

INTRA- PARTY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF MAINSTREAM AND REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN

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**DEPARTMENT OF PAKISTAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGE
ISLAMABAD**

JANUARY 2024

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M.Phil. National University of Modern Languages Islamabad, 2024

M.Phil. Pakistan Studies

Numl-F21-52778

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In Pakistan Studies

To

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF PAKISTAN STUDIES



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation work to my family and friends. A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, my father, **Qadir Shah** and my Mother, **Robina Jan** for their endless love, support and encouragement. My brothers and sisters without whom none of my success would be possible. I also dedicate this dissertation to my many friends who have support me throughout the process.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, let us offer my heartfelt praise and reverence to the Almighty, Allah, the Most Compassionate and the Most Merciful, who in His divine wisdom, granted us the blessing of being born as Muslims and ordained the establishment of the Sacred Ummah through the Holy Prophet Mohammad. It is with utmost gratitude that we acknowledge our indebtedness to our benevolent Creator, for it is His divine grace that has illuminated the path to our success and fortitude. Infinite commendations and veneration are reserved for the Holy Prophet (Peace Be upon Him), whose teachings have served as a guiding light during moments of darkness.

During the course of this research study, I have incurred a debt of many people and institutions. My deepest gratitude is to my mentor and supervisor, Azhar Mahmood Abbasi, whose wisdom and benevolence granted us the privilege to embark on this research journey and provided invaluable counsel every step of the way. Azhar Mahmood Abbasi unwavering dedication, visionary leadership, sincerity, and motivational spirit have left an indelible mark on my hearts and significantly contributed to the triumph of this research endeavor. It has been a profound pleasure and an esteemed honor to be under his sagacious tutelage. I acknowledge the advice and encouragement I received from my teachers, Dr. Prof. Sayed Waqar Ali Shah and Prof. Sayed Hamid Bukhari, who guided me throughout the period. I thank them for their unflinching support and comments with profound appreciation. My heartfelt thanks extend to the Head of the Department, Dr. Shoaib Malik, at the Center for Social Sciences and History, for his steadfast support, sagacious guidance, and profound expertise. Gratitude is also due to all our esteemed Social Sciences instructors, whose cooperation and generous provision of resources have made this project a reality and ensured its triumphant completion.

I would like to thank my parents and siblings, who have been a perennial source of support and encouragement throughout my life. I would like to give special thanks to my brothers

Kashif Haider, Umer Amin, and Tanveer Haider for their support and encouragement during the fulfillment of this work.

I would like to thank my friends and my roommates. I extend my sincere appreciation for their boundless generosity and unwavering encouragement during our academic pursuits. I feel blessed to have a painstaking friend, Aiman Naeem. She proved great support in writing and composing the draft. I have special thanks to my fellows Muhammad Ahmed and Muhammad Tahir for their support, guidance, and encouragement throughout the session.

Lastly, my heart swells with immense gratitude as I acknowledge the unwavering support, both emotional and financial, of my parents throughout my educational journey. Their love and sacrifice have been a beacon of light, guiding me towards my achievements.

Name _____

List of Abbreviation

IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
IPD	Intra party democracy
NA	National Assembly
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
PPP-P	Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians
MQM-P	Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam
AML-P	Awami Muslim League Pakistan
ANP	Awami National Party
BAP	Balochistan Awami Party
BNP	Balochistan National Party
JWP	Jamhoori Wattan Party
MMA	Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal
GDA	Grand Democratic Alliances
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency
IPPs	Islamic Political Parties
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MNA's	Member of the National Assemblies
EBDO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Order
SAP	Swedish Social Democratic Party
SPP	Socialist People's Party
SD	Social Democrats
UK	United Kingdom
SG	Secretary General
AJK	Azad Jammu Kashmir
GB	Gilgit Baltistan
ORC	Overseas Regional Commissioners
AIML	All India Muslim League
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Itihad
PDM	Pakistan Democratic Movement
NAB	National Accountability Bureau
APMSA	All Pakistan Muhajir Student's Association
NDP	National Democratic Party
NAP	National Awami Party
INC	Indian National Congress
LFO	Legal Framework Order
NCS	National Security Council
PKMAP	Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party

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Abstract

This study investigates intra-party democracy in Pakistan's political system, focusing on major and regional political parties of 2018 elections. Intra-party democracy is a crucial aspect of political governance and forms the country's overall democratic fabric. The study uses a case study methodology to analyze the internal workings, decision-making procedures, and leadership structures of political parties to determine its degree and its consequences for the democratic system. It also examines party constitutions, internal elections, power dynamics, and member participation methods to understand how intra-party democracy is implemented within Pakistan's unique socio-political environment. The research also explores party leadership, inclusive decision-making procedures, and grassroots member empowerment to identify patterns and trends that support or hinder the growth of a strong intra-party democratic culture. The study aims to provide insights into Pakistani political parties' democratic health and how closely they adhere to democratic ideals. This study examines intra-party democracy in Pakistan's main political parties, focusing on member engagement, decision-making procedures, and party structures. It aims to identify patterns and trends affecting political operations using a comprehensive research approach. The study evaluates democratic parties' philosophies, organizational frameworks, and intra-party democracy, focusing on constitutions, manifestos, and structures. It investigates beliefs, internal workings, and decision-making processes, examining if democratic values are reflected in organizational structures. Lastly, this study explores democratic principles in political parties' internal operations, focusing on candidate selection, decision-making, inclusivity, leadership openness, conflict resolution procedures, and candidate selection, providing a comprehensive view of democracy's embeddedness in these parties.

CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION

Political parties are recognized as essential to modern democracy in Pakistan.¹ Nevertheless, neither scholars nor practitioners had come to a comparable consensus regarding intra-party democracy. Some argue that it is necessary for democracy throughout the state, while others disagree. Significantly fewer people also hold the opinion that it doesn't exist or is generally declining across political parties. My current study on these political parties is about the existence of democracy within the ideologies of these parties, just for the viewer's convenience. According to Robin T. Pettit's studies, the five party-specific criteria of age, origin, ideology, democratic style, and government goal are crucial in elucidating the variations within intraparty democracy.² A scholar has examined the significance of political parties as essential components of a robust democratic system, emphasising their functions in selecting candidates, establishing connections with the public, setting up the legislative branch, and organising political campaigns³.

Studies that look at the aforementioned function of political parties are many. Most significantly, recent research has emphasised how political parties are structured within. Researchers have identified several party kinds based on organisational structure: mass parties, cartel parties, catch-all parties, and business form parties, to name a few. In order to encourage party transformation and help political parties become more democratic, transparent, and effective, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) is working on an internal party democracy project.⁴

¹Furqan Bin Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD) in the Orient A case study of political parties in Pakistan", (2017) (*Doctoral dissertation, Central European University*). 09

²Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 10

³Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 11

⁴ William P Cross and Richard S. Katz, eds, *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, OUP Oxford, (2013),112

Similarly USAID (United States Agency for International Development), emphasised the importance of internal party democracy in its encouragement of political parties. The most significant information in this text relates to the legal and party-adopted reforms in party structure and practices that allow for greater member involvement in the selection of party leaders, the creation or approval of policy statements, and the selection of candidates for public office.⁵ These reforms have been implemented to counter the decline of party membership and demonstrate that parties are open to participation from all citizens.

According to Maurice Duverger, modern political parties are largely distinguished by their anatomy and that any political party is just a society with a distinctive structure. In light of this, it would seem that a party's democratic nature depends on both its formal structure and the ease with which interested parties and groups can and do manage its constituent sections.⁶

The IPD (intra party democracy) question is frequently framed in its most basic form, asking whether the party's leadership or its mass members or supporters should decide on its policies. But the problem is unavoidably more complicated than that. Together with the choice of a policy, issues with priority setting, execution, and accountability are all closely intertwined. The question of just who or what is the party goes directly to the issue of what role members or supporters should play in making personal decisions, whether they be for internal party office or for candidates for public office.⁷ Whatever the role granted in theory to the additional parliamentary wings of the parties, in practise final authority rests in both parties with the parliamentary party and its leadership. Robert McKenzie, writing of British parties in his definitive study "the distribution of power within the conservative and Labour parties," came

⁵ Cross, *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, 115

⁶ Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* (2013) 13

⁷R. Kenneth Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic? The challenges of intra-party democracy*, Oxford University Press Oxford, (2013): 11-26. , 35

to this quite unambiguous conclusion⁸. The distribution of power within the two major parties is identical in one crucial way.

In contrast, Samuel Beer's authoritative analyses of British politics, which are framed as a study of parties and pressure groups, arrive at the exact opposite conclusion, contending that the two parties were opposed in practise as well as in theory, the way in which power was distributed as well as in their dominant conceptions of authority⁹. The fundamental premise of a stratarchical organisation is that power and authority are broadly shared and do not ultimately lie in a single location or with any one group of people. Various parties based on different organisational structures work with this principle. Although they can take many different forms, constitutional agreements that establish the autonomy and interdependencies that control each of the party's diverse faces ultimately constitute the basis of all strata of party organisation¹⁰.

It is challenging for party members to hold the party, and themselves, to acceptable democratic standards when they do not share a common understanding of how power is organised and exercised on issues of internal party decision-making. Both separately and collectively, they can be the cause of ongoing intra-party division because they serve as an alternative benchmark against which intra-party practices are evaluated¹¹.

Party models are fundamentally about the issue of intra-organizational democracy, although being formally cast as anatomical issues. This has required a focus on the interactions between elites and members, or the party at the local level and the party in power. Who has genuine basic power when tough decisions need to be made is the central question that has been raised.

⁸Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 37

⁹ Samuel H Beer, "Pressure groups and parties in Britain." *American Political Science Review* 50, (1956). no. 1, 1-23.

¹⁰ Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 39

¹¹ Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 40

The main finding of Michel is that it is difficult for political parties to have democratic internal connections simply because of the way they are organised. Mass integration parties were inherently oligarchic, despite the fact that their forms and practises were supposedly grounded on democratic legitimacy. That more contemporary party types have not been able to overthrow that "sociological law" is not surprising, given the way that develop nations, social orders, and the communications technologies supporting their electoral processes have changed."¹²

In fact, the catch-all and electoral-professional party model dismisses democratic internal relationships, while the cartel model views IPD mechanisms as a tool for elite cohesion. The link between society and government is established and maintained in large measure via intra-party democracy. Internally democratic parties give local members more power and possibilities to translate constituent demands into policy decisions since they have privileged access to these demands¹³. For democratic theory, the structure of political parties poses a significant conundrum. On the one hand, almost everyone is aware of their critical role in promoting group decision-making and widespread accountability.

However, many parties lack internal democracy and actively discourage participation from its regular members and supporters. Political parties have in fact frequently been charged with enshrining different interests and impeding democratic advancement¹⁴. Party internal democracy is something that many call for. Party platforms should, especially, reflect the opinions of its core members and supporters, realising the same democratic values of deliberation, public reason, and participation required of the polity itself, according to "isomorphic" methods. In fact, from their "systemic" perspective, democratising parties can

¹²Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic*, 43

¹³Fabio, Wolkenstein. "A deliberative model of intra-party democracy." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24, no. 3 (2016): 297-320

¹⁴ Bagg, Samuel, and Udit Bhatia. "Intra-Party Democracy: A Functionalist Account." *Journal of Political Philosophy*, (2021) 221-275

damage democracy as a whole by limiting party leaders' capacity to effectively compete with one another¹⁵.

Intra-party democracy restricts top-level party leaders' centralized control by allowing wider stakeholder input in decision-making processes. Eligible-facing IPD empowers mid-level elites, including backbenchers, officials, and local politicians, endorsed by all involved.¹⁶ The structure of several reasonable defences of mass-facing IPD is similar. First, there is a widespread belief that a strong principal-agent relationship between elected officials and regular individuals is essential to the legitimacy of representative democracy.

Politicians often serve wealthy elites and concentrated interests, with political parties facilitating this process. Reformers have attempted to reduce party influence by allowing people to vote directly on legislation through initiatives and referendums, aiming to reduce the influence of parties.

Many are attempting to democratize parties through mass-facing IPD, recognizing their inherent role in contemporary politics, with the hope of restoring the principal-agent relationship between citizens and public officials.¹⁷

Parties' internal organisational procedures and structures are increasingly subject to external rules, just like so many other elements of their behaviour and operations. Political parties, for instance, have historically been thought of as mostly private and voluntary organisations, especially in the European system. As a result, their internal organisational structure and methods of operation have long been exempt from state regulations, which have typically been

¹⁵Bagg, "Intra-Party Democracy: A Functionalist Account,"29

¹⁶Bagg, "Intra-Party Democracy: A Functionalist Account," 35

¹⁷Bagg, "Intra-Party Democracy: A Functionalist Account,"37

restricted to the management of elections and, in certain cases, the defence of the democratic order against radical anti-system parties.¹⁸

As public law increasingly defines or prescribes the actions, behaviour, and internal organisational structure of parties, the state is now more inclined to interfere in both internal and external manifestations of party politics. Party regulation's most contentious element is often regarded as the legislative regulation of political parties' internal organisation.

