in the development of the political system. That resulted in the evasion of the civil society into political system of the nation. The civil and military administration, instead of the political parties, still carried out the political processes. The parties on the other side were not yet capable of providing disciplined expressions of societal ambitions. In Pakistan, the political leaders of Punjab mostly dominated the political reforms, the structure of the administration, the economic structure, and the general decision making power. My work is focused on extract information about the efforts of all political parties existing in Pakistan. We focused not on the work of the leaders, but on the development of the political system.

Khalid B. Saeed (1967) made important observations on the political system of Pakistan. In his analysis, the politics of newly born Pakistan were based entirely on conflicts and affected the development of the political system. Basically, these conflicts were between the civil and military bureaucracies and the political leaders, and they resulted in disaster for the political system in Pakistan. This led to regionalism among the political parties of East and West Pakistan. Each party only focused their own interests, neglecting the rest of the country[17]. During my research, I analyzed the role of different political parties in view of the four functions – representation, integration, recruitment, and training – of the leadership and making the government accountable.

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[15] Hussain, Asif (1979).

[16] Callard, Keith (1968).

[17] Khalid B Saeed, (1966).

In the views of Sultan Ahmed,[18] the basic problem with the political system of Pakistan is the lack of national integration and cohesion between the political parties of the country from its beginning, which resulted in the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan. Ahmed concluded that we still have not learned the lesson from our early mistakes and have not yet been able to develop and integrate the tribal areas. Ahmed only discussed the lack of integration in West Pakistan and tribal areas, whereas I will discuss integration in the context of the entire country. My study also reveals the abilities and inabilities of the political leaders of the ruling, as well as the opposition parties to integrate the entire population of one nation.

Rounaq Jahan (1972)[19] discussed Pakistan's failure in national integration. She argued that the situation of imbalance between the Eastern and Western Pakistan's political parties led to the lack of national integration in Pakistan. She further stated that the problem of regionalism was a basic one that restricted the process of national integration. The political struggle between the political leaders of East and West Pakistan resulted in the creation of different interest-based political parties, which ruined the party politics and the political system of Pakistan. Therefore, the political leaders could neither develop nor fortify the existing political institutions during the immature phase from 1947 to 1958. I will further contribute to this analysis on the integration among the presently existing political parties, whereas she discussed only two parties and limited her analysis to the period before 1960.

Hasan Askari Rizvi thoroughly analyzed the political structure of the newly created Pakistan and concluded that less organized and less integrated political parties led to the development of the military regime. Most of the political dealings were regional, factional and prejudiced, which was against the political standards of any political system, sabotaging the political culture of the Pakistan. These less-developed and less-established political parties failed to compete with the Punjab-based civil bureaucracy as well as the military bureaucracy and their political leaders instead of competing with the civil and military bureaucracies, and they became flunkies in the hands of these bureaucracies. Rizvi's work explained the lack of integration and organization among the political parties. My research also analyses the lack of integration among the political parties and its negative impacts on the development of an organized political system in Pakistan. I will discuss the regimes only under the rule of the political parties.

Jochen Hippler,[20] in "Problems of Democracy and Nation-Building in Pakistan", discussed the Pakistani political governments, particularly the governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (each with two terms in office between 1988 and 1998). He opined that these tenures of Government by both main political parties of Pakistan lacked any ideology. Corruption was

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[18] Sultan Ahmed, Available at: < http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/aug2007/pak60.html

[19] Jahan, Rounaq (1972).

[20] Jochen Hippler, Available at: <http://www.jochenhippler.de/html/problems_of_democracy_and_nation-building_in_pakistan.html>

prevalent, even within the parties and their close associates. The parties were motivated mainly by financial greed and political opportunism, and they began a political war against each other for the sake of personal benefits. It is germane to mention here that all political parties have internal dictatorships, as the office bearers are selected by the higher authorities of the political parties instead of being selected by the party elections. No internal democracy is present in any political party. I have attempted to research these aspects of the government, but I have conducted a broader investigation, including the internal as well as external politics of these political parties and of how they attempt to facilitate the growth of the political system.

3. Theoretical framework

Political parties can be seen as linked in their roles in the formation of a modern democratic state. Political parties also represent democracy in the western world, including the political system developed in Britain in the eighteenth century. Many scholars have provided definitions of political parties. According to J. R. Montero and R Gunther: "parties were among the first subjects of analysis at the very birth of modern political science"[21]. Researchers have explored different aspects of political parties, including their structures, types, functions, and nature. Different party systems, such as the one-party system, the two-party system, and the multi-party system, have also been described. Different researchers have taken different approaches to study the political parties and their roles in political stability regarding the origin and structures of a party and the political system.

3.1. Definition of political party

As noted in Encyclopedia Encarta (2009), political parties are: "organizations that mobilize voters on behalf of a common set of interests, concerns, and goals. In many nations, parties play a crucial role in the democratic process. They formulate political and policy agendas, select candidates, conduct election campaigns, and monitor the work of their elected representatives. Political parties link citizens and the government, providing a means by which people can have a voice in their government".

"Political parties can play crucial roles in consolidating democratic principles in transitional societies"[22] . Political parties are the only source for conveying the voices of ordinary people to the assemblies. This creates the feeling of a political deadlock, which affects the people. There is no doubt that parties are an important part of the contemporary democratic system. The political parties of any country perform several functions necessary for the proper working of a democratic system. Political parties constitute the cornerstone of any democratic society[23].

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[21] Montero and Gunther, *op.cit*., p.2 .
[22] Available at: < http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/200sbd.pdf > p4
[23] Available at: <http://www.dawn.com/2011/08/01/political-parties-act.html>

A number of researchers have investigated the political parties through their field of interest. For example, some have worked on the structures, functions, types, and nature of political parties. They all have different views and draw different conclusions about parties' performances in political stability and political development. Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta (2011) described parties' importance regarding the developing world. "Without institutionalized parties, politics in the developing world would be unable to temper and channel social demands"[24].

Dix discussed the functions of political parties, stating that: "among other things, parties are typically major vehicles for the recruitment of political leadership, the structuring of electoral choice and peaceable political competition, and framing of policy alternatives"[25].
Ann-Kristin Jonasson exemplified the definition of a political party and summarized some of the criteria. These criteria include that a party should have some organization, participate in elections, have a proper label, provide competition in the government, present candidates, and spread ideas. Based on these criteria, political parties are regarded as parties if all of the above criteria are fulfilled[26].

A political party is not a loosely knitted organization of a few individuals. It is essential that the members of a political party be organized on specific principles or interests so that the party may be distinguished from any oligarchic party. A political party must have close and intimate relationships among all its members. The leaders of a party must endeavor to maximize their base of popular support among the people and legitimize the circle of the decision makers. In the end, a party must adopt constitutional means for the seizure of power so as to implement its policies and programs or to protect and promote its specific interests[27].

Different organizations may have multiple objectives, but for a political party, the necessary aim is to participate in politics through the electoral process of any public or legislative body. Assuming these characteristics of political parties in this research, I will rely on the definition given in Political Parties Order, 2002 [Pakistan] in which a party is defined as an association of citizens or a combination or group of such associations formed to propagate or influence political opinion and to participate in elections for any elective public office or for membership of a legislative body[28].