The imposition of legal restrictions on political parties' internal organisational structures and behaviour violates both basic democratic principles, such as freedom of association, and the parties' constitutive status as private organisations, potentially turning them into quasi-state entities. Numerous observers think that increased participation by the local party in internal selection and decision making processes could result in significant advantages because internal democratic procedures can attract new members, give the party a sense of legitimacy at the grassroots level, and help them portray a more positive and transparent public image.¹⁹ An increasingly significant aspect of party regulation is the internal party structure.

Most discussions of intraparty democracy begin with the assumption that voters should and do want to be influential members of their political parties. If this is the case, then it is only a short step to conclude that party membership is declining and that this trend can be reversed or arrested, especially by improving the quality of intraparty democracy. This would increase party membership and stop the public's dissatisfaction with partisan politics as a whole, as evidenced by declining turnout at elections and opinion polls.

¹⁸Van Biezen, Ingrid, and Daniela Romée Piccio. "Shaping intra-party democracy: On the legal regulation of internal party organizations. The challenges of intra-party democracy", (2013) *Oxford University Press*, pp.27-48.

¹⁹Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy: On the legal regulation of internal party organizations," 30

A prerequisite for the democratisation of the political system in which parties function is the empowerment of party members, which is fostering more Democratic Party governance.²⁰ The decision about the party's organisational structure and practices has primarily been exogenous to the fall in party membership, which is a result of societal change that is not reversible nor appropriate in most circumstances.²¹ As the party leadership gains more clout and influence, their relationship with IPD has become more subdued. In the event when choosing the party's leader in their parliamentary caucus was as simple as choosing the "first among equals."

Although it regularly moves in the same direction, the shift is not universal and does not result in a single selection technique. Some parties have delegated decision-making authority to conference delegates, while others have given it to their long-standing grassroots supporters, all partisans in the electorate, or a combination of these. Still others have established intricate selectorates that distribute power among their elected officials, grassroots supporters, and preferred allies like trade unions.²² One's vision of democracy, particularly as it pertains to the function of political parties, is reflected in the construction of a balance sheet that weighs the benefits and drawbacks of various approaches. Increasing the size of the selectorates increases the number of people who are formally eligible to vote in this crucial choice. Parties have to decide to whom they should answer for their leadership. The previous selection of party leaders severely limits the leader's options, even if democracy requires them to seek a mandate from voters in a general election.²³

Political parties frequently try to include IPD ideals into the process of creating official party policies, which are embodied in the catchphrase "members can have their say." But defining what truly constitutes having a say is far more challenging, and as a result, one of the main

²⁰ Katz, *Should we believe that improved intra-party democracy would arrest party decline*, 49

²¹ Katz, *Should we believe that improved intra-party democracy would arrest party decline*, 55

²² Cross, "Party leadership selection and intra-party democracy," 112

²³ Cross, "Party leadership selection and intra-party democracy," 115

challenges in putting IPD into practice and quantifying it in terms of policy development is that different groups and individuals have different conceptions and assessments of it depending on who is asking the questions.²⁴

The implementation of IPD involves various forms of participation in the policy-making process, with a focus on moving towards a more consultative form of participation and engaging party supporters and the broader community beyond the traditional channels of communication that have historically given preference to party membership. IPD is designed to give party members preference when it comes to making internal policy decisions.²⁵

By encouraging democratic ideals and integrating citizens in the political process, political parties play a crucial part in political socialisation.²⁶ If we talk about the political system of Pakistan and the democracy within political parties so the democratic culture of our politics and society firstly explain the freedom of association in the constitution of Pakistan 1973 and the Political Parties order 2017 explain the legal rights, responsibilities of the political parties.

Article 17 of the constitution, entitle “the freedom of association” in the first chapter of constitution fundamental rights constitutionalize political parties in the country. Clause 1, 2 and 3 mentions about the freedom of association.²⁷ Every citizen has the right—which the government does not use—to organise into a group or union, subject to legal restrictions that protect Pakistan's integrity or sovereignty. The constitutional provision does not specifically advocate for the control of political parties' internal operations, with the exception of financing transparency. In a similar vein, internal democracy among the parties is not strictly necessary.

²⁴Anika, Gauja. "Policy development and intra-party democracy." *The challenges of intra-party democracy: Oxford University Press Oxford*, (2013). 116-135.

²⁵ Gauja, "Policy development and intra-party democracy, 120

²⁶Shaukat, Ullah, Amna Mahmood, and Surat Khan. "The Determinants of Intra-Party Elections in Pakistan: A Study of Major Political Parties." *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)* 4, no. 2 (2020): 191-201.

²⁷Reported by, National assembly of Pakistan, the constitution of Pakistan 1973, <https://na.gov.pk/essence> (Accessed on Dec,2022)

According to academics, democracy requires powerful and stable political parties, which can only exist if the parties are democratic in the first place.²⁸ The global party system is deteriorating. Katz believes that intraparty democracy has the potential to halt the erosion of the party system and expresses optimism about its resuscitation. This will only take place if members' participation is made mandatory for that process, since that would create a link and bring party leadership and members closer together.²⁹

In the broader sense, intra-party democracy can be defined as, the process by which members of the party organisation, along with its many classes and groupings, participate in deliberations and decision-making. Croissant and Chambers stressed the organisational structures of parties as well as the premeditated and decision-making authority between members and the leadership.³⁰ They argued that transparency and inclusivity are crucial for these parties. Saeed claims that Pakistan has not yet been able to set up regular, transparent intraparty elections. This preserves democracy at a distance and harms the reputation of the party leadership.³¹

In the developed democracies, the democratisation of the party structure is progressing.³² In presidential systems, where the distinction between leadership and candidate selection is not always evident, parliamentary institutions—one of which is the subject of this study have distinct institutions for both.³³ The concept behind intra-party democracy is that parties adhere to democratic ideals when conducting internal party operations. The party workers at all levels

²⁸Fazli Subhan."Party Democracy in the Light of Party Statutes: A Case Study of Two Parties in Pakistan." *Bi-Annual Research Journal*, (2020) VOL. 45 NO. 1,222-240

²⁹Piero, Ignazi. "The four knights of intra-party democracy: A rescue for party delegitimation." *Party Politics* 26, no. 1 (2020): *University of Bologna*, 9-20.

³⁰Aurel, Croissant, David Kuehn, Paul Chambers, and Siegfried O. Wolf. "Conceptualizing civilian control of the military in emerging democracies," (2010) *Democratization* 17, no. 5, *Published online*, 950-975.

³¹ Subhan, "Party Democracy in the Light of Party Statutes, 225

³² Subhan, "Party Democracy in the Light of Party Statutes, 227

³³Ofer Kenig, Gideon Rahat, and Reuven Y. Hazan. (2013). "Leadership selection versus candidate selection in parliamentary democracies: similarities and differences." *Democratizing Party Leader Selection Primaries: Challenges and Opportunities Beyond Intra-Party Democracy*, ECPR Bordeaux, 117-143

elect the leadership based only on merit and in accordance with the well-defined democratic principles; appointments from the top leadership are not permitted.

Participation in all internal party decision-making processes is mandatory for all party members.³⁴ Political parties should have a strong internal system in place to make decisions after consultation and discussion among themselves. The most significant task is electing a party president, for which candidates ought to be selected in an open manner. The position of party chairperson is open to older party members. The election process for the party's various positions should begin when the candidates for the top offices are chosen.³⁵

Political parties in Pakistan have remained small and unstable as a result of the state's predominance of an anti-democratic ethos. Yet, the lack of legitimate intra-party elections has been a tremendously demotivating element that has given rise to personality politics and family politics, which has ultimately weakened the party internally. In actuality, participation and competitiveness are important aspects of the democratic process.³⁶ So this research will be conducted to explain the value of intra party democracy in political parties of Pakistan the mechanism of political parties the election of intra party democracy and the leadership and the candidates selection of the political parties.

The causes of undemocratic culture in our policies and political parties of Pakistan. The number of political parties that is registered in the Election of Pakistan is 171 these are the main stream and regional political parties. In my research, I would not able to cover all political parties that registered in election commission so to narrow down my topic I will focus on that

³⁴Susan E. Scarrow, "Political parties and democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives", *National Democratic institute*, (2005)73

³⁵Giulia Sandri and Anissa Amjahad. "Party membership and Intra-party democracy," *The case of Belgium. Partecipazione e conflitto* (2015)8, no. 1, 190-214

³⁶Ullah, "The Determinants of Intra-Party Elections in Pakistan,191

political parties who secure National Assembly (NA) seats of 2018 elections that contain mainstream and regional political parties i.e.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) , Pakistan Muslim League N (PMLN), Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan (MQMP), Pakistan Muslim League Quaid e Azam (PMLQ), Awami Muslim League Pakistan (AMLP), Awami National Party (ANP), Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), Balochistan National Party (BNP), Jamhoori Wattan Party (JWP), and two alliances with these political parties in 2018 elections the one is religious alliance Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), and the other one Sindh rural alliances is Grand Democratic Alliances (GDA).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Pakistan's political parties often have opaque internal structures, decision-making processes, and candidate selection mechanisms, leading to allegations of nepotism, favoritism, and dynastic politics. Intra-party democracy involves meaningful participation of party members, but this varies across parties. The dominance of political dynasties perpetuates familial control over party structures and decision-making. Regional political parties emerge in response to perceived neglect or marginalization by mainstream national parties. Understanding intra-party dynamics within regional parties is crucial for assessing grassroots democratic governance. Dysfunctional internal party processes can impede effective policymaking, hinder legislative progress, and contribute to political instability at the national level. Weak intra-party democracy undermines political institutions' credibility and poses a challenge to democratic consolidation.

1.2 Aims and Objective:

1. To find out the variations in intra- party democracy level in major political parties of Pakistan.

2. To assess the structure and ideologies of these democratic parties.
3. To analyze how much democracy exists in the internal party democracy.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the variations in intra-party democracy levels in the major political parties of Pakistan?
2. What is the structure of these major and regional political parties?
3. What are the democratic values of these parties?

1.4 Scope and Significance of The Study

This study investigates the democratic processes within political parties in Pakistan, focusing on decision-making, leadership selection, and internal power dynamics. It uses a case study approach to examine both mainstream and regional parties, aiming to understand political dynamics, democratic governance, and political participation and representation. The research contributes to the academic literature on comparative politics, political party behavior, and democratization, offering insights into the specific context of Pakistan.

The study also examines intra-party democracy within Pakistani political parties, focusing on nomination procedures, decision-making structures, and member participation mechanisms. The findings could have policy implications for political party regulation, electoral reform, and strengthening democratic institutions. The study also explores the historical context and socio-political implications of democracy and political parties in Pakistan, examining their emergence, manifestos, and structure.

It aims to address the lack of democracy within Pakistan's political parties at national and regional levels and identify the causes of this lack. The study also examines leadership

selection, candidate selection, and party election to understand the centralization of these parties in the political arena.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

"Any political body defined by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office," according to Sartori, is a political party. Sartori believed that political parties competing for support in the system had a good chance of surviving, but because he made no mention of the structure of political parties, this concept is now seen as archaic³⁷. In the context of Pakistan politics, the theory of Sartori is applied in positive and negative both aspects that I explained through some examples of political parties and their characteristics: Pakistan's political landscape is divided between various parties, each with their own unique challenges.

PTI, led by Imran Khan, has a strong presence in youth and organized population, promoting anti-corruption and reforms. However, it faces criticism for governance issues like economic instability and authoritarianism. PML-N, a party with a strong base in Punjab, has faced corruption allegations and internal conflicts. MQM represents the urban population of Sindh, but its credibility is undermined by violence and ethnic polarization. ANP advocates for Pashtun rights, while ANP faces extremist challenges. JUI-F, a conservative religious party, has been accused of intolerance and extremism. PPP, MMA, BNP, SUP, JI, and JUP have all faced criticism for their ideologies, organizational weaknesses, and inability to adapt to changing political landscapes.

Definition by Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo will hold ground here for its wide inclusion of aggregation of interests and its articulation. According to the definition, a political party is an organised group of individuals working together to support predetermined policies and run for

³⁷Giovanni. Sartori, *Parties and party systems: A framework for analysis*, ECPR press, (2005), 75

political office.³⁸ To applied the theory to on the current politics of Pakistan seems : Mainstream political parties in Pakistan, like PTI, PML-N, and PPP, represent diverse interests and policy platforms, allowing citizens to participate in politics and voice concerns. However, they are criticized for prioritizing personal interests, leading to corruption, nepotism, and dynastic politics. Factionalism and infighting can undermine democratic processes and hinder effective governance, promoting the agendas of powerful elites.

Regional political parties, like represent local interests and aspirations, advocating for decentralization and federalism. However, they can prioritize parochial interests over national unity, exacerbating ethnic tensions and undermining state cohesion. Ethnocentric politics and patronage politics can further perpetuate inequality and marginalization within their regions, highlighting the need for more inclusive and effective governance.

Islamic political parties like JUI and JI offer a platform for religiously motivated individuals to advocate for policies based on Islamic principles. They prioritize social justice, welfare, and moral values, serving as a check on secular tendencies. However, they have been criticized for promoting a narrow interpretation of Islam, polarizing society, and using religious rhetoric to justify authoritarianism.

“Robert Dahl believes that political parties should classify the political processes based on two dimensions: political competition and participation”.³⁹Robert theory when I explained in the context of Pakistani politics for participation of individual in and political competition only JI advocates for ethical governance , transparency active participation in intra-party elections and social justice, while JI focuses on secular governance. However, some mainstream parties in Pakistan may engage in corruption, electoral fraud, and patronage politics, which can undermine the fairness of the process. Regional parties may prioritize parochial interests over

³⁸Anyango L. Ongoro, "Democracy and Elections in Africa: The Case of Kenya, 2007-2012, (2013)"83

³⁹Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and opposition*. Yale university press, 2008.

national unity, while Islamic parties may impose their interpretation of Islam, stifling dissent and diversity of thought. Extremist factions within these parties may resort to violence or terrorism to achieve their political objectives.

“Forst believes that representative institutions should provide for “a fair and effective participation and argumentation”.⁴⁰ Forst emphasizes fair participation in representative institutions, with mainstream political parties in Pakistan aiming to include diverse voices and provide platforms for political engagement. However, these parties have faced criticism for perpetuating dynastic politics and favoring elite interests, exclusion of marginalized groups, and weak internal democracy. Regional and Islamic parties may prioritize local interests over national unity, causing polarization and fragmentation. Factionalism, lack of intra-party democracy, and personal rivalries can overshadow policy debates and decision-making processes. Some parties have been accused of undermining democratic norms through tactics like electoral rigging and curbing freedom of expression.

Samuel P. Huntington is of the view that political parties are the sine qua non of the state without which political system would not function. He considers the former a key to political stabilization. He says institutional decay in the developing nations lead to a vacuum of leadership which further led to military intervention. ⁴¹The Comparative Politics: A Developmental Perspective, written by Almond and Powell in 1966, includes a lengthy section on the roles played by political parties. They investigated the scope of political parties until they reached a conclusion and proclaimed it necessary for political socialization, recruitment, and the nomination of individuals to positions of authority.⁴²

⁴⁰ Subhan, "Party Democracy in the Light of Party Statutes, 35

⁴¹Samuel P. Huntington, *Political order in changing societies*, Yale university press, 2006, 33

⁴²Herbert J. Spiro, "Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. *The Journal of Politics*, *The University of Chicago Press*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Nov., 1967), pp. 903-905 (3 pages)

The theory is applied in the context of Pakistani politics and civil-military relations and instability created in politics that makes the pressure group i.e. political parties in Pakistan are crucial for stabilizing the political system and representing diverse voices and interests. They uphold the democratic process and facilitate the peaceful transfer of power through elections. They play a crucial role in formulating and implementing policies that address the needs of the populace. However, internal divisions, lack of institutionalization, and fragmentation can weaken the political system and undermine the effectiveness of governance. Some parties have been accused of clientelism and corruption, eroded public trust, and exacerbating divisions. Institutional decay and leadership vacuums have also contributed to instability.

Pakistan has experienced civilian rule, with elected governments governing constitutionally. However, military intervention, often through coups or martial law, has been used to restore stability, combat corruption, and address national security concerns. The relationship between civilian governments and the military is delicate, with challenges including interference, pressure, and coup d'état threats. Military intervention can undermine democratic institutions, create political instability, and exacerbate ethnic and sectarian tensions.

Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) is an independent, non-governmental research and training institution brought about to strengthen democracy in Pakistan. Its reports are of prime significance for the scholars working on intraparty democracy in Pakistan. In its reports of 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016 on 'assessing internal democracy of major political parties of Pakistan', it studied eight political parties and concluded that the parties which are under consideration here were the least democratic.⁴³

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) through its publication of 2005 acknowledged that quality of democracy and participation is a prerequisite for each other and

⁴³ PILDAT, report assessing intra-party democracy in major political parties of Pakistan 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016, <http://pildat.org/allpildat-publications> (Accessed on Dec, 2022)

democracy does not mean the mere rule of law and safeguard of human rights. People must be given their due role to play.⁴⁴ Shaista & Zia consider that political parties in Pakistan are playing a role that is more a factor of division than unity due to family-oriented parties. According to them, that is one of the reasons that the masses in Pakistan are wary of the political system.⁴⁵ To analyze all the major political parties and some regional parties of Pakistan in my research, I will find the major political parties based on the inheritance of leadership, the Islamic parties of the country, and the regional political parties of the four provinces. Are these parties centralized or decentralized in a real sense?

1.6 Literature Review

There are various books written on the democracy of Pakistan, democracy in party politics, the relationship of democracy and dictatorship, democracy and authorization, democracy and cultural value, a long way toward democracy, elections in democratic parties, democracy in Pakistan crises, conflicts and hope for change beside books there are too many articles and journals in is regard, most of them focusing existence of democracy in political parties, democracy the myth or reality, democratic election in parties, the feasibility of democracy in Pakistan, democratic culture in political parties, parties political institutions but no one can focus intra party democracy that all parties emerged on the name of democracy but what is the value of democracy in the structure and ideologies of these political parties and even every party claim to be democratic. In these parties, democracy exists in the real meaning my study will focus on finding out the gap between democratic values in mainstream and regional political parties of Pakistan.

⁴⁴IDEA report 2005 on assessing intra party democracy in Pak, <https://www.pisel.jehanf.com>article>download> (Accessed on Dec, 2022)

⁴⁵Shaista Taj and Zia Ur Rehman. "Role of Political Parties in Pakistan and Perverted Form of Democracy." *Dialogue (Pakistan)* (2015)10, no. 4

Books

The book, *Pakistan's Political Parties: Surviving between dictatorship and democracy*, was published by Mariam Mufti, Sahar Shafqat, and Niloufer Siddiqui in 2021, Georgetown University Press.

They described in their book that Pakistan survived between democracy and dictatorship from 1947 onward that military coups and tactics in the country from 1947 to 1999 overthrew the elected government and weakened the support of current parties and the country was unable to establish a proper system of government either it would be presidential or preliminary. The authors further discussed that the general election of 2013 and 2018 was the first victory of democracy after the establishment of Pakistan in general elections. The author did not explain the emergence of political parties in this era and the relationship ship of civil-military rule and the 1970 elections that power transfer from military to civil rule so in my study I will focus on it.

The book, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Pakistan: The Role of The Military and Political Parties*, published by Shiraz Sheikh in 2020,

The author discussed the comprehensive assessment of the process of democratization and its relationship with the military and civilian regimes and how the military and political parties have influenced Pakistan's brand of democracy. He further discussed a thorough analysis of the qualitative transmission of societal and political dynamics changes within political parties' party systems and the military and their impact on democracy at different stages of Pakistani politics. The author did not discuss either democracy prevail in the political parties and or the military regime.

The book, *The Fractious Path: Pakistan's Democratic Transition*, was published by Raza Rumi in 2016, by Harper Collins.

Author analyzes on how Pakistan has alternated between feeble democratic governments and harsh military dictatorships since its founding in 1947, with the latter in power for roughly half of that time. He further discussed that Pakistan's democracy had to deal with the inequities built into the nation's power structure while coping with the spillover effects of the battle in Afghanistan, the Islamist insurgency, and a frail economy. Rumi offers a distinctive window into contemporary Pakistan, including its democratic transition, internal security, extremism, governance, foreign policy, and the country's future of democracy by reporting from the ground while these political changes unravel. The author did not focus on the internal corruption between the parties so my studies will focus on it.

The book, *The Army and democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*, was published by Aqbal Shah in 2016, by Harvard University Press.

The author described about the military rule in the country their state policy and foreign policy and the relationship of the military and democracy in the country. The military is a major concern for Pakistan due to its war-prone conflict with India, jihad threat, and nuclear weapons. He further discussed that democracy is a universal value that does not require a certain level of economic development or class structure, and civilian control of the military by democratically elected officials is a basic principle of democratic governance. The book does not address the lived experience of ordinary Pakistanis, and military decisions can have a significant impact on their lives. So my study will focus on the choices of the ordinary people of Pakistan in a democracy of the country.

The book, *Political Parties in Pakistan: A Long Way Ahead*, published by Ahmad Nazeer in 2004, Network Publications.

The author discussed that the people of Pakistan won independence from the British in 1947, but the promise of equitable development and democratic rule has eluded them ever since. As

the world discovers the importance of good governance in solving some of the most pressing problems, civil society in Pakistan is increasing its involvement with key issues. The author presents the global trends of declining faith in political parties and traces the social, political, and legal backgrounds of the development of political parties in Pakistan. The author also describes the murky areas from the perspective of political party reforms, including everything from financial sources to internal procedures, and makes the argument for public funding of parties. The author did not discuss the internal structure, instability, and corruption will also be the cause of undemocratic political parties. So my studies will focus on this.

The book, *Democracy, and governance in Pakistan* by Tahir Kamran in 2008, South Asia Partnership-Pakistan.

The author describes that democracy is a challenge and opportunity for Pakistan. Democracy in Pakistan is a challenge due to multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural groups, the "politics of elimination" of the military and civil establishment, and the loss of hope after years of betrayal. The author further describes that the history of Pakistan shows that we are free to make mistakes, but the question is whether we are ready to accept them. This book takes stock of many follies that ruler of the country made under the impression of prolonging their rule and benefiting Pakistan and we must understand that democracy becomes zones of opportunities for the countries when they choose ballot over bullet, debate over coercion, tolerance over intolerance, and consensus over self-serving attitude. Accepting people as supreme makes countries sovereign. He did not discuss the individual consensus with any ethnic and cultural group to express his/her view and every ethnic group accepts respect the individual view. So my study will be focusing on it.

The book, *Patterns of Conflict in Pakistan: Implication for policy* was published by Mohammad Waseem in 2011, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

The author describes that Pakistan's political instability is due to the struggle between three major actors: the civilian wing of the state, the military, and the Islamists. The military has constrained the authority of the constitutional state, while the Islamic establishment has pressured the state to establish sharia. The author further discussed that Pakistan is a constitutional state with a legal and institutional framework, but this is threatened by internal conflicts. This includes integrating un-administered regions into the legal and political system, strengthening democratic institutions and the rule of law, using a policing rather than a military approach to combat militants, and federalizing the state to ensure all provinces are equal stakeholders in the political system. The author did not discuss the consensus and instability within the parties so my studies will be focus on it.

The book, *State, Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan* was published by Rasul Bakhsh Rais in 1997.

The author discussed that there are some factors of our state and society because of these democracy cannot emerge in a clear meaning. Pakistan's transition to democracy has been characterized by flawed concepts and failed policies, as well as ethnic politics and the immaturity of political institutions. Ziring argues that Pakistan has to choose between an Islamic state and a Muslim commonwealth and that the elite should confront the "secular nation-state". Pakistan's socioeconomic issues play a larger role in its polity than is generally recognized, as landed income is not taxed and wealth-producing entrepreneurs pay no income tax. The military's intervention in the political process in 1999 confirmed the institutional weakness of Pakistan's democracy. The author did not mention that military invention create a positive change in the democracy of the party and the society. So my studies will be focusing on it.

The book, *The Politics of ethnicity in Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi, and Mohajir ethnic movements*, published by Farhan Hanif Siddiqi in 2012, Routledge,

The author assessed that the ethnic minorities of Sindhi and Baloch have long been discriminated against and excluded from political leadership in Pakistan. While the Sindhi have fought for more representation and power-sharing in the nation's political structure, the Baloch have been the target of government repression and military operations. Siddiqi further mention that geopolitical rivalry, economic inequalities, cultural differences, and historical legacies all have an impact on ethnic politics in Pakistan. Baloch and Sindhi groups have been sidelined by the political elite, which is predominately Punjabi and has been particularly impacted by uneven economic development. Due to their marginalization, the Baloch and Sindhi have turned to armed conflict with the Pakistani government, which has sparked a cycle of hostility and mistrust between them. The study by Siddiqi emphasizes the need for a more decentralised, inclusive political structure in Pakistan that better represents marginalised communities and is prepared to confront past wrongs via conversation and reconciliation. Pakistan's ethnic politics necessitate a dedication to increased diversity, representation, and power-sharing. The author did not discuss the diversity of cultural effects on the democracy of Pakistan so my studies will focus on it.

Articles

The article, “*The Determinants of Intra-Party Elections in Pakistan: A Study of Major Political Parties*” was published by Shaukat Ullah et al. in 2020, *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal*.

Scholars who analyze the necessity and significance of intra-party elections in Pakistan are discussed in their article. It is a crucial means to monitor a political party's internal democracy and a way to advance regular members from the bottom to the top of the leadership ladder. They further mention that even Pakistan’s major political parties avoided holding internal polls, instead choosing their top leaders directly. They focus on major political parties in their elections but did not discussed the structure of democracy in internal politics of the party.