Anna-Kristin Jonasson discussed a direct contact among citizens and political parties. She also discussed the structure of the political parties along with their societal settings, backgrounds,

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[24] Hicken Allen and Kuhonta E. Martinez (2011) Shadows From the Past: Party System Institutionalization in Asia, Available at: <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/44/5/572>
[25] Robert H. Dix (1992), p. 488.
[26] Ann-Kristin Jonasson (2004), pp. 13-14.
[27] Siddique M Abdullah (1999), pp. 292-293.
[28] *Political Parties Order, 2002* [Pakistan], No. 18 of 2002, 28 June 2002, Available at:
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/47567a432.html>

experiences, orientations, motivations and shared objectives and the ways in which these linkages are established and maintained. Political parties have two types of linkage – internal and external – to establish contacts with citizens and within the political linkages[29].

Jonasson also discussed four types of political parties:
- Mass integration party: Mass integration parties work to integrate groups and masses through long-term and continuous work. The membership requirement for mass integration is formal (not strict).
- Total integration party: These types of parties seek to integrate thorough limited efforts, and these parties have strict requirements for membership.
- Catch-all party: These types of party do not exert effort to recruit members, and there are no specific requirements for membership. These parties attract populations at large at the time of election by central leadership and appeal to all for maximum votes.
- Clientelistic party: An important characteristic of clientelistic parties is their aim to secure votes through different types of vote-buying activities. These parties enter into different kinds of clientelistic deals to maximize the numbers of votes. Their main aim is to secure a maximum number of votes, and in this process, they do not take an ideological stance[30].

When we look at the political system of Pakistan, the personalized nature of politics is closely related to the dominated feudal elite who share power with influential urban groups. As Dr. Lodhi Maleeha rightly said: "clientelism has been the principal hallmark of Pakistani politics"[31].

There are two types of linkages, designated as Internal and External.

External linkage is used to establish a relationship between a political party and the citizens of the country. Maleeha further explained how an external linkage is established and maintained between a political party and the citizens. How do party members influence targeted groups? External linkage is the link between the members of the political parties and the ordinary citizens of a nation or country. It explains the relationships between the political parties and the people at large. It also explains which group of people is more influential in any specific party. For example, in Pakistan one of the largest political parties, the PML (N), is a composed of a group of industrialists. This party is more favorable for the industrialists; the PML (N) has more relationships and links with industrialists, and this party is more concentrated Punjab, where they receive more votes.[32] Whenever the PML (N) assumes power in the government, they are supported by businessmen and industrialists.

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[29]Jonasson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-80.

[30] *ibid*.

[31] Lodhi Maleeha (2011) p. 55.

[32] Gallup survey report published in Urdu news paper. Available at:
<http://www.pakimag.com/misc/gallup-survey-2011-pml-n-vote-bank-increases-ppp-decreases.html>

On the other hand, the other largest party, the PPP, is dominant in Sindh. This party is based on the slogan Roti (bread), Kapra (clothes), and Makan (house). This party mostly targets the poor and deprived parts the community, especially in Sindh, but also in rural Punjab. The PPP has more influence in the rural areas of Sindh and rural Punjab. They mainly seek to benefit Sindh.

Internal linkage Internal linkage serves to bind the members of a party organization with one another. Basically, internal linkage describes the relationship and link between the members of a specific political party. Jonasson explained further the establishment of this type of linkage and the criteria for recruiting members of a political party. She addressed the question of what actions we should take to maintain internal linkage.

Internal linkage explains the internal relations and unity in any political party; the members of any political party are recruited based on internal linkage. In Pakistan, the internal linkage between the political parties depends on family politics, feudalism, and nepotism. There is no specific rule for the recruitment of the members of any political party. The only rule to that can describe the recruitment of members is the importance of family relationships or the favoritism of any person in the area. If a person is so famous in any specific area that he can procure the votes of the people of that area, then every political party will try to align with that person.

3.2. Party theory

There is an abundance of literature on the role of political parties. My emphasis will be on the functions of political parties as discussed by Randall and Svåsand. I tried to answer my research question in view of Randall and Svåsand's "a series of potential functions", which are oriented towards the electorate (Representation, Integration), Linkage-related (Aggregating, Recruitment and training of political leaders), and the government (Making government accountable, Organizing opposition). This study discusses how a political system is organized and how the elected representatives represent the people in the democratic system of Pakistan. Regarding integration, this study discusses the role of political parties in mobilizing the masses and the integration of groups under a single national identity.

Randall and Svåsand discussed representation and aggregation as separate functions. However, they also pointed out that representation and aggregation are overlapping functions. During my study, I found that representation and aggregation are highly similar, and therefore, I have focused on representation. Doherty described two fundamental purposes for political parties: "first, they define and express a group's needs in way that the public and political system can understand and respond to. Second, they develop common ideas among significant groups in

order to exert pressure upon the political system"[33]. When a party is providing representation in parliament or any other policy-making process, the party is articulating a group's interest. This policy-making process aggregates the demands of all groups because the groups are present in that process. For this reason, I will not discuss aggregation.

In this study, all other functions will be discussed without aggregation. This study further discusses the parties' ways to recruit and train leadership to hold offices. Their government-related function will also be considered, including their role when they govern the state or when they organize the opposition. Below, I discuss the different analytic categories in more detail.

3.2.1. Representation

Representation refers to the representatives of democracies, where elected officials ostensibly speak on behalf of the rights of their voters in the parliament. Only citizens are granted representation in the government in the form of voting rights. Hanna Pitkin considered representation as popular representation and linked it with the idea of self-government, such that everyone's voice can be heard, with regard to how our institutions are embodied[34]. This way, the voices and demands of the ordinary masses can be heard while their representatives participate in parliament's actions. In the political system, the process of representation relates to how some elected persons stand in for their electors or a group of electors, for a certain period of time.

Randall and Svåsand have taken "representation as an expression of people's demands; simplifying and structuring electoral choice"[35]. As Hobbes (cited by Pitkin) defined: "Representation in terms of giving and having authority"[36]. Parties participate in elections and present candidates for constituencies, and people give them authority by voting for them to represent their needs, demands, and problems before the parliament or government. Pitkin further stated that: "representing here means acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them"[37]. In view of Pitkin, the representatives should represent the needs, demands, and problems before the legislature in a positive way, allowing for a positive response to that representation. As Randall and Svåsand quoted from Sartori, parties are or should be: "an instrument for representing the people by expressing their demands"[38].

Different methods of representation are used, such population representation, territorial representation, or descriptive representation. We will discuss three types of representation here.

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[33] Ivan Doherty, *Democracy out of balance* (April, May 2001), p. 32.

[34] Pitkin H Fenichel (1972), p. 3.
[35] V. Randall and L. Svåsand (2002), p. 5.
[36] Fenichel, *op. cit*., p. 38.
[37] Lisa Disch (2011).
[38] Randall and Svåsand, *op. cit*., p. 5.