Article. “*Democracy in Pakistan Value Change and Challenges of Institution Building*” published by Saeed Shafqat in 1998, *The Pakistan Development Review*.

Scholar discussed that it is important to note and acknowledge that Pakistan is one of the few Muslim countries and developing nations where the population has shown a willingness to accept a democratic parliamentary system and opposed the military dictator in a large scale. The author further mention that democracy is the wish of Pakistan culture, history and politics despite cleavages of social, racial and religious lines strong authoritarian tendencies, protracted military rule desired for growing democracy in the country. The author did not discussed that the democracy growing in our country according to the willingness of mass. So my study will be focus on it.

Article, *Islamic political parties and the nature of politics in Pakistan* published by Mudasir Nazar in 2016, *Asian Journal of Political Science*.

Scholar discussed that the origin and development of IPPs in Pakistan was explored with the help of historical crisis situation theories, and four crisis situations were identified. Three main categories were theorized and classified into three main categories: Islamic ideological parties, Islamic clerical parties and conservative Islamic parties. Party variables used to understand the nature and identification of IPPs are also crucial to measuring their politics. IPPs play divergent roles in politics, with different patterns of politics. IPPs practice heterogeneous Islamic politics and each party performs its role according to its nature, leading to internal crisis and eluding the possibility of establishing an Islamic state. The author did not discuss that all the Islamic political parties emerged in the country based on these factors. So my studies will be focusing on it.

The article, “*Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan*” was published by Moonis Ahmar in 2007.

Scholars discussed that the history of sectarian conflict in Pakistan is as old as the country, but it intensified during the late 1970s and early 1980s due to domestic political changes and the implications of the Islamic revolution in Iran. The military regime of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq pursued a policy of 'Islamization', leading to a deepening of sectarian divide between Sunnis and Shiites. The journal examines the dynamics of sectarian conflict in Pakistan, focusing on the background of the sectarian divide between the Sunni and Shiite communities, the phenomenon of religious extremism and intolerance, the state's failure to curb sectarian conflict, the role of external factors, and strategies to address the challenge of sectarian violence. The journal did not discuss that influence of sectarianism on the democratic structure of the country so my studies will be focus on it.

Article *Intra-Party Democracy in Pakistan: Myth or Reality*, published by Muhammad Azhar et al., in 2019, "Pakistan Journal of Society, Education and Language.

Scholars analysis that the institution of political parties to foster societal inclusivity and extensiveness, public mobilization, and motivated organizations, arousing and stimulating participatory democracy, laying the groundwork for long-lasting democratic institutions, and connecting them to the government, a truly democratic society and Political parties must articulate public needs and demands, bring together and bolster divergent political interests, train and educate political leadership, and promote responsibility, accountability, transparency, and impart acceptability to the party system to fully realize the advantages of participatory democracy. But in the case of Pakistan, they prioritize personalities instead of elected. Factionalism and division inside the party are sparked by the lack of a truly democratic culture at the intra-party level because there is no room for party employees to be elevated properly. The outcome demonstrates that the majority of political parties in Pakistan have no internal democratic structure, and intra-party elections serve only to strengthen dynastic politics. They

discussed the accountability structure of the organization but they did not discuss the manifestation of these parties after emergence.

The article “*Public Perceptions about Democratic Culture in the Political Parties of Pakistan: A Case Study of ANP, PML-N and PPP*” published by Syed Ali Shah in 2015, *Global Journal on Humanities and Social Sciences Issue*.

Scholar interviews to examine how the general public views Pakistan's three major parties ANP, PML (N), and PPP in terms of their democratic cultures. Through the use of a structured questionnaire, a sample of 200 respondents was chosen. The sample demonstrates that Pakistan's political parties' leadership is not chosen democratically. All of the political parties in the samples have inherited their party leaders. Candidate selection for elections for public and party offices does not adhere to democratic principles. The nomination process is currently in use rather than a democratic method of choosing candidates. Because party leaders typically nominate members of decision-making bodies, political parties have developed an undemocratic culture, which has led to the creation of weak institutions and political instability. The journal discussed the major political parties through sampling but it did not discuss any regional party so I will be focused on it in my studies.

Article, “*Restoration of Democracy and deviated role of Political Parties in Pakistan*” published by Ghulam Zikria in 2022, *The Government-Annual Research Journal of Political Science*.

Scholars discussed that the political parties in Pakistan have been involved in accommodating unelected elites and have internal deficits, leading to disenchantment with them and a loss of trust in the government. To restore democracy, political parties should develop democratic norms and improve their performance. Political education should be provided to ensure political participation and accountability, and the culture of family rule should be condemned. Elections must be regular, fair, free, and transparent to establish proper democratic governments, and the monopoly between the opposition and governing parties must be

abolished to restore democracy and check military interference. The journal discusses the main stream Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan People party that these are just the inherent parties. However the journal did not discuss the awareness of the masses to difference between democratic and undemocratic structures and right to vote not in the favour of the party but in a proper way so my studies will focus on it.

The article, "*The Role of political parties and democratization in Pakistan*" was published by Ali, et.al, in 2014.

Scholars discussed that political parties in Pakistan have been fragile and rarely protected democratic principles. Long military rule and feudal elites have strengthened "authoritarian rule" rather than electoral democracy. The lack of visionary leadership has left spillover impacts in the shape of perpetual military rules. The politics of national reconciliation has been unsuccessful, and Pakistan needs consensus-based political culture. To achieve this, political parties must adopt democratic principles in their intra-party elections and bring about constitutional reforms. Until common people are given the chance to participate in the electoral process, democratic enhancement will remain a distant dream. However the journal did not discuss the awareness of the youth to be the part of Electoral College for election so my studies will be focusing on it.

The article, "*Role of Political Parties in Pakistan and Perverted Form of Democracy*" published by Shaista Taj and Zia Ur Rehman in 2015.

Scholars discussed that Pakistan has been ruled by the military for much of its existence, and civilian rule has been compromised at best and distorted at worst. The Pakistani military is often held responsible for undermining institutional growth due to ideological and structural inadequacies, while feudal dominance continued unabated even after independence, establishing its iron hold on state institutions. This paper explores the prospects of civilian rule

in the country in a context of renewed optimism, as a democratically elected government has completed its full five-year term (2008-2013). It argues that civil-military relations will continue to radiate disappointment given the growing role of the security establishment in the country due to volatile neighborhoods and violent politics. However they did not mention that what was the reason that the military take over four times over the establishment is because of accountability and corruption of civil government so my studies will be focused on it.

The article, "*Islam, democracy and human rights: The Case of Pakistan's Struggle with the democratic institutions and human rights values*" published by Saira Bano Orakzai in 2017, *SADF-South Asia Democratic Forum*.

Scholar describes that Pakistan's approach to creating its identity revolves around Islam. The sharp increase in religious extremism and terrorism in Pakistan since the 9/11 attacks has had an impact on the country's democratic system, legal system, and human rights principles. This essay looks at how Pakistan's democratic and constitutional systems have changed through time, as well as how religion has shaped national narratives. The state is currently passing laws influenced by extremist and terrorist narratives, which has widened the gap between religious radicals and secularists. The challenge that Pakistan's religious-secular split and extremist narratives offer to democratic norms and human rights standards is examined in the study using an interpretive method. The journal did not discuss whether either democracy existed in political culture of Pakistan before the 9/11 incident or just in the form of a myth.

Article, *The Upsurge of Religious Extremism: A Challenge to Democracy, Governance and National Unity in Pakistan* published by Sajid Mahmood Awan and Omer Farooq Zain in 2012, *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*.

Scholars discussed that Pakistan is facing a volatile extremist campaign in the FATA (KP) due to the upsurge of religious militancy, which began in the 1980s and is now becoming the most challenging phenomenon Pakistan has faced in the recent past and even today. The journal

further analyze the objective conditions from several dimensions to bring out an insight into the problem and provide a thumbnail sketch of the religious revivalist tendency in the Pakistani society for a broad assessment of the whole issue. The current campaign of religious extremism threatens democracy, governance and national unity in Pakistan has deep roots in history and underlines socioeconomic, cultural, strategic, and political factors. The author did not assess that the entrance of religious extremism will affect on internal structure of democracy so my studies will be focusing on it.

The article, “*Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability in Pakistan*” published by Amna Mahmood in 2014.

Scholars discussed that Pakistan has struggled with national integration, and regional political parties have been instrumental in escalating the suffering. Most of the leadership is unassuming and local, and they appeal to regional attitudes and exacerbate local and ethnic problems to maintain media attention. There are still regional disparities and poverty, and Pakistan's conflicts have been fueled by the distribution of limited resources. Despite the lack of representative institutions and military rule, strongly articulated political parties may have strengthened the sense of unity among Pakistan's citizens, but the national integration process was still a difficulty for political stability and the continuation of the polity due to the lack of structured political parties and the detrimental involvement of regional parties. My focus will be on the proper organization of political parties and the stability between the parties for integration.

Research Methodology

This study is conducted by using mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) modes of research. So based on quantitative research that includes survey and questionnaire sampling. Both primary and secondary sources utilized in order to investigate the research problem. The

primary data including interview sampling, parties' original documents, government official reports, the election commission of Pakistan, and constitution documents related to party politics and parties' democratic values, the constitution of Pakistan 1973, political party law 1962, 2002, and 2017, and the original constitution of the parties, interviews from the parties candidates and presidents. Surveys and questionnaire will be tools of my research. And secondary data related to the written sources books, articles, journals, newspapers, PILDAT(Pakistan Institute of legislative the development and Transparency), libraries of Islamabad, and IDEA (International Institute for democracy and Electoral Assistance) and that all written sources will determine the Intra- party democracy within parties of Pakistan, party politics, the value of democracy in existence parties. An analytical approach will be used to find out the factors that create the instability in the democracy and lack of democracy in these parties.

1.6 Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of my study will be comprised of five chapters apart from the abstract and conclusion.

Chapter#1: Introduction

The first chapter of research covers introduction of the study, statement of the problem, aims and objectives, research questions, scope and significance of study, theoretical framework, literature review, and methodology and organisational structure. All these elements explain intra- party democracy, the concept of parties, and the concept of organization and institutionalization of political parties, and the political parties of Pakistan and beside this review of literature on democracy in political parties and the back ground analysis of concept of democracy and political parties.

Chapter#2: Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy Concept

Second chapter of work covers concept of political parties and their functions, discourse on political parties, typologies, challenges and limitations of political parties. Party politics in second constitution of Pakistan, political parties' act 1962, political parties' Amendment Act 1985, and political parties order 2002 these all act on party politics will cover in this chapter. Discourse on intra party democracy, iron law of oligarchy, intra-party democracy a liability, as an asset, qualitative analysis of party law. The chapter will also contain feasibility of democracy in Pakistan, empirical viability of IPD, explanation of variation in IPD, party specific factor, legal regulation of IPD.

Chapter#3: Political and Constitutional study of Mainstream and Regional Political Parties of Pakistan

Brief background of independence of Pakistan, the political landscape of Pakistan, the nature of the regime, the political system of Pakistan national assembly and senate, case selection of intra-party democracy, intra-party elections according to parties constitutions, and the dimensions of IPD measures survey to the parameter of party politics.

Chapter#4: Intra-Party Democracy in Political Parties of Pakistan

Explanation of IPD in political parties, constitutional law of 1973 constitution, party law of 2017 amendment act, Freedom of association the basic law according to constitution of Pakistan, party profile of my variables parties (background, ideology, origin, government ambitions), analysis of questionnaire, comments, measurements of IPD.

Chapter#5: Mainstream and Regional Political Parties: An Analysis

The last chapter endeavors to present and interpret the results achieved from the party profiles in the previous chapters based on the catalogue of four variables, i.e., age, origin, ideology, and

government ambition, and besides that, the parameters of intra-party democracy in any party, i.e., representation, responsiveness, participation, competition, and transparency explain that are the main parameters of any democratic country in their political party constitution.

Chapter# 06: Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

The six chapter of research cover findings, conclusions, and recommendations. Lastly, the appendix on political parties will cover the thesis.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter covered the introductory part of the intra-party democracy in mainstream and regional political parties of Pakistan. This chapter of my research has covered the introduction of the study, statement of the problem, aims and objectives, research questions, scope and significance of study, theoretical framework, literature review, and methodology and organisational structure.

All these elements explain intra- party democracy, the concept of parties, and the concept of organization and institutionalization of political parties, and the political parties of Pakistan and beside this review of literature on democracy in political parties and the back ground analysis of concept of democracy and political parties. This chapter foremost focused on different views of intra-party democracy according to different scholar and academics and beside that the existent literature review is also the main tool to cover this chapter and explain various way to compare that how western scholar compare the democracy of Pakistan with the other world.

Robin T Pettit in his work entitled that five party-specific factors (age, origin, ideology, style of democracy, and government ambition) are central in explaining the variation in Intra party democracy. A scholar has examined the significance of political parties as essential components of a robust democratic system, emphasising their functions in selecting candidates,

establishing connections with the public, setting up the legislative branch, and organising political campaigns.

The importance of internal party democracy is emphasised by USAID, the (United States Agency for International Development), which encourages political parties. According to Maurice Duverger, modern political parties are largely distinguished by their anatomy and that any political party is just a society with a distinctive structure.

The main finding of Michel is that it is difficult for political parties to have democratic internal connections simply because of the way they are organised. Mass integration parties were inherently oligarchic, despite the fact that their forms and practices were supposedly grounded on democratic legitimacy.

Many political parties purposefully dissuade regular members and supporters from participating, and therefore lack internal democracy. In actuality, political parties have often been accused of upholding disparate interests and obstructing the spread of democracy. A practise known as intra-party democracy allows input from a broader range of party stakeholders during decision-making, hence limiting the centralised power of top-level party leaders.

Political parties in Pakistan have remained small and unstable as a result of the state's predominance of an anti-democratic ethos. Yet, the lack of legitimate intra-party elections has been a tremendously demotivating element that has given rise to personality politics and family politics, which has ultimately weakened the party internally.

CHAPTER TWO

Concept of Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy

2. Political Parties

2.4 Introduction

In a democracy, every citizen can participate in this process by casting a ballot in elections, joining political parties or civil society organisations, or standing as a candidate in free and fair elections. They can also freely access information about political issues and openly express their own opinions on current events.⁴⁶ In this way we can understand Abraham Lincoln, the president of the United States from 1861 to 1865 concept, that democracy is “the government of the people, by the people, for the people,” to understand this concept and relate it with democracy we need to tackle some certain conditions that are Politics requires principles of freedom, justice, and solidarity to guide its organisation. Politics requires social organisations

⁴⁶Hofmeister, Wilhelm, and Karsten Grabow. *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*, (2011)35-117

to collect interests, aggregate them, and communicate them to political and governmental institutions.⁴⁷

Parliaments and governments are the most important institutions. So a modern democracy need all these certain condition in the affairs of state. Parties are competing with one another to come up with the greatest solutions to political issues. They are fighting with each other for influence and dominance. A society cannot be organised if there is no ability to impose political vision. This struggle for ideas and dominance is accompanied by internal debates and confrontations both between the parties and inside them.⁴⁸ They are valid and significant.

American political scientist Antony Downs is credited with providing a widely recognised definition of political parties when he wrote: "A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election".⁴⁹

One of the most well-known experts on political parties worldwide, Italian academic Giovanni Sartori has been lecturing at Columbia University in New York for a long time. He defined a party as: "any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office."⁵⁰

Parties work to influence political opinion formation in addition to that. They also want to take part in the parliamentary representation of the people. It is assumed that parties participate in elections in this. Elections have a tight relationship to a party's political influence and "weight."⁵¹ The parties place a high value on the electorate's will. Unlike interest groups, a party is expected to voice its opinions on all matters that are important to the government.

⁴⁷Wilhelm, *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*. 50

⁴⁸ Wilhelm, *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*. 52

⁴⁹Anthony, Downs. *An economic theory of political action in a democracy*, *Journal of political economy* 65, no. 2 (1957): 135-150.

⁵⁰Wilhelm, 110

⁵¹Wilhelm, *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*, 113

Parties are expected to provide their positions on issues such as economic and social policies, youth and civil policies, and domestic and foreign policies.

Each party needs to have a programme that maintains its core posture in a number of areas in order to achieve these requirements.⁵² In addition, a party should be consistently organised. Anthony King described a significant inventory of functions in 1969. He claims that "structuring the vote," which means that political parties must run for office, is the primary duty of a party.⁵³ The Second parties under "integration and mobilization" enlist individuals and give them a credible voice in the political sphere.⁵⁴ Third they are responsible for the "recruitment of political leaders" at all level from bottom to top.⁵⁵ Fourth parties are responsible for the "organization of government" the structured control of the majority party over all executive and legislative branches.⁵⁶ Fifth, a party needs to hold public office in order to have an impact on public policy, and the public policy must represent the party's ideological stance.⁵⁷ Finally, he says that "interest aggregation" is a necessary function of a party.⁵⁸

2.5 Discourse on Political Parties

Scholars have consistently emphasised the significance and importance of political parties for democracy since the early 1900s. Parties are inevitable, according to James Bryce's definition from 1921. No free sovereign country would exist without them. Nobody has demonstrated how representative government could function in the absence of parties.⁵⁹ Likewise, E.E. Schattschneider made the following renowned statement in 1941: "modern democracy is

⁵²Wilhelm, *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies*, 115

⁵³Wolfgang C. Müller, and Hanne Marthe Narud. "Party governance and party democracy". *Springer New York*. (2013).

⁵⁴ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 41

⁵⁵ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 44

⁵⁶ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 47

⁵⁷ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 47

⁵⁸ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 49

⁵⁹ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy," 53

unthinkable save in term of the parties these are not therefore merely appendages of modern government, they are in the center of it and play a determinative and creative role in it".⁶⁰

The necessity of political parties in providing the fundamental framework for the operation of diverse academic institutions is frequently highlighted by modern academics.⁶¹ In contrast to this celebrity-based perception of political parties, a decline theory also surfaced in the 1970s, suggesting that parties as a type of political organisation were in danger of going extinct. This idea came to mind when I noticed that party membership was sharply falling in the advanced industrial democracies of the west, especially in the United States of America. Even while the public is less inclined than in the past to trust political parties, further study reveals that the decline hypothesis was restricted to party membership, and an overwhelming majority of people still believe that political parties are a necessary component of democracy.⁶²

Anathema to the ultimate elimination of political parties, academics do believe that recent developments in the political scene of mature democracies have admittedly affected the function they previously served.⁶³ The growth of political middlemen such as interest groups has severely challenged their long-standing monopoly over representation. Similarly the expansion of mass media has emerged as an alternate source of distributing political information.⁶⁴

Apart from the decline hypothesis that has impacted political parties' mass organisation and electoral foundation, it has also been shown that their public office duties (such as serving in parliament or the government) have not degraded.⁶⁵ Finally, the third wave of democratization's

⁶⁰ Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 80

⁶¹ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 55

⁶² Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD) ",34

⁶³ Russell J Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. "Parties without partisans: Political change in advanced industrial democracies". *Oxford University Press on Demand*, (2002).

⁶⁴ Dalton, "Parties without partisans", 20

⁶⁵ Dalton, "Parties without partisans", 23

unravelling of the transition serves as more evidence of the enduring significance of political parties in democracies and their abundance in these newfound democracies.⁶⁶ It is acknowledged that parties are weaker now than they were in the past, despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.⁶⁷

2.3 Typologies of Political Parties:

Political parties themselves can be identified by a few traits. These typologies aid in classifying the diversity of social phenomena so that it can be understood better. Consider the distinguishing characteristics of the parties to identify them, taking notice of their similarities and contrasts.

Parties can be divided into categories based on a variety of factors, including their level of organisation, their sociopolitical objectives, the socioeconomic classes they want to represent and engage with, or their attitude towards the political system.⁶⁸ Certain political parties can also be categorised by their names, which frequently represent unique sociopolitical goals that the parties desire to be associated with. Parties make their intentions for perception and classification clear by the names they choose.⁶⁹

Concerning the political party's family Peter Mair and Cas Mudde conducted a recent study in which they evaluated four commonly used approaches to political party classification across place and time.⁷⁰ i.e. i) Sociology and Origin ii) international connection; iii) ideology and policies; and iv) party designation. They come to the conclusion that grouping parties according to a shared objective forms the fundamental principle of each of these groups. Nonetheless,

⁶⁶ Dalton, "Parties without partisans", 25

⁶⁷ Müller, "Party governance and party democracy", 105

⁶⁸ Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies". 42

⁶⁹ Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies". 44

⁷⁰ Peter Mair, and Cas Mudde. "The party family and its study." *Annual review of political science* (1998).1, no. 1, 211-229. 262

they argue that some of these methods are deceptive since they conceal the true names of political parties.

For example, the loose criteria of the transitional federation threatens the ideological coherence.⁷¹ As a result, they recommend combining two strategies with one another, that is, the ideological and genetic approaches.⁷² Therefore, the ideological approach is better suitable for a synchronic comparison of political parties, whereas the genetic approach is more appropriate for a diachronic examination.⁷³

Similar to this, political parties can also be categorised based on the organisational characteristics they possess. These traits centre on the various associations that parties represent, such as the connection between party leaders and members and the general public, as well as the relationship between party leadership and elected party officials. Scholars propose that party formation reflects a dialectical process, whereby a particular party type generates a response that fosters the emergence of a new party type, based on studies of well-established democracies.⁷⁴

2.4 Party Politics in President Ayub Era

2.4.1 Background

Political parties in Pakistan were abolished in 1958 due to martial law. President Mirza was replaced by General Ayub Khan due to people's belief that he was responsible for the political deterioration. Ayub ruled for 44 months without politics or parties, and Article 173 of the Constitution bans political activity, including the formation of political parties and the projection of any candidate at elections. The Prohibition of Unregulated Activity Ordinance of

⁷¹ Mair, "The party family and its study," 211

⁷² Mair, "The party family and its study". 273

⁷³ Mair, "The party family and its study". 288

⁷⁴ Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD), 23

1962 prohibited the birth of any political party or activity before the National Assembly had discussed it.⁷⁵The National and Provincial Assemblies (First Election) Order warned candidates not to project themselves as a candidate of a group, party or organization. The 1962 National and Provincial Assemblies were elected without any political parties or activity, and candidates presented their own manifestos, using cliches and catchwords from the 1958 coup. The M.N.A.'s (Member of the National Assemblies) formed political alliances on provincial lines when East and West Pakistan legislators met in separate caucuses. They avoided the forbidden name of political parties and used the nomenclature of "like minded" people to form alliances. The situation remained fluid and confusing due to the groups being formed on pre-1958 party lines with different names.⁷⁶

The return to political life allowed for public meetings, but the tone of the speakers became critical of the government and expressed dissatisfaction with its handling of affairs. The Constitution was criticized for its autocratic and undemocratic nature, banning of political parties, non-justiciability of fundamental rights, arrest and detention of politicians, restrictions on the franchise, foreign policy, and family laws. The government introduced an official Political Parties Bill, which excluded persons jailed for more than three months and politicians under E.B.D.O (elective bodies disqualification order) retaining the power to make any person *persona non grata* to politics.⁷⁷

Politicians under restrictions and opposition to the government were people who had achieved name and fame before partition or the 1958 coup. They were popular with the public, despite corruption and nepotism, and had a general sympathy for free political activity and fundamental freedoms. E.B.D.O politicians wanted the old parties revived by pre-1958 leadership, but were

⁷⁵ Saleem MM. Qureshi, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan" *The Middle East Journal*, (1966).Vol. 20, No. 4,456-472.

⁷⁶ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 458

⁷⁷ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 458

not allowed to hold offices in parties. They wanted to stay in the public eye while pleading for the democratization of the Constitution.⁷⁸ Since the National Democratic Front declined to identify as a political party, it offered them a convenient haven. The ministerialists wanted a party with a new body but an old name to provide them with a platform for expressing their views, a machinery to work for them politically, and a prestigious name to attract the masses. Ayub's position as President of Pakistan and unchallenged leader of the people placed him in a position to set the tone of politics, but his initial pronouncements remained non-committal due to his opposition to parties. Ayub initially opposed the restoration of a parliamentary form of government due to his experience with politicians and his belief that party politics and parliamentary government were synonymous.⁷⁹

Ayub refused to join any party, but instead opposed one kind and implicitly supported another. He opposed the revival of old parties in principle, but only the revival of the League, while remaining indifferent to other parties. Ayub was afraid that a political party organized from the official heights would be branded as the 'King's Party' or the 'Palace Party'. This is why the ministerialists insisted on the reorganization of the League by a Convention, which was later organized by a non-official facade. The names of Convention delegates were screened by ministers, leading to accusations that only handpicked supporters were allowed.⁸⁰

2.4.2 Constitutional Development and Political Parties

Pakistan's political history is marked by instability and turmoil. Initially a democratic system, it experienced military coups, limited freedom, and attacks on secular culture. The country has three ratified constitutions, unwarranted judicial interference, and ten contentious general elections. Despite these challenges, democratic aspirations have prevailed and the party system

⁷⁸ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 460

⁷⁹ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 461

⁸⁰ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 462

has survived. The emergence of political parties and the political parties acts in different time periods with the constitutional development given right proper rights to political parties of Pakistan and the emergence of political parties with their law and code etc.

2.5 Political Parties Act 1962:

After the emergence of political parties the Muslim league was divided into two parts the Conventionists and the councilor. Ayub and the Conventionists had similar interests, as the Conventionists had 85 M.N.A.'s and the Muslim League was traditionally the party of the Muslim and the State. In exchange for the Conventionists' support the President had received inside and outside the National Assembly since the Political Parties Act's enactment, as well as in response to their hope that the President would join them and therefore "fill a political void to preserve stability in the country," Being a "two-Anna member both from East and West Pakistan," Ayub joined the Conventionists after accepting the offer of the chief national and provincial organisers.⁸¹ Nevertheless, he hoped that all parties would assist him in doing what was right making "make clear that in [his] capacity as President everyone will continue to enjoy fair play and justice irrespective of his political affiliations.