In representation by population, representatives are elected by almost equal numbers of voters. In this process, the whole country is divided into more or less equal blocks of voters. In territorial representation, representatives are elected by area. It is difficult to meet above discussed challenges in the case of territorial representation. In some areas (provinces), the population will be smaller, so there are fewer representatives, and it is difficult for the people and their representatives to defend themselves during the policy-making process. On the other hand, areas with higher populations also face problems, as they must represent demands from overwhelmingly urban areas. In descriptive representation, representatives not only represent their constituencies but they also represent their politically relevant descriptive characteristic, such as gender, geographical linkage, ethnicity, occupation, religion, and language. In the political history of Pakistan, descriptive representation has been very influential. In particular, ethnic, language, and religious-based descriptive representations are common. In the party system, when we look at the concept of representation, parties present their candidates for the specific constituency. These candidates articulate party manifestos and they observe and pay attention to the people's demands.

However, Pettit, made the concept of representation more acceptable in the party system of democracies when he argues that "….. individual members will vote their party votes and will be expected even by those who elect them to vote that way [….] if that is weakness of the system, the strength is that the parliament as whole operate very efficiently to generate a body of legislation that can be expected to be interlay coherent, and to cohere with established law and principle"[39].

For this thesis, I have investigated how the political system is organized regarding representative bodies and how the elected representatives in the democratic system of Pakistan represent the people.

3.2.2.   Integration

Generally, integration is understood as a process that brings different groups together. "Broad-based political parties allow for societal conflicts to be debated widely, cutting across ethnic, tribal, regional, or religious lines"[40].

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[39] Pettit as cited in V. Brito and R. David (2008), p. 145.
[40] USAID Political Party Development Assistance (1999), p. 8, Available at:
< http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2496/200sbd.pdf>

"National integration thus refers specifically to the problem of creating a sense of territorial nationality which overshadow—or eliminates parochial loyalties"[41]. When we discuss political integration, we presume the existence of different groups with different religions, languages, and cultural and ethnic identities. Integration is a tool to bring these groups into a single national identity. This process involves the integration of voters into the political system and providing them with political education. According to Randall and Svåsand, political parties help to motivate people to participate in the process of this political system to elect their own representatives. Samuel P. Huntington declared political "election as course in civics education with parties as teacher"[42]. Political integration refers to the process of educating the population and bringing individuals and groups (with different identities) into one democratic political system. Akindel (2004) argued that: "political mobilization [means] the process of sensitizing the citizenry, increasing their cognition, political consciousness as well as the latter's efficacy"[43].

Through their actions, political parties influence people's views directly during an election to mobilize the society from the individual to the national level. Doherty (2001) described political parties and civil societies as natural allies; he further argued that political parties can affect a society more than any other group to ensure the participation of the inhabitants of the society to politics[44]. As Huntington stated: "parties are key institution for organizing mass involvement in fully participant or mobilized societies"[45]. Integration is a process for mobilizing the populace. This is a dynamic process used to motivate the ordinary masses to participate in elections so that they can use their powers to elect their own appropriate representatives so that they (representatives) can represent their needs, demands, and problems explicitly in the parliament or government. Hence, integration is a tool to bring these groups of different properties into a single national identity.

Here, mobilization should be considered in terms of connecting to the ordinary masses and involving them truly and liberally in negotiations and decisions that affect their general welfare. Mobilization should aspire to increase the people's level of awareness and their knowledge of political and other issues so that they can apply their strength positively and participate aggressively in the social and political life of the country. In my examination of integration in the political system of Pakistan, I will address two questions.

Roles of political parties:
- Mobilizing the masses.
- Integration of groups under a single national identity.

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[41] Weiner Myron, (1965).

[42] Randall and Svåsand, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[43] S. T. Akindel (2004), p. 101.

[44] Doherty, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[45] Huntington as cited in Dix, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

3.2.3   Recruitment and training

Ihuah gave the example of shepherd as a leader who does not put his own self-interest above the sheep's interest; he does not rest until the sheep are provided for – not just regarding their immediate needs, but ensuring that the needs of the future are also met. Consequently, the shepherd envisions the future and plans for it[46]. "They (political parties) act as a training ground for political leaders who will eventually assume a role in governing society"[47].

When we discuss recruitment and training, we must consider parties' internal issues and democratic experiences. Parties must be taught regarding the electoral process, collective decision-making, and the governing rules, procedures and norms of democracy[48]. Wardu described different modes of recruitment that vary according to the political system and the type of government. The three major types are the following:

Traditional Leadership: Traditional leadership is characterized by an aristocratic method of government. Leaders come in power and gain control only because their forefathers or families have the power to control[49]. They are selected by head of the family (Traditional Leadership).

Autocratic Leadership: Autocratic leadership is characterized by an oppressive or traditional method of governing. In this form of government, all powers revolve around one person. Autocratic leadership is a type of dictatorship. In this form of government, a military dictator takes control of the government from the civilians.

Democratic Leadership: Democratic leadership is the democratic method of recruiting leadership. Leaders are recruited from the masses through a democratic process. They are selected by a head of the family (Traditional Leadership) or using the power of the gun (Autocratic Leadership).

Wardu rejected the first two modes of recruitment, as they are an imposition and not a rational choice by citizens and electorates. Wardu declared the Democratic Leadership method of election best because it is based on formal elections[50]. This means that the representatives are elected by the process of election, in which the ordinary people of the nation elect their representatives by casting their votes.

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[46] Ihuah Alloy S (2010), p. 11.

[47] Doherty, *op. cit*., p. 32.

[48] Randall and Svåsand, *op. cit*., p. 5.

[49] Available at: <http://www.money-zine.com/Definitions/Career-Dictionary/Traditional-Leadership-Style/http://www.money-zine.com/Definitions/Career-Dictionary/Traditional-Leadership-Style/>

[50] Wardu S Afoma's speech on March, 17, 2011, Available from: <http://www.nideref.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=64:democracy-leadership-recruitment-and-national-development>

Recruitment and training of the political leaders of a political party is a process that runs within the party. In a democratic system, leaders come from the grassroots level. They should not be traditional or autocratic, but a part of democratic political process. During this democratic process, they struggle to show themselves within the party. "This could be improved with skill and the skill improves with continues exercise"[51]. This struggle gives them new experiences of leadership regarding political electoral institutes. This process also helps to prevent power-hunger individuals from pursuing nondemocratic routes[52]. In this democratic mode of recruitment and training, leaders have a direct link to the common people so they can better assess the people's needs. "Recruitment must be relevant to democratic consolidation"[53]. In the Asia Report, the authors discussed the importance of the democratic process of training a recruited leader "Trained workers could also be motivated by the prospect of rising through the ranks, which in turn would be an incentive to demonstrate commitment to the party program[54]". This discussion shows the different kinds of leadership recruitment and training and their importance within the political system.

When I look at the recruitment and training of political leaders in the political parties in Pakistan, I try to answer the following question: How do Pakistani political parties recruit their political leaders?