As soon as they joined the party, the President issued a directive that listed, Ten Commandments for the Conventionists, instructing them to work towards: the advancement of industrialization and modernization in agriculture, science, and technology; the development of self-respect, self-reliance, sense of responsibility and discipline; and pride in their country; the unification of thought and action among people through religious, educational, social, and economic endeavours y; the equitable distribution of development benefits; the encouragement of private enterprise avoiding the accumulation of wealth in a few hands; the establishment of Islamic political ideology, social justice and economic order moving toward a welfare state;

⁸¹Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan,"465

the growth of voluntary charitable activities to help the needy; the fulfillment of Pakistan's solemn pledge to support the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for freedom; the conduct of foreign relations in a manner that would gain friends and ensure maximum security and development of the country.⁸² Section 3, sub-section (1) of the Political Parties Act, which states the following, negatively establishes the purpose for which parties may be created and the policies they may pursue:

“No parties shall be formed with the object of propagating any opinion, or acting in a manner, prejudicial to the Islamic ideology, integrity or security of Pakistan”.⁸³

Every party is required by the Political Parties Act of 1962 to conduct internal elections and submit a report to Pakistan's Election Commission. If political parties are unwilling to put democratic ideas into practice inside their own ranks, then one cannot expect support for them. Because state politics in Pakistan have a culture that is predominantly anti-democratic, political parties have remained weak and unpredictable.⁸⁴

The Home Minister elaborated on the Act by stating that the government would not permit any party that was adverse to Pakistani and Islamic philosophy to operate. Hence, the political space in which the parties may act was defined by the statutory requirement and the minister's declaration. The Conventionists Muslim League eventually developed into a secular and practical party in content, despite the Political Parties Act and the Home Minister's declaration both emphasising the ideology of Islam and Pakistan.

The Conventionists endorsed the Constitution, allowing non-Muslims to become associate members and accept a joint electorate. Their program is in the nature of guidelines, not a commitment with destiny, and their greatest asset is President Ayub's personality and "dynamic

⁸²Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 466

⁸³Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 467

⁸⁴Ahmed Usama, Dr Riffat Munawar, and Aaisha Amjad, *Determinants of Effective Electoral Campaign, South Asian Studies* 28, no. 1 (2020).

leadership".⁸⁵ The Conventionists are Western educated and Western oriented, focusing on the solidarity, unity and integrity of Pakistan rather than Islam. The Councillors League, Jama'at-i-Islami and Nizam-i-Islam Party are committed to Islamic ideology and oppose a joint electorate and non-Muslim membership. The Councillors show a strong preference for Islam in their pronouncements and program, but it is a minor part of their plank.⁸⁶

The National Democratic Front, the Awami League and the National Awami Party are secular and pragmatic, favoring a joint electorate and including non-Muslims in their membership. Their program is devoid of ideology or dogma. Politics in Pakistan has always been based on personalities, with alliances based on personal gain since Partition. The President attempted to change this, but was unsuccessful.⁸⁷

The state relied on the breakdown of political parties to find solace in the breakdown, having no interest in assisting them in uniting. Rather than eliminating impediments to democratic organisations, the government has attempted to control them by arbitrarily limiting their operations. The assembly prevented Ayub Khan from destroying party-based politics in 1962, and he gradually came to terms with political parties' existence. Therefore, the Political Parties Act of 1962 was primarily created to prevent the formation and operation of parties that might be falsely accused of receiving funding from abroad or being influenced by an ideology from elsewhere.⁸⁸

2.6 Political Parties (Amendment) Act 1985

In 22nd December 1985 a parliament with president assent present an amendment act. This act was amended in the section 3A of 1962 political parties act. Article 8B was inserted in 1962 to

⁸⁵Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 480

⁸⁶Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 470

⁸⁷ Saleem, "Party politics in the second republic of Pakistan," 473

⁸⁸Reported by, Dawn, review political parties, August, 2008, <http://www.dawnnews.com> (Accessed on Dec 2022)

allow a member of the House to become a member of a political party after election. The election commission will determine if a member of the House is disqualified from being a member based on a reference from the leader of the preliminary party. Appeal against election commission must be filed with Supreme Court within 30 days.⁸⁹

The Act of 1962 included a new clause that was Until elections are held for the purpose of succeeding general to the national assembly and the provincial assembly, the election commission may continue to exercise its authority during the time that it is not constituted under article 218 of the constitution or under an election commission order for the purpose of holding general elections to the national assembly and the provincial assembly. In order to implement the act, the federal government could also demand notice in the official gazette.⁹⁰

2.7 Political Parties Order 2002

An executive order issued in 2002 allowed the political parties' order of 2002 to be implemented. This qualifies Pakistan's party law. The decree goes into great detail about how political parties operate both inside and outside the nation, in contrast to the broad and more generic provisions found in the constitution. According to the reasoning that "practise of democracy within the political parties will promote democratic government in the country for sustaining democracy," the directive starts with the formal acknowledgment of IPD as a significant internal value for political parties.⁹¹

The act clarifies the requirements for party membership, party elections, and the 2002 intraparty election. Any citizen who is not employed by Pakistan is entitled to form, join, or have some other connection to a political party, participate in political activities, and be elected

⁸⁹Reported by, National Assembly of Pakistan, Political Parties (Amendment) Act 1985.

<https://na.gov.pk>essence> (Accessed on Dec, 2022).

⁹⁰Reported by, National Assembly of Pakistan, political parties act, 1985, <https://na.gov.pk>essence> (Accessed on Dec, 2022).

⁹¹Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 33

to an office within that party, according to Article 5 of the Political Parties Order. However, under Article 63 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's Constitution or under any other existing law, an individual who is not eligible to be elected or chosen as a member of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) or who is disqualified from being elected or chosen shall not be appointed or serve as an office-bearer of a political party.⁹² According to the statement, a political party office-holder shall not be subject to the educational requirements of being a graduate with a bachelor's degree or its equivalent, which are established for members of the Provincial Assembly or Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament).

When a person joins a political party, his name must be properly recorded in the party's records as a member, and he must get a membership card or other proof of his participation in the party and individual may hold membership in more than one political party concurrently. A member of a political party has the right to access the party's records.⁹³

Article 11 of the Political Parties Order states that, where applicable, the party leader and other officials of each political party at the federal, provincial, and local levels shall be elected by secret ballot in a democratic and open process on a regular basis in accordance with the party's charter, with a maximum of four years to elapse between any two elections. According to the party's constitution, every member of the political party must have an equal opportunity to run for election to any party position, including head of the party. The Electoral College for the election of the party general council at each level shall consist of all members of the political party at the federal, provincial, and local levels.⁹⁴

⁹²Reported by, Election Commission of Pakistan,(political parties order 2002), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk>, (Accessed on Dec, 2022)

⁹³Reported by, Election commission of Pakistan,(political parties order 2002), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk>, (Accessed on Dec, 2022)

⁹⁴Reported by, Election commission of Pakistan,(political parties order 2002), <https://www.ecp.gov.pk>, (Accessed on Dec, 2022)

Article 17 of the political parties order present that every political party that wishes to participate in the general elections of 2002 must complete the intra-party elections referred by the fifth day of August 2002, in accordance with the party constitution and this Order, and submit the certificate referred. A party that does not comply with the provisions of clauses (1) and (2) will not be assigned an election symbol for the general elections, 2002. A political party that has completed intra-party elections, to the extent that is feasible, prior to the commencement of this Order, must submit a certificate to the Election Commission.⁹⁵

2.8 Political Parties and Social Change

Every nation and every community has a distinct face to democracy. A society's social, ethnic, and religious uniqueness, national history, tradition, culture, economic capacity, the importance of regional variables, and other elements all influence the actual form of the democratic mandate. Nonetheless, every democratic system must contain a few fundamental components. The essential components of democracy are as follows: elected officials who answer to the people must have positions of authority in the governing bodies.

Free and fair elections must be held on a regular basis; all adults must have the ability to vote and hold political office; there must be no restrictions on the expression of one's opinions; and unrestricted access to diverse and alternative information sources must be ensured.⁹⁶

The exercise of the aforementioned rights is contingent upon the existence of the right to form autonomous associations, groups of interest, and political parties. Regardless of how it is structured in various nations, democracy requires institutions to guarantee its projection, consolidation, and stability as well as to shield "young" democracies from opposition or even serious setbacks. The degree to which the various democratic orders are institutionalised, the

⁹⁵Shahbaz Ali, Nauma Kiran, and Muhammad Iqbal Chawla Party politics in Pakistan 1985-1999:A historical perspective", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, (2020). V No. 57, Issue No. 1, 85

⁹⁶Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies",161

potential that these institutions offer to address the challenges of political and social change, and the way in which they lend legitimacy to the political system all influence the likelihood that democracy will stabilise and consolidate.⁹⁷

The primary institutions of democracy are the political parties, regardless of how democracy has been set up in a particular situation or political framework. It is impossible to have democracy without parties. The essential functions of political parties have already been discussed. However, the parties do not have exclusive rights to perform these duties, and they are now more than ever in rivalry with other organisations who do the same, at least in some regions, putting them in opposition to the parties.⁹⁸

The main differentiator for a party has always been and always will be its election participation. Parties are essential to democracy and the political system, but they also face particular challenges in modern democracies. These new challenges for political parties are mostly the result of societal change and the success or failure of confronting the consequences of these changing societies in the political sphere.⁹⁹

2.9 Intra-Party Democracy

To strengthen the impact and participation of the politically active members of a party, intra-party democracy is required. Parties with undemocratic structures are ineligible to rule in democracies.¹⁰⁰ As a result, several nations have laws requiring the parties to uphold democratic practices within their own internal systems. In actuality, the constitution or other laws in a lot of nations mandate that the parties create internal procedures that are consistent with democratic ideals.

⁹⁷Wilhelm, "Political parties : Functions and organisation in democratic societies",163

⁹⁸Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 165

⁹⁹Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 188

¹⁰⁰Ali, "Party politics in Pakistan 1985-1999:A historical perspective", 90

Despite all of these legal protections, the influence of "ordinary" party members is usually limited, and the number of truly powerful and important party members is typically rather small. This is due to the members' lack of enthusiasm for engaging in more active participation. Other times, the bureaucratization of the party infrastructure has created some distance, if not outright estrangement, between party leaders and members.¹⁰¹ This is caused, at least in part, by the unique characteristics of contemporary mass democracies, which necessitate quick decision-making processes and, consequently, preclude drawn-out internal party voting procedures. However, history demonstrates that people who put in time and effort into party activity can genuinely rise in the ranks.

2.9.1 The Iron Law of Oligarchy

Robert Michels had established the "iron law of oligarchy" in his seminal work on party study, "Reign of a few," in 1911. The study finds that every organisation eventually produces a ruling class that it is unable to manage well over the long term. Given the development of information technology and the growing specialization of politics, party leaderships and structures also become more independent. An issue for the democratic formation of thought within a party is the accumulation of duties and the monopoly of power, which are signs of an oligarchy. The abolition of rigid party structures can be facilitated by improvements in democratic processes and in the sharing of ideas.¹⁰²

Depending on the nature of the issues at hand, local party committees have varying degrees of influence over the formation of political opinion and the party's decision-making procedures. Their influence over the selection of candidates for parliament is not universal. Nonetheless, this varies from nation to nation.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 211

¹⁰²Wilhelm, "Political parties : Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 235

¹⁰³Wilhelm, "Political parties : Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 236

Several party systems around the world deplore the absence of intra-party democracy, not least due to the declining membership levels. These days, many parties are seeking to put into place more enticing policies for their current supporters and discover ways to entice new supporters to join them. One alternative is to become more inclusive of non-members and provide them with ways to participate at the party's lowest levels. But, history indicates that there aren't many non-members who participate in party activities. If non-members have the same rights as members and participate, for example, in intra-party decisions on candidates, there is also a chance that the benefits of party membership for individuals in terms of politics may decline. In any case, decisions made within the party should include the party bases. Each party should decide based on its unique circumstances whether this is done directly through member surveys and voting procedures or in an indirect way through delegates.¹⁰⁴

However both ways are legitimate forms of intra-party democracy, even if nowadays the general tendency is more in favour of the direct participation of party members. It is crucial that the selection procedure for party leaders and election candidates adhere to democratic standards. A "bottom up" strategy should be used in this case; any party or elected post is validated by the appropriate electoral body within a party. The majority of the time, this is a party convention, which may take place locally, regionally, or nationally.¹⁰⁵ The holder of an office is better able to relate to legitimate opponents both inside the party and from other parties thanks to this method of appointment.

2.9.2 Discourse on Intra- Party Democracy

IPD in simple term refer to the means through which party members can be encompassed in the internal decision making anti-functioning of a party. Notwithstanding, different approaches

¹⁰⁴Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 267

¹⁰⁵Wilhelm, "Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies", 286

have been proposed to measure and operationalize IPD which emphasize certain values others (participation, representation, competition and so forth).¹⁰⁶

2.9.3 Intra- Party Democracy: Good or Bad?

The significance of IPD is debatable at this point. Scholars disagree over the value of intra-party democracy to state-wide democracy, in contrast to the necessity of political parties for democracy. Hence, while some academics believe that IPD promotes state-wide democracy, others disagree, believing it to be inconsequential and occasionally detrimental to democracy. Some who argue that IPD is a necessary element of state-level democracy assert that all social institutions, including political parties, must be democratic in order for a society to be really democratic.¹⁰⁷

2.9.4 Intra- Party Democracy as Asset

There are multiple reasons why those who believe that IPD will benefit state-wide democracy hold this perspective. They declared that IPD develops a democratic political culture, strengthens the legitimacy of democratic governance by giving citizens some degree of political power, and, in general, it may increase political engagement thereby preventing political alienation.¹⁰⁸

IPD proponents contend that without it, parties may be unable to adequately carry out two of their primary responsibilities, namely interest representation and aggregation. Absence of IPD may make it difficult for organisations to be heard because parties represent a variety of

¹⁰⁶Cross, "The challenges of intra-party democracy", (2013) 45

¹⁰⁷Cross, *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, 13

¹⁰⁸ Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 35

interests and groupings. It is also satisfying that IPD is important for party welfare because, in the end, undemocratic parties become static, impeding further change.¹⁰⁹

2.9.5 Intra-Party Democracy a Liability

Certain perspectives claim that IPD has detrimental effects on state-wide democracy. Giovanni Sartori, for instance, asserts forcefully that a state-wide democracy need not be the culmination of numerous lesser democracies.¹¹⁰ Defined more simply, this body of study asserts that "democracy is not direct participation within parties, but rather free choice among parties."¹¹¹ They assert that undemocratic behaviour within parties cannot impede the efficient implementation of state-wide democracy. Additionally, research along similar lines shows that IPD has negative magnitudes. According to certain research, legislatures with more democratic candidate selection practices tend to be less representative and inclusive.¹¹² For instance, a recent study on political parties in Israel came to the conclusion that it is unlikely for one organisation to best provide the three fundamental democratic objectives of representation, competition, and inclusive participation. It shows that there is a non-linear or even negative relationship between these numbers.¹¹³

2.9.6 Empirical Validity of IPD

¹⁰⁹Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 39

¹¹⁰Cross, *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, 15

¹¹¹Cross. *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, 19

¹¹²Cross, *The challenges of intra-party democracy*, 23

¹¹³Shahid, "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)", 49

Divergent opinions regarding IPD are prevalent when it comes to the empirical possibilities; they are not confined to the normative sphere alone. While some scholars argue that democracy under political party structures is practically unimaginable, others maintain that it is feasible.

2.9.7 IPD: A Mirage?

Proponents of the theory that political parties cannot be democratic base their argument on Duverger's famous mass party model from 1954.¹¹⁴ In his seminal work on the study of political parties, he distinguished between two distinct party types: mass parties and cadre parties. The leaders of the cadre parties, which make up the parliament, are primarily elite parties motivated by their own political interests and have no desire to create a substantial extra-parliamentary organisation.¹¹⁵ IPD is meaningless to this party type because they lack an organised membership. In terms of structure, mass parties differ from cadre parties in that membership is not the primary focus.¹¹⁶ Their large membership is the only factor that influences how the party behaves, necessitating a more complex organisational structure.

Consequently, it is clear that the mass party's origins are representative of a democratic institution. Nonetheless, Duverger maintains that mass parties prevent intra-party democracy since they are weak and eventually succumb to Michel's rule of oligarchy.¹¹⁷ As was previously said, Katz and Mair contend that the catch-all party, which took on a smaller function for party members, supplanted the traditional mass party and undermined the democratic ideals that the mass party had originally promoted.¹¹⁸ They further say that the rise of the cartel party, which supplanted the catch-all party, has eliminated any chance of intraparty democracy.

¹¹⁴Robin T. Pettit, "Exploring variations in intra-party democracy: a comparative study of the British Labour Party and the Danish Centre-left." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (2012).14, no. 4, 630-650

¹¹⁵Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 22

¹¹⁶Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 24

¹¹⁷Carty, *Are political parties meant to be internally democratic?* 25

¹¹⁸Katz, *changing models of party organization and party democracy?* 07

The cartel party involves a centralization of activities and blurs the lines between party members and non-members.¹¹⁹ Participation has shifted from being a collective action to an individualised one, prohibiting supporters or members from taking part in collective acts.¹²⁰ Essentially, this reduces the job of the IPD to a formality that strengthens rather than limits the power of the party leadership.

2.9.8 IPD: A Fact

While some academics argue that IPD is unachievable and that political party democracy will eventually deteriorate, other scholars hold a different opinion. They claim that the influence of political party membership fluctuates both within and between parties throughout time.¹²¹ The connection between individual franchisees and central organisations can vary significantly, and it may not be consistent for all franchises within an organisation, as proposed by R. K. Carty in his franchise party model.¹²²

In their most recent research, Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik and Wolfgang C. Müller examine how IPD affects party leaders' chances of surviving.¹²³ They study the case of Austria from 1945 to 2011 and come to the conclusion that, despite the importance of political performance, intra-party variables (such as support networks and methods for selecting leaders) offer insights with significant explanatory value.¹²⁴ They use statistical analysis in their investigation, and the results they obtain support the hypothesis. In a similar vein, Karl Loxbo challenges the

¹¹⁹Katz, *changing models of party organization and party democracy?* 10

¹²⁰Katz, *changing models of party organization and party democracy?* 13

¹²¹Pettit, "Exploring variations in intra-party democracy", 657

¹²²Carty, "Parties as franchise systems" 115

¹²³Ennser-Jedenastik, Laurenz, and Wolfgang C. Müller. "Intra-party democracy, political performance and the survival of party leaders: Austria, 1945–2011." *Party Politics* 21, (2015) no. 6, 930-943.

¹²⁴Jedenastik, "Intra-party democracy, political performance and the survival of party leader", 934

widely accepted notion that IPD has declined after the demise of the mass party and the emergence of cartel parties in an intriguing piece.

He argues that these kinds of assertions are unfounded and inflated. By comparing and contrasting two internal policy-making processes inside the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) throughout two distinct time periods (1950s and 1990s), the author illustrates this point. The analysis shows that IPD has increased in the chosen scenario during the aforementioned time span, defying the decrease hypothesis. Similarly, studies indicate that IPD is a legitimate objective for numerous political parties. The research of Helene Helboe Pedersen, who supports the inclusion of party aims and internal politics in the study of political parties, further supported this assertion. He discovered that one of the objectives that political parties usually promote is intra-party democracy.

2.9.8 Explanation For Variations in IPD

As was stated in the preceding section, IPD changes with time both between and within parties. While academic research has demonstrated that political parties differ in their IPD levels, it has also focused on providing an explanation for this diversity. The elements that have been utilised to explain the variance in IPD among political parties in developed democracies will be elicited in this section. We will first address endogenous and party-specific factors before going into detail about state-level legal regulation of IPD.

2.9.9 Party Specific Factors

Five party-specific characteristics are identified in a recent study by Robin T. Pettit as the causes of the difference in IPD levels. In order to clarify how the five criteria affected IPD, he made comparisons between the Danish Social Democrats (SD), the UK Labour Party, and the Socialist People's Party (SPP) in Denmark. Based on accepted theories, he outlines five party-specific factors: origin, ideology, age, ambitions for the government, and style of democracy

(majoritarian or consensus). Regarding the party's genesis, he makes reference to Duverger's research, which states that extra-parliamentary parties, or mass parties, typically exhibit more membership impact on the parliamentary group; this is an example of higher membership influence.¹²⁵

Likewise, scholarly research confirms that left-leaning parties typically offer higher levels of IPD. Likewise, scholarly research confirms that left-leaning parties typically offer higher levels of IPD.

Age is inversely correlated with IPD, according to Pettit, and Michels' prediction that political parties especially those on the left will eventually take on an oligarchic nature comes true. Government ambition, as opposed to intellectual dogma, describes a party's aspirations for gaining power in the government and, in Pettit's opinion, negatively affects the IPD level inside a party. Finally, the level of IPD inside a political party tends to be influenced by the form of democracy, or more accurately, the institutional constellation in which parties function.

According to his theory, majoritarian democracies tend to produce two-party systems in which winning a majority of votes is the only practical way to influence policy. In a consensus model of democracy, where electoral success is vital but not essential to policy influence, parties are more receptive to IPD. As a result, the drive to perform well electorally prompts a party to build effective internal institutions that compromise internal democracy.

2.9.10 Legal Regulation of Intra-Party Democracy

Recent research by Van Ingrid Biezen and Daniela Romée Piccio shows that all (33) European postwar democracies share a common legal regulation of political party internal organisational processes.¹²⁶ They do, however, assert that this is a relatively new form, as political parties

¹²⁵Pettit, "Exploring variations in intra-party democracy,633

¹²⁶ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy" 25

were traditionally thought of as "private and voluntary organisations" in the European setting.¹²⁷ As a result, official regulation had been restricted to the electoral sphere and, in certain cases, targeted at the elimination of parties that opposed the established order.

The authors argue that in recent times, the state has consistently shown a willingness to enact laws governing the internal and exterior operations of political parties. They contend that the introduction of public funding for political parties and the restrictions placed on access to public media served as the trend's precursors.¹²⁸ However, the growing popular dissatisfaction with political parties is what has recently led to more complex forms of state intervention in the internal organisational structures and methods of political parties. Following this, a number of laws have been passed based on different normative assumptions about the internal and external behaviour of political parties that would improve their capacity to carry out the roles assigned to them in a democracy.¹²⁹

With a particular focus on IPD, Biezen and Piccio analyses how political parties' internal operations are regulated by law. In its most basic and comprehensive form, party law encompasses all the different laws that have an effect on political parties.¹³⁰ As a result, party laws are a collection of several unique public laws, such as those concerning political parties, public funding, elections, and conduct codes, among other things, in any given society.

The authors contend that since the post-World War II era saw the constitutionalization of parties, the constitution ought to be regarded as a source of party law as well. Biezen and Piccio concentrate their analysis on two legal sources constitutions and party laws because they are particularly interested in the legal control of the internal dimension of parties and IPD.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 29

¹²⁸ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 30

¹²⁹ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 33

¹³⁰ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 35

¹³¹ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 43

The latter refers to the exclusive law on political parties in a democracy, which defines "party activity, organisation, and behaviour," whereas the former is known as the basic law. When it comes to basic law, they discover that some constitutions either expressly (in German) or implicitly (in Italian) require parties to embrace democracy in internal affairs. However, in the first instance, state intervention in internal structures is prohibited by the wide mandate of IPD, whereas in the second instance, more elaborate information about internal operations have been outlined despite the absence of a clear mandate. Regarding party legislation, the writers affirm that party laws provide more information about how political parties are structured internally and operate.¹³² In this regard, Germany led the way in 1967 when it instituted party law, which is now seen as a template for new democracies to arise in the third and fourth waves of democratisation, albeit with differing degrees of emphasis on IPD.¹³³

The authors combine both quantitative and qualitative analysis to investigate the variation. On the basis of Pakistan, an effort will be made to duplicate the examination of party legislation in Europe by Biezen and Piccio. Following a discussion of the fundamental law, the party law will be examined utilising the qualitative and quantitative approach that the previous two authors employed. An executive order issued in 2002 established the Political Parties Order of 2002. This can be considered Pakistan's party legislation, similar to the ones that Piccio and Biezen examined when researching post-World War II democracies in Europe. The directive goes into great detail about the internal and exterior operations of political parties in the nation, in contrast to the broad and more general provisions included in the constitution. On the grounds that "practice of democracy within the political parties will promote democratic

¹³²Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy", 45

¹³³ Biezen, "Shaping intra-party democracy" 48

governance in the country for sustaining democracy," the directive starts by formally recognising IPD as a significant internal value for political parties.¹³⁴

First, a qualitative analysis based on Biezen and Piccio's categories will be conducted. The following table demonstrates that, similar to a number of other European democracies, Pakistani law formally recognises IPD. Comparably, the legislation requires parties to guarantee membership participation in the election of party organs at different organisational levels (local, provincial, and federal), in the selection of candidates (article 8), and in the selection of leaders (article 11). It is crucial to remember that the legislation does not specify a member's involvement in the formulation of policies, and even in the case of Europe, only six nations thus specify in their party statutes. Furthermore, the statute discusses voting methods in length but mentions dispute resolution very briefly.

Qualitative Analysis of Party Law Table 1

Aspects of IPD	Party law	Biezen and Piccio's Findings(numbers of countries)
Formal principle of internal party democracy	Yes	12
Member role in Candidate selection	Yes	17
Member role in leadership selections	Yes	9
Member role in policy formation	No	6
Member role in selection of organs of representation	Yes	6
Right to internal arbitration body	Yes	14
Voting procedures	Yes	16

Source: Adapted from Adapted from Biezen and Piccio, "Shaping Intra-Party Democracy"

2.10 Feasibility of Democracy in Pakistan

¹³⁴Reported by National Assembly, <https://na.gov.pk>essence> Government of Pakistan Political parties order 2002.(Accessed on January, 2023).