3.2.4. Making government accountable

Political parties contest and seek to win elections to manage government institutes[55]. In any democratic system, elections are held and its candidates represent the party, and the people use their power of vote to elect the candidate of their own choice. The political party that wins the most seats forms a coherent government by overcoming the collective action problem and exercising control over the administration[56]. Sometimes, more than one party can form a government, known as a coalition government. In a democratic system, political parties create balance between its demands and support, such as interest expression and aggregation. In a modern, complex society, parties are a necessary link in the relationship between the government and people of a nation[57]. As party or parties exercise control over government administration, they are responsible for the government's actions. "Let us be clear, the popular mandate is not

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[51] Shah Mamood Quershi, Ex Foreign Minister of Pakistan 11 May 2010. The Nation, Available from: <http://nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Regional/Lahore/11-May-2011/Intraparty-elections-must-for-democracys-survival-Qureshi>
[52] Randall and Svåsand, *op. cit*., p. 6.
[53] *ibid.*
[54] Asia Report (2005). No.102, p. 25.
[55] Doherty, *op. cit*., p. 32.
[56] Randall and Svåsand, *op. cit*., p. 7.
[57] David Mckay (2001), p. 82.

about acquiring power but rather about articulating the public good, securing rights and the defending lives and properties of citizens"[58].

By providing a means of accountability, political parties can make governments more stable and functional. According to social-contract theory, governments must be held accountable for their actions. If they are perceived to be failing, then the people can replace them at election time[59]. This way, the voter knows the answerable party or parties for government actions and deeds. During next election, voters will have a record of their performance as the ruling party or parties. This threat makes the government accountable for its deeds and responsibilities. If the influence of the political parties makes the government accountable then the elected representatives will avoid undertaking any form of corruption. If a government is not accountable then it could be more corrupt and irresponsible.

Accountability is important in the life of a nation. Accountability in any government is an essential part of maintaining the balance between the rulers and the ordinary people of that nation. For the sake of this research, I will discuss this concept of "making government accountable" as the government should be accountable for its actions, including how they implement their manifesto and how they respond to the demands and needs of voters. Accountability of any government is necessary to implement law and order during its reign. When I see the government in Pakistan trying to be accountable, I try to answer the following question: How can political parties make the government more accountable?

3.2.5   Organizing opposition

The party with the less number of seats at the conclusion of an election sits in the assembly as the opposition party. Randall and Svåsand explained: "Government-related functions like implement party and good governance and handle opposition and criticism"[60]. The opposition party is an important part of democracy. Political parties organize the opposition to challenge government policies if they are against the benefits of people. The opposition party works to attract the attention of the people and poses as the second choice for government by the choice of people.

The USAID Political Party Development Assistance report discussed opposition as: "in democratic political parties outside the government or ruling coalition have the responsibilities of providing loyal opposition to government"[61]. But Doherty made it more precise, when he discussed: "when out of power, they provide a constructive and critical opposition by presenting

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[58] Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/254975/democracy--the-only-road-to-be-on/>
[59] Mckay, *op. cit.,* p. 82.
[60] Randall V.; Svåsand L., (2002)

[61] USAID Political Party Development Assistance, *op cit*., p28.

themselves as the alternative government voter may wish to choose"[62]. Doherty added that the opposition party should be constrictive and critical. Therefore, the opposition criticizes the policies of the government and proposes solutions for the problems[63] Khoury referred to the role of the opposition as: "the opposition has to play the role of opposition; we hope it will be proper and will correct our path if we make mistake and this natural in democratic function"[64]. The opposition's role is to correct the path of the government rather than causing a situation that will make the government unstable. The opposition party or parties scrutinize the government's work, raise debates on important issues, and put questions to the prime minister and cabinet ministers in parliament to make them accountable for their actions.

As per the need to discuss the role of political parties in this contemporary essay, I take the role of the opposition and so must not only be critical but also constructive. The opposition should criticize when the government is not performing according to the law or against the people's demands and in national interest. Its criticism should be helpful to the government. When I analyze how political parties in Pakistan organize the opposition, I will try to answer the following question: How do political parties in Pakistan organize the opposition party?

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[62] Doherty, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[63] *ibid*

[64] Nazim Khoury (2011), Environment Minister of Lebanon, Available at:
<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2011/Jun-16/Constructive-opposition-natural-Nazim-Khoury.ashx#ixzz1iQ7ebAw5>

4.   Methodology

This research discusses the role of political parties in the development of the democratic political system of Pakistan. This research is suited to qualitative research methods because it helps in understanding and exploring social phenomena, as well as developing in-depth knowledge of the subjects. It will be difficult to gather the information of all political parties and it is a considerable subject to discuss for a Master's thesis. Therefore, I shall narrow down my research only to the prominent political parties of Pakistan, since during the mentioned period, these parties remained prominent in the political scene of Pakistan. These parties are the PPP, the PML (N), the ANP, and the MQM over the past two decades. These parties have ruled over Pakistan at different tenures during last twenty years.

4.1   Data collection

Data collection is a mechanism to obtain material for research. There are two sources of data: primary and secondary. A primary source is firsthand information that the researcher collects through various methods, such as observation, interviewing, post, or e-mailing. Secondary sources consist of data compiled and published for other purposes. Secondary sources are comprised from different publications, such as journals, articles, reports, statements from different institutions, and surveys conducted by different organizations. In my qualitative research, I have relied upon secondary data, as there are many advantages of using secondary data, such as it is easily available, of almost no cost, and can be saved easily. The reliability and accuracy of the data is considered during this data collection process. Mostly secondary data are selected from scholars and columnists with good and unbiased reputations. This study selected documents from well-known organizations. The same method was used with newspapers; only national level ones with a good repute were selected.

For supporting my research, I searched electronic and print media regarding the different aspects and questions of my research. I searched the four "functions" respectively one after the other, and read different articles regarding the topic. However, I have chosen only those I considered most relevant to give me the in-depth knowledge of the characteristics of political parties regarding the four "functions".

To analyze 'Representation in Pakistan' I analyzed the extensive data and selected the data that show how the political system is organized regarding the representative body and how the elected representatives in the democratic system of Pakistan represent the people. I have also selected the data that show the practical picture of representation present in the political parties of Pakistan. I initially searched on representation in the assemblies of Pakistan by the political leaders of the political assemblies of Pakistan. I then searched with a new phrase: "Political

Representation in Pakistan". Under these keywords, there were many articles or related literature to study.

In the beginning, I designed my research in such a way that I could understand the concept of integration. For this, I started by searching "integration" on the Internet but no sources were relevant. I changed the question to "concept of integration among the political parties" and I found two articles on integration but they were not sufficient to clear the concept of integration among the political parties.

To find information regarding the recruitment process and training of leaders, I looked through the past history of political parties present in the political system of Pakistan. I wanted to stress the internal democracy of the political parties. That is how the prominent political parties work and how the political leaders together with military dictators legislate to depoliticize society.

I started with the question of "recruitment training" but no articles of relevance were found. I was not able to find any appropriate material on recruitment training. Then I changed my question to "democracy and leadership recruitment" and found sources on the Internet that enhanced my knowledge regarding the concept of recruitment and training of political leaders.

Finally, I searched material on organizing the opposition in Pakistan. I searched "organizing opposition in Pakistan". This was the basic question I used to search every module. But this time, no relevant topic was found. I changed my question to "How to make an opposition organized"

To obtain an in-depth understanding of the role of political parties in Pakistan and their functions in the democratic system, I undertook an extensive literature study of relevant books, journals, articles, newspapers, magazines (local and international), electronic media, and document reviews. I used the Internet as a source of data and information collection because it is an easy and efficient way of accessing and saving information. The major source of information gathering is different in the recognized libraries provided by the university.

Initially, I looked at the history of the Pakistani political system to obtain a better understanding of the political system of Pakistan and the role of political parties in Pakistan. As I used library resources and the Internet, I made notes in my electronic notebook that reflected the information about the books, documents, and other material. I also saved important links with captions. I used articles from newspapers published in Pakistan in both the Urdu (national language of Pakistan) and English languages. I used books and survey reports from the Internet. In this process, I tried to choose books and articles from neutral scholars and columnists.

4.2   Limitations

My plan was to conduct interviews with leaders of prominent parties, military personnel, and others who have deep interest and knowledge of political parties and politics to obtain their views regarding the political instabilities in Pakistan. There are many hurdles to overcome to attain an appointment with different leaders, especially military personnel. Top military personnel are busy and it is hard to obtain access to them. Political leaders in Pakistan are similar to celebrities and tend to always be "busy". In addition, I am not in Pakistan currently so it was not possible to conduct interviews from another place. Due to these hurdles, I did not conduct any interviews.

4.3   Method of analysis

I used content analysis to analyze the collected data. "Content analysis is research technique for making replicable and valid inference from text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use"[65]. All data collected from secondary resources was raw data. I used theory-guided content analysis, where prior theoretical knowledge guided or helped to analyze the secondary data. My first task was to categorize the data and I went through each individual data source repeatedly, updated my notes, and arranged data according to relevant topics, such as representation, integration, aggregation, recruitment and training leaders; making government accountable; and organizing opposition. Later I prioritized data by topic. I sorted the data and picked authorized, authentic, and relevant data to represent my research. The next step was to enhance the useful data and to reshape it into an increasing abstract unit of information. For this I used my theoretical work. In this procedure, I analyzed data through a theoretical lens. (Randall and Svåsand's "a series of potential functions", which are oriented towards the electorate (Representation, Integration), Linkage-related (Recruitment and training of political leaders), and the government (Making government accountable, Organizing opposition).Those processes transform sample data into a more abstract unit of information. Then I prioritized the relevant information to answer the questions and objectives of the study.

5   Results

5.1   Representation in Pakistan

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[65] Klaus Krippendorff (2004), p. 18.

In this section, I discussed how the political system is organized regarding the representative body and how the elected representatives in the democratic system of Pakistan represent the people. From its birth, Pakistan has experienced different governments, such as a presidential way of governing, parliamentary, and dictators. Ayub Khan introduced president system of government in 1962. In this system, people elected their representatives through the basic democratic system, and these representatives could cast votes for the selection of a president. After the Constitution of 1973, the parliamentary system was working, and the parliament consisted of two houses: an upper house (Senate) and a lower house (National Assembly). These two houses represented the population in the legislation. The National Assembly of Pakistan consists of two hundred and seventy-two representatives elected directly by the population during general elections. People elect them by casting votes from the constituencies, which are divided by the populations of all areas of the country. Along with these two hundred and seventy-two seats, there are sixty reserved seats for women and ten for the religious minorities (descriptive representation). There is a threshold of 5% minimum votes to qualify for these reserved seats.

The Senate is comprised of a hundred members, all indirectly elected. In the Senate, an equal number of representatives (including four technocrats/religious scholars and four women) are elected from each of the four provinces by the members of the provincial legislatures; this is an example of territorial representation. There are also reserved seats for women, technocrats, and religious scholars. The members of the National Assembly elect four Senators, including one technocrat/religious scholar and one woman, from the Federal Capital. Eight representatives in the Senate (no reserved seat for technocrat/religious scholars or women) are elected from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in such manner as the President may, by order, prescribe.

The members of provincial legislatures are also elected directly from the general elections. The numbers of seats in the provincial assemblies are as follows: Punjab three hundred and seventy-one seats (two hundred and ninety-seven direct constituencies, sixty-six reserved seats for women, eight reserved for minorities); Sindh, one hundred and sixty-eight seats (one hundred and thirty direct constituencies, twenty-nine reserved seats for women, nine reserved for minorities); North Western Frontier Province (NWFP), one hundred and twenty-four seats (ninety-nine direct constituencies, twenty-two reserved seats for women, three reserved for minorities); and Baluchistan, sixty-five seats.

In the provincial assemblies, there are seats reserved for women and religious minorities to be elected through the party lists on the basis of gained votes. There is also a threshold of 5% minimum votes to qualify for these reserved seats. We see representation in the political system of Pakistan in light of three modes of representation.

In the National Assembly, representatives are elected through representation by the population. The entire country is divided into two hundred and sixty-six constituencies with an almost equal number of voters, whereas the Senate consists of a hundred members and every province has equal representatives. In every house, women representatives are present. The Senate includes technocrats/religious scholars and women all represent their descriptive characteristic; this is a kind of territorial representation, where every provincial (territorial) region has equal presentation. When we discuss the descriptive form of representation, it includes politically relevant descriptive characteristics, such as gender, geographical linkage, ethnicity, occupation, religion, and language.

How political parties represent the people?

The representatives of the political parties who contest elections from any specific area arrange many gatherings and Jalsas (public meetings) in their specific areas and address the people in those Jalsas. They also take part in television talk shows and represent their parties' views regarding their manifestos and important issues. At these Jalsas, the contesting candidates present the manifestos of their parties and allure the ordinary people with different attractive packages and social and beneficial work that they will perform for the betterment of the area after they are elected as the representative.

The political leaders of a political party represent a specific group, area, or number of people in the legislation. The people of that group, area, or number of people elect them. The elected political leader is also one of them. He already knows the demands, needs, and problems faced by the people of his electoral area and can represent them in the legislative institutions. But in Pakistan, the level of discussion of the problems between the two houses of the parliament and the provincial assemblies is low. Most of the time, during the meetings of these elected bodies, the presence of the elected members is low, and often due to the short quorum, these meeting cannot precede. This shows clearly the non-seriousness of the political parties and their members in the national as well as the provincial assemblies. They do not represent their populace or territory in a descriptive way of representation. They do not put present the problems and demands in the constituencies because they do not take part in legislation. In 2011, only one hundred and sixty-eight members out of three hundred and forty-two took part in house proceedings, with one hundred and seventy-four remaining silent. These one hundred and seventy-four members did not speak a single word in the house proceedings.

Every time when Pakistan is in crisis, the National Assembly, as well as the provincial assemblies, fails to play their role to prevent the country from those crises. This is only the power of people who came on roads for the fulfillment of their representative's role. Mostly, members of the National Assembly did not pay attention to their commitments. According to

Pildat Citizens' Report about Pakistan: the "National Assembly plays no role in addressing national crises"[66].

Here I give an example regarding the lack of representation of contemporary parliament. In Pakistan before the election of 2008, there was a movement for restoration of the judiciary. During their election campaigns, most parties made promises for the restoration of the judiciary. Even the co-chairman of the PPP, Asif Ali Zardari and the president of PML (N), Nawaz Sharif were assigned an agreement regarding judiciary crises. But the PPP's government refused to do so[67] and the judiciary was restored only when the people came out on the roads to protest. In all this procedure of restoring the judiciary, the political leaders failed to show their political role.

5.2   Integration in Pakistan

- Role of political parties in mobilizing the masses.

In Pakistan during the elections, the political parties normally organize the rallies and Jalsas in the different areas of the country. In these rallies and Jalsas, the leaders of the political parties address the people present at that time or watching on television. Here, they discuss the important problems faced by the people of that territory or their needs and demands. They propose solutions and make promises to fulfill the needs and demands of the people. The main purpose of these rallies, Jalsas, and television talk shows is to educate and mobilize the people of their policies and techniques and to inspire them to become a member of the political party. The major objective of the political parties is to encourage people to become a member of that party.

All the political parties are area based and they use racism to secure the votes of their area, for example, the PML (N) is Punjab based. They have their major vote bank only in the province of Punjab. On the other hand, the PPP is Sindh based. They have the majority of the vote bank in the province of Sindh[68]. If we talk about major political parties – PPP and PML (N) – the PPP has very strong roots in the Sindh province, while the PML (N) does not have as much support in Sindh. The PPP faces the same dilemma in Punjab. The PML (N) is clearly the prominent party in Punjab (which is actually 60% of Pakistan population) and the PPP has little support. The PPP also has little support in rural areas. But, the dilemma of both parties is that they rely mostly on Sardars (head of tribe) or Wadairas (feudal lords) in these rural areas of Pakistan.
If we look at Baluchistan province, you see the same issues. These dominant parties rely on feudal lords and nationalist parties to secure the vote, that is, the PML (N) made an alliance with the Jamhoori (democratic) Watan (country) Party (JWP) in 1990 and the Baluchistan National Party (BNP) formed the provincial government with the help of the PPP[69]. These feudal lords

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[66] Pildat Citizens' Report (17 March, 2008–16 March, 2009), p.10.
[67] *ibid*.
[68] Moonis Ahmar, Available at:
<http://www.conflict-prevention.net/page.php?id=40&formid=73&action=show&surveyid=15>
[69] Lodhi (2002), p. 30.

often use this support from the top parties to maintain their political power and influence. They could integrate into one nation but they do not try because they think that they will lose control of their tribe. It is said that until the "Sardars are present, there can be no integration[70]".

The PPP is one of the main political parties of Pakistan with the most influence in the rural areas of the province of Sindh. The main reason for its influence in Sindh is that it struggles for the rights of the people of the Sindh only. While doing this, they present the conflict between people of Sindh and Punjab and apparently, they show that the people of the Sindh are aggrieved. They educate and mobilize their people in this specific way of conflict and play the Sindh card. On the other hand, the political parties of the ANP in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the PML (N) in Punjab also mobilize their people in the same manner. This conflicted education and mobilization is a clear example of less politics of integration in the political parties of Pakistan. This conflict denies the major part of the democracy – integration – and works as a driving force pushing the people away from integration.

In Pakistani politics, this phase of integration is not much advanced. The strongest example of less integration in Pakistani politics is the separation of Western Pakistan (Bangladesh) from Pakistan in 1971. This shows clearly the absence of integration in Pakistani politics. No doubt, the separation of East Pakistan was the climax of bad political management, social injustice, and financial scarcity. The accessible data and information show that the main reason for this rebellion was that the political influential of West Pakistan created policies that aggravated so much opposition and bitterness from East Pakistan that the system came to the edge of collapse.

When Pakistan came into being, the Mahajars (ethnic term refers to refugees from India) were very educated and business oriented persons. They knew that a feudal system was not in the best interest of Pakistan. They always opposed a feudal system. But Pakistani political parties just wanted to form the government. So, they encouraged Sardars and Wadairas to join the political parties. That is the main reason Mahajars have suffered in almost all eras of political, as well as dictator governments.

General Ayub Khan started neglecting and discriminating against the Mahajars in his regime (1958-1969). In Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's era, the Mahajars suffered again. Bhutto supported the Sindh people. Even Bhutto gave important places among the government to the Sindh people belonging to the rural area. The same issue happened during the Zia-ul-Haq tenure. The Mahajars are now the largest neglected group in Pakistan, neglecting the fact that they are business oriented personalities and are well educated. They never come into the mainstream of Pakistani politics. The Mahajars do not have a large population in the rural areas of their province. They were kept away from important positions in bureaucracy and in politics; they

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[70] Available at: <http://edocs.nps.edu/npspubs/scholarly/theses/2010/Mar/10Mar_Pipes.pdf p70>

think that they are the losers in the system. This gives them a sense of marginalization and now they are thinking about a separate province[71].

A study of the province of Baluchistan has proved that Baluchistan has suffered continuously from a phase of neglecting and stubborn attempts to keep it in a state of deprivation. On the other hand, many actions from almost all the governments are obstacles in the way of integration. These obstacles include denial of democracy, economic exploitation, and exclusion from national benefits. Military (there are three military operations in Baluchistan) excess towards the Bloch has not caused them to acquiesce and integrate with the nation. Instead, it has pushed them further away[72]. Political parties of the province of Baluchistan also use the Baluchistan card, and they educate and mobilize their people in the environment of conflict with the people of Punjab. Wirsing (cited by Pipes) called it: "the expropriation of natural resources as the most persistent grievance of the Bloch's"[73]. Along with it, the military excess towards Baluchistan has not allowed its people to integrate with the nation[74].

5.3   Recruitment and training leaders in Pakistan

- How political parties recruit political leaders and parties internal politics

The politics of the political parties in Pakistan is simply family politics. First of all, we discuss the PPP. Z.A Bhutto established the PPP in 1967 and after his death in 1979, his daughter Benazir Bhutto succeeded him as party leader. After her assassination in 2007, her husband Mr. Asif Ali Zardari and her son Bilawal Bhutto Zardari are combined leaders of the party. The same situation is in the PML (N) as it has had the same leader, Nawaz Sharif, since its establishment in 1988. Now his brother Shabaz Sharif is Chief Minister of Punjab. Hamza Shabaz, son of Shabaz Sharif and Mariam Nawaz, daughter of Nawaz Sharif, are also in politics. No others have been given a chance to present these parties apart from family members.

The ANP have a tradition of conducting an election after every four years. But most the time, Wali Khan's (founder of the ANP) family has dominated the ANP history. The same happens in the MQM, as Altaf Husain the founder of party has headed the party from its birth in xxxx. No other person has been given a chance to be the leader of the party. If elections are not held for the recruitment of the leader of a party then other members of the party are not given a chance. The people have been seeing the same faces as leaders of the parties for decades[75].

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[71]Ahmed Isshtiaq (1996), p. 216.
[72] Wirsing as cited in D. Gregory Pipes (2010), p. 73, Available at:
<http://edocs.nps.edu/npspubs/scholarly/theses/2010/Mar/10Mar_Pipes.pdf>
[73] *ibid.*, p. 9.
[74] *ibid.*, p. 70.
[75] Impact of the 18th Constitutional Amendment on Federation-Provinces Relations, Available at:
<http://www.pildat.org/Publications/Publication/PAP/Impactofthe18thConstitutionalAmendmentonFederalProvince
sRelations-BriefingPaper.pdf>

The worst example of family politics has been set by the leaders of our two famous political parties. These parties' leaders try to hold their position in the party and for this, they made changes in the Constitution with mutual consensus. In the 18th Amendment, they made changes to seize the party. If the party head feels that a certain party member is not representing the party, he can write to the speaker and have him removed. According to that amendment rule of intra, party elections have vanished[76]. This amendment will help the authoritarian behavior of party leaders.

Mostly when a dictator comes in power, they ban political activities and put leaders in jail or send to exile and they do not face resistance from the people at large. When these leaders come out from jail or from exile, they mobilize the people against the dictator rule. According to the PPP's leader Nisar Khuro (as quoted in Crisis Group Asia Report No.102, 28 September 2005): "our party workers tend to wait for the party leaders to return from prison or exile, rather than rallying around the second team".[77] This report quoted one district president from PML (N): "If Nawaz Sharif was in Pakistan, he would be able to mobilize the base. But he's not here, and there's nobody to take his place".[78]

All this happens because the political workers at the lower level often have a minor role in the making of party politics, while fascinating and alluring personalities are vital to obtaining the working class's support. It is important that the political parties integrate the members in a better organizational framework, especially at the local level. Often there are no accurate membership lists and no successful communication with the lower level workers. This is due to the badly managed headquarters of the political parties with a lack of trained staff familiar with modern administrative skills. As a result, the parties depend upon their leaders to maintain the contacts between the center and lower level workers[79].

When we look at the general political scenario of Pakistan, it presents the same position, and it is pertinent to mention that in Pakistan, recruitment of the political leaders in a political party is not based on election. In our country, specific families, Mazaris, Jatois, Mirs, Legharis, Tiwanas, Bhuttos, Nawabs, and Sardars (all feudal families in Pakistan), contest the election and become the parliamentarians and elected representatives of the poor haris (agricultural worker), laborers, miserable shopkeepers, workers, and ordinary people. There is then no match or similarity between the status of voters and their elected representative in any part of life: social, economic,

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[76] Malik Maqbool (2010).
[77] *Authoritarianism and Political Party Reform in Pakistan.*
Crisis Group Asia Report N°102, 28 September 2005
Available at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/pakistan/102_authoritarianism_and_political_party_reform_in_pakistan.pdf > p18
[78] *ibid*

[79] *ibid.*

or political. A specific elite class rules the entire populace. It is historically undeniable that in this country not more than two hundred families have been sharing political power for the entire period of the six decades of its independence[80]. All this is happening because these prominent parties are parading as the "family businesses" of the leaders. They decide the candidates for all the positions. They grasp the benefits of power whether office is held by themselves or by someone from their party. In any case, they want absolute power. According to Rasul Bakhash Rais, their government is a: "sort of an oligarchy composed of close friends and trusted political persons and families, exercise sovereignty"[81].

Students are the traditional activists in Pakistan and used to wield power. Unfortunately, parties could not manage these nurseries properly. Unfortunately, Pakistan has faced a number of military regimes and during these regimes, they tried to depoliticize the country. They used different tactics to get the required result. Sometimes they banned political parties and detained workers in jail, for example, when Zia ul Haq (military dictator) over ruled Bhutto's regime, he faced resistance from the public. He banned political activities in Pakistan and tried to depoliticize the society progressively because he thought that political activism could ruin his rule. He knew that when students led the campaign against Ayoub Khan (also a dictator), the army ruler had to leave the regime. His ban on student unions deprived the country of the two major sources for producing the political workers and leaders[82]. After Zia ul Haq (1988–1999), four elected governments came in power but they did not concentrate on that important issue. Benazir Bhutto announced that she would lift the ban on student unions but she could not make it happen. Students unions remained banned in Musharraf's regime. Even now, students have to submit an affidavit of declaring that they will not participate in any political activity during their study.

There is no proper setup of training among government institutions in political parties. Recently the Jamat-I-Islami (religious political party) started a training program for their women. At the NGO level and in civil society organizations, several NGOs have worked out different strategies to increase women's participation in politics[83].

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[80] Ghazali A Sattar (1997), Available at:
<http://library.northsouth.edu/Upload/ISLAMIC%20PAKISTAN.pdf>
[81] Rasul Bakhsh Rais
Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/311844/saving-democracy/>
[82]Ayesha Siddiqa
 Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/70065/lack-of-an-alternative--i/>
[83] Available at: <http://www.capwip.org/readingroom/pakistan.pdf>

5.4   Making government accountable in Pakistan

How should political parties make government accountable?

When we observe the political situation of Pakistan, the ineffectiveness of the political leadership after the Quaid-e-Azam created the situation of negativity in the minds of the people concerning the government. The governments after Quaid-e-Azam, like those headed by Ayub Khan, Yahiya Khan, Bhutto, and Zia ul lHaq, were of an arbitrary and oppressive nature. Those governments succeeded in threatening and destroying the democracy, legislature, and even the judiciary. Each of these institutions functioned on the decisions and wishes of the head of the government. In Pakistan, independent democracy has not been given a chance since its establishment. And the worst issue is that in the country, accountability has never been centered on the government[84].

During 1988–1999, the PPP and the PML (N), along with their allies, remained in power twice time each. When a political party comes into government, they want more and more power. Every ruling political party wants to weaken its opponents[85]. When PPP's Benazir Bhutto came in power in 1988, the PML (N) was in opposition. The PML (N) was also in power in Punjab, consisting of 60% of the province's population. Bhutto tried to destabilize the Punjab government and made cases against opposition leaders. On the other hand, the opposition gave benefits to ruling members to enhance its power in parliament because they wanted to bring a vote of no confidence against the government. "Considering the short life of civilian regimes, patronage politics rarely support the ruling party[86]. Mostly political leaders change their parties after completing or at the end of its ruling tenure. When in 1993, Nawaz Sharif took charge and during his tenure, cases were registered against Bhutto, her family members, and other leaders. Similar issues happened during their next regimes. Both the PPP and the PML (N) misused power and tried to threaten the opposition by registering cases against each other[87]. This show went on till 1999 with both trying to threaten their opponent. This drama ended when Musharaf (a military geranial) took over the democratic government in 1999.

Nawaz Sharif's PML (N) government pass a law "the Registration of Printing and Public Ordinance, 1997" to limit the press and freedom of expression[88]. But currently, improvements have been seen in this way of actions. The media is now free and through the media, the people push the oppositions to work properly by sitting in the opposition in the legislation. We can compare the freedom of media as the accountability of the government, as the media criticizes the wrong deeds of the government and presents these wrong deeds before the people at large.

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[84] Ghazali A Sattar (1997).
[85] Saeed Shafqat (2011), p. 104, *Pakistan beyond the 'crisis state'*, Hurst & Company: London.
[86] Ayesha Siddiqa, Available at: <http://www.pkcolumnist.com/ayesha-siddiqa/the-political-show-goes-on>
[87]Ghazali A Sattar (1997).
 Available at: <http://ghazali.net/book1/chapter_9.htm>
[88] ibid. Chapter 10

This creates a situation and sense of awareness in the people, whereas in the past, governments had good control over the media. Only one official media was present and its duty was only to present the government as a hero. Whereas, in the current situation, the opposition is not the only one who criticizes the wrong deeds of government. In this modern era, the media is working as the largest opposition of any government.

5.5　Organizing of opposition in Pakistan

Opposition! Critical or constructive

In the history of political culture of Pakistan, the rule of opposition has been illogical. The political parties in opposition are not doing a good job. Mostly they try to destabilize the government or try to point score instead of focusing on real issues. In Pakistan, the political culture of accountability is interesting and debatable. The party in power thinks accountability is a justice and the opposition declares it blackmailing. The political parties in opposition do not help the ruling parties. Instead, they attempt to destabilize the government. The only aim of the opposition party is to weaken the government of the ruling party to the extent that they are forced to terminate their government. The opposition parties do this to gain support from the people to help them become the next ruling party.

During the last two decades, there has remained a disgraceful tussle between the two biggest parties of Pakistan. The party who sat in the opposition always created a situation of anarchy for the ruling party so that the ruling parties were forced to terminate its government, such as when the PML (N) was in government and the PPP was in opposition in 1990-93. Benazir Bhutto, the chairperson of PPP headed the opposition and did not cooperate with the PML (N). Instead, the PPP tried their best to terminate the government of the PML (N). Likewise in 1990, when the PPP was the ruling party and the PML (N) was in opposition, the government of PPP narrowly escaped the no confidence vote[89]. At that time, both parties while sitting in opposition, enhanced relations with the military establishment and a situation of anarchy was present in the country. Due to which, there were six prime ministers from 1988–1999. No government was able to complete its constitutional tenure. Instead of supporting the government, every opposition tried its best to dissolve the government. So in the political history of Pakistan, the role of opposition party is not constructive or helpful to the ruling party. Instead, the opposition party relied on the politics of illegal criticism and negativity to fail the government of the ruling party.

In the current governmental scene of Pakistan, the PPP is the ruling party with the PML (N) as the opposition party. Now the PML (N) is trying to destabilize the government by pressurizing the government in various ways, including starting a protest movement against the government,

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[89] Mohiuddin Y Niaz (2007), p. 202.

challenging their works in the courts, and many other ways. The opposition has organized a protesting rally against the governments and criticized its performance. They only do this to destabilize and weaken the government and view the dream being the next ruling party after the failure of this government.

The government has faced criticism from the opposition. The opposition parties are organizing public meetings against the government. This opposition also helped in the restoration of the judiciary. In this process, the opposition came out on the roads alongside the ordinary people. They filed cases against the government in the Supreme Court. But we must give credit to the present opposition because they have learnt from the bad experiences of the past. The present opposition not only criticizes the government on its wrong activities but also supports the government on their actions of national interest, for example, supporting the government in the procedure of the 18th Amendment in the Constitution. The opposition also supported the government in the resolution against the Drone attacks and in closing the NATO supply after the attack on the ISAF troops on the Pakistani Check Post in the Mehmaand Agency.

6.   Conclusions

Whereas this study has four different questions, all these mirror in the question; what role do political parties play in the Pakistani politics? The study found out that political parties are largely a factor of division in the Pakistani politics than that of unity which is the ideal. This has resulted into imbalanced regional development in addition to gross dissatisfaction among the populace.

The study also found out that political parties are organized in a manner that reflects family politics leaving the rest of the Pakistani people with no chance to vie for and democratically win an election. Democratic principles like mass participation and rule of law are rare attributes of the Pakistani politics and the constitution of the sovereign state of Pakistan is changed at will by the *'conniving'* party membership. Political parties therefore lack majority support which breeds further dissatisfaction among the populace. However, I must commend the role of some opposition political parties for the struggle to restore hope among the Pakistani people.

This thesis focuses on the role of political parties for the last two decades in Pakistan and for this I relied on Randall and Svåsand's "a series of potential functions" to answer my research questions. These authors discussed these issues as a series of functions. These functions are oriented towards the electorate (representation, integration), linkage-related (recruitment, and training of political leaders), and government-related (making government accountable, organizing opposition).

The four functions by Randall and Svåsand helped me to understand the parties' roles in the democratic system, especially in Pakistan. The summary of every function regarding the political system of Pakistan is discussed.

In the case of Pakistan, people elect their representatives but these elected representatives do not represent their voters in the assemblies. The politicians have not risen to the challenge of building a national movement but rather stick to the provincial approach in politics. The fact is that in every election cycles only about 50% of the qualified electorates participate. Many electorates feel unrepresented in the national politics and therefore refuse to participate. As Rounaq Jahan argues in her book, "Pakistan: Failure in National Integration" From the start, political leaders have failed to develop a national political institution. The civil society is partitioned into different groups representing religion, ethnic, languages etc, with a dire absence of a national ideology.

In other for democracy to function well in Pakistan the politicians need to look beyond narrow interests of religion, ethnic or social affinities. Politicians need to reach across the ethnic and religion aisles. Also the electorates need to be educated on their rights and responsibilities.

However part of the democratic dysfunction in Pakistan is also attributable to lack of citizens awareness. Either by design or by accident the politicians have seen to it that the masses remain uneducated about democracy. So in effect the politicians, even the parties in the opposition, are the people responsible for lack of genuine democracy in the country. The political parties are run as family enterprises. The parties are built around personalities and not around any coherent ideas and ideologies. For example the PPP seems to be essentially a Bhutto's family party. The leaders of the party are always coming from the same family. Even the PML (N) has been led by the same people since its formation. In this kind of situation diversity of opinion is marginalized and the status quo is upheld even when it is not working. This state of affair could only be redressed if the people are well-informed and educated in the running of true democracy. It is important that the political parties recruit and train members in a better organizational framework, especially at the local level. Politicians at the local level need to be given more roles in the parties and in the running of the society. Building a political party around individual persons or family does not augur well for the thriving of democracy. A situation where everything has to be suspended simply because the political leaders are not around is detrimental to the smooth functioning of the society.

Accountability of any government makes it more stable and functional. According to social-contract theory, governments must be held accountable for their actions. If the government is unable to satisfy the people then it could be replaced at election time. In the past, to become more powerful, any government threatened and pressurized the opposition to suppress them.

During 1988 to 1997, there was a hide-and-seek policy between the government and the opposition that weakened the political structure of Pakistan and resulted in military intervention. If the government is made accountable by the influence of the political parties, then the elected representatives present in the government will avoid any type of corruption. Today, both electronic and print media play an important role in keeping the government accountable. As the media keep a close eye on the deeds and misdeeds of the government and due to the freedom of expression, the media present the misdeeds of the government via the Internet, television, newspapers, or radio for the people to watch and see.

Opposition parties exist to challenge governmental policies if they are against the desires of people. The opposition party has very important role in the political development of any country. However the role of opposition should be critical but constructive. In Pakistan the opposition has remained only critical. Instead of helping the government to make beneficial policies, the opposition only criticizes the government. Currently, there is another form of opposition to the government: electronic and print media, as the media have a close eye on the conduct of both the government and the opposition.

The political development in the Pakistan may never be free completely of the problems. However, further studies and works can minimize these problems in the political system of Pakistan. But for this, the politicians and the leaders will have to work hard together as a nation, from the grassroots level up to the national party leaders. To solve the problems present in the political system of Pakistan, a prolonged study should be undertaken to identify the problem of lack of integration and of how the entire nation could be integrated into one of political unit.

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