Nearly every country has historically used kinship as a fundamental means of power distribution. However, as representative democracies proliferated globally, they ultimately supplanted monarchy as the predominant means of instituting governance. It is commonly held that these important concerns were settled during the Glorious Revolution in favour of an authentic and operationally "modern" Parliament. Dynasticism is assumed to have vanished as a significant political principle at that time or soon after, assuming it even enters the picture at all. It is not surprising that the wealthy and well-connected ruling class seeks to use their wealth and connections to win and maintain their power over the disorganised masses in elections.¹³⁵

Pakistan emerged along with the terrible mass migration of the twentieth century as a result of the split of the two powerful provinces, Bengal and Punjab. However, there was some solace in the knowledge that Muslims would now live better lives in their new country, with more employment prospects, religious freedom, and a democratic society primarily based on the social structure of Islam. However, in the first ten years, uncertainty had replaced that optimism. "An unwilling people sought to a military dictator to bring hope for the nation and society to be revived.

Pakistan embraces democracy in a wide range of social, cultural, and economic contexts. Because of this, it is never simple to administer a state with such a high degree of linguistic, social, cultural, and geographical diversity, as well as significant problems with human rights and development. Because of this, it is still unable to enjoy the many benefits of democracy that the west obtains.¹³⁶ Due to a number of factors, including a lack of an efficient judicial system, political parties becoming weaker due to the influence of dynasties and families in the electoral process, malfunctioning parliament, and federalism crises, the growth of democratic

¹³⁵Usman Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan." (2018). 11

¹³⁶ Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan",15

culture and tradition has been slow or even declining. As a result, we currently have an institutional democratic system in place.¹³⁷

We can clearly see how dynasty politics are being implemented in Pakistan and how this is undermining the country's democratic framework. Dynasticism also implies that candidates are strong enough in their constituencies to win elections without the party label because there are currently more than 300 political parties registered with the election commission, and only six of them have more than ten seats in the national assembly.

There are many different socioeconomic groupings with the capacity to win elections. Groups of politicians who are currently in office and are related to individuals who have held that post are referred to as political dynasties. Just a handful of the relatives of politicians include their spouses, daughters-in-law, son-in-laws, grandchildren, siblings, and cousins.¹³⁸ The general consensus in Pakistan is that politics is "a nasty business," and the only explanation we have is that it has historically been associated with political dishonesty, killings, and even the outbreak of wars.

Every nation must have autonomous educational and awareness-raising institutions before its democratic culture can completely flourish. All the noble ideals of good governance and the importance of voting in elections mean less to the average layperson who is too busy preparing two meals a day for his family in a nation where half of the population lives below the poverty line, 60% lacks access to clean drinking water, and society faces thousands of other social and economic problems. Pakistan's political history is peculiar, concerning the validity of the 1946–1947 election results in the newly formed Pakistan, the early passing of Quaid-e-Azam, the 1951 appointment of Liaquat Ali Khan as the country's first prime minister, and the subsequent four military takeovers. Since Pakistan's independence 70 years ago, only the last two

¹³⁷ Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan", 18

¹³⁸ Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan", 27

parliaments have served out their terms, ushering in a new era of political development and the smooth transfer of power that is fostering a democratic culture.¹³⁹

Pakistan is hopeful about democracy because all the major political parties and those political leaders have committed to maintain the democratic process. They have discovered that no political party has any interest in them participating in any activity that weakens the democratic system. A significant portion of the political elite, if not all of them, think that democracy, with all of its shortcomings, is preferable to the military after siding with the military or engaging in political gamesmanship to overthrow a rival party administration.

It is extremely expensive to establish democratic culture in nations like Pakistan, which struggle with divisive communities, poor economic conditions, and the agonising experience of political stability they currently enjoy. Remember that the political history of Pakistan is replete with achievements, failures, difficulties, and the aftereffects of protracted military administration.¹⁴⁰

One of the most fundamental barriers to establishing the rule of law and merit-based leadership in a democratic society is the absence of democracy within political parties. The 1962 Political Parties Act still requires each party to conduct internal elections and submit a report to Pakistan's Election Commission. If political parties are unwilling to put democratic ideas into reality inside their own ranks, then one cannot expect support for them. Because state politics in Pakistan are dominated by an undemocratic culture, political parties there have remained weak and unstable.¹⁴¹

The Pakistan People's Party stated in the 1980s that the absence of intraparty elections was one of the main reasons for the politics of personalities and dynasties, which negatively

¹³⁹Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan", 35

¹⁴⁰Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan", 40

¹⁴¹Usman, "Determinants of Effective Electoral Campaign." 54

impacted the party internally. He continued by analysing the direct relationship between intraparty elections and the internal and external power of political parties. To counteract the politics of dynasty, internal elections for the various offices were mandated for every party.

The electoral commission is essential to maintaining the rule of law and regulating political party activity, especially in democracies undergoing transition like Pakistan. Comparable to the judiciary, Pakistan's political parties' election commissions are overseen by the courts to guard against formality breaches and nepotism. In this context, political parties have to reach beyond their most popular linguistic, ethnic, religious, and tribal constituencies. The national parties, which the vast majority of political parties have been posing as, also need this.¹⁴²

There are various ways to account for Pakistan's democratic traditions' failure. Some scholars blame the political leadership for the confusion, while some scholars and authors highlight problems with provincial electoral and constitutional politics. They contend that the extinguishing of democratic norms in society is the fault of professional politicians. Modern politics frequently thrive when allied with a viable and responsive civil society. The appearance of a realistic civil society is viewed as a protection between the state and its citizens, who frequently understand the limitations of their government and their expectations. In a recent instance, civil society in Turkey responded favourably and offered protection to the nation's democratic system.¹⁴³

There are unquestionably some elements at play in the case of Pakistan that have contributed to the decline of democratic norms and principles in our society. On the one hand, this has encouraged extremism in underdeveloped and neglected regions and provinces, while on the other, it has torn apart the pluralistic fabric of our society. The smallest intraprovincial, social, religious, and ethnic differences have been stoked by this. The rate of civic growth could hardly

¹⁴² Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan",23

¹⁴³ Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan",48

be sustained by a single democratic civilian government across all four provinces. Instead, even in different parts of the same city, one can encounter a paucity of municipal facilities. This serves merely to exacerbate social class divides and public mistrust in the political system.¹⁴⁴ Due to its inability to provide fundamental requirements, society has prospered in areas like law and order, employment, health care, and education.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter covered concept of political parties and their functions, discourse on political parties, typologies, challenges and limitations of political parties. Party politics in second constitution of Pakistan, political parties' act 1962, political parties' amendment act 1985, and political parties order 2002. Discourse on intra party democracy, iron law of oligarchy, intra-party democracy a liability, as an asset, qualitative analysis of party law. The chapter explained feasibility of democracy in Pakistan, empirical viability of IPD, explanation of variation in IPD, party specific factor, legal regulation of IPD. Over all the chapter is the conceptual theory about the democracy and intraparty democracy and their nature through the 1962 constitution political parties act, 1985 political parties act and the 2001 political parties with different ways explained the right of parties and their rule of law and code of conduct.

¹⁴⁴ Sial, "Feasibility of democracy in Pakistan",50

CHAPTER # 03

Political and constitutional study of mainstream and regional political parties of Pakistan

3. Introduction

Pakistan, an independent state, emerged after the partition of India in 1947. Both India and Pakistan were a result of British colonialism in India. Despite their simultaneous independence, their future trajectories have been different. Notwithstanding occasional unpredictability, Pakistan is steadfastly committed to democracy. However, military authority has stymied its aspirations at democratisation.¹⁴⁵ Pakistan's political structure is arbitrary, alternating between military and civilian administration. Three military regimes have ruled the nation for about fifty-five years out of its seventy-five-year existence. However, recent developments have restored hope and renewed the country's democratic aspirations.

In 2008, Pakistan experienced a significant shift towards democratization, with a government that served its entire five-year term without being overthrown or dismissed. This was preceded by the end of General Pervez Musharraf's military rule in 2007¹⁴⁶. The smooth transfer of power

¹⁴⁵Saira Yamin, and Salma Malik. "Mapping conflict trends in Pakistan", *Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace*, (2014). 24

¹⁴⁶Yamin, " Mapping conflict trends in Pakistan", 26

to the new government in 2013 was another significant achievement. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were elected to power in both the 2008 and 2013 elections, marking a significant shift towards democracy in the country¹⁴⁷. The 2008 and 2013 elections were generally considered free and fair, with a 45% voter turnout in 2008 and a 55% turnout in 2013, respectively. International observers and defeated political parties generally accepted the results, even if there was some indication of rigging. The attempts at democratization, which began in late 2007, have gained consistency and strength due to these tendencies and the absence of military authority¹⁴⁸.

3.1 Nature of Regime

As early mentioned in 2008, Pakistan transitioned from an autocratic government to an opposition-led one, with opposition parties gaining power and transferring it from the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) in 2013¹⁴⁹. This demonstrated the strength of resistance in a democratically elected nation and was the first time in Pakistani history that the electorate had overthrown a democratically elected administration.¹⁵⁰ International and domestic observers declared Pakistan's elections to be free and fair, and Freedom House designated Pakistan as a "electoral democracy" in 2014.

However, the military's influence in politics raises concerns among analysts. Pakistan has become a significant case in the literature on hybrid regimes, with a focus on the political system's hybridity¹⁵¹. The current democratic transition is not the same as the ten-year endeavour that occurred between General Pervez Musharraf's and General Zia ul Haq's military

¹⁴⁷Yamin, "Mapping conflict trends in Pakistan", 35

¹⁴⁸ Yamin, "Mapping conflict trends in Pakistan", 40

¹⁴⁹Adeney Katharine, "How to understand Pakistan's hybrid regime: The importance of a multidimensional continuum." *Democratization* 24,(2017) no. 1, 119-137.

¹⁵⁰ Katharine, "How to understand Pakistan's hybrid regime", 125

¹⁵¹ Katharine, "How to understand Pakistan's hybrid regime", 126

dictatorships (1988–1999).¹⁵² The "increased commitment of its civilian politicians to the democratic process" is one of Pakistan's key distinguishing characteristics, but the institutional imbalance caused by the military and bureaucracy's crippling of the weak civilian political leadership places Pakistan in a grey area with a mix of democratic strengths and weaknesses¹⁵³. This study approaches Pakistan as a new democracy rather than diving further into the precise characteristics of the regime because the study of IPD is its only objective.

3.2 Political System of Pakistan

The Indian Independence Act, 1947 was passed by the British Parliament and, by the end of World War II, the Indian colony had been given independence by the British imperial government. On August 14, 1947, the British Crown gave up its sovereign authority over India in accordance with the Act, and the newly formed dominions of India and Pakistan received that authority. The Government of India Act, 1935, which established the British Indian constitution, was modified to align it with the 1947 Act's goals and aspirations for independence.¹⁵⁴ Until the constituent assemblies of each country approved their own constitutions, the combination of these two constitutional documents acted as an interim constitutional order for both.

Pakistan's first constitution was drafted in 1956, nine years after the country attained independence. During that time, two constituent assemblies, four prime ministers, three governor generals, and nine long years of constitution-writing were involved. On the last day of adoption, however, the Awami League, the largest Muslim party, and all other Hindu minority parties rejected it. The first martial law was imposed in 1958 as a result of the

¹⁵² Katharine, "How to understand Pakistan's hybrid regime", 127

¹⁵³ Katharine, "How to understand Pakistan's hybrid regime", 135

¹⁵⁴Shamaila Amir and Fayyaz Ahmad, "Constitutional Development and Political (in) stability of Pakistan: An Analysis since Inception of Pakistan till 2018." *RMC Journal of Social Science and Humanities* 1, (2020). no. 3, 14-20.

constitution being revoked and political instability not being addressed.¹⁵⁵. General Ayub Khan, a military dictator, enacted the 1962 constitution in Pakistan, the constitution has a unicameral legislature, only the president has a veto power.

On August 14, 1973, Pakistan ratified the current constitution. The 1973 Pakistani Constitution established a bicameral federal legislature known as the Majlis e Shoora, with the upper chamber known as the senate and the lower house known as the national assembly.¹⁵⁶

3.3 National Assembly of Pakistan

Unlike the Senate, which guarantees equal representation for all federating units regardless of population size, the National Assembly represents federating units based on population. A balanced representation and distribution of power are guaranteed by this structure. There are 342 seats in the national assembly, of which 272 are held by elected representatives. Ten and sixty seats are designated, respectively, for women and non-Muslims. The number of seats is determined by the population of the Federal Capital (Islamabad), the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Baluchistan, and Sindh. But after merger of FATA the seats of national assembly changed according to 25th constitutional amendments of Pakistan¹⁵⁷.

3.3.1 Composition of Seats in National Assembly

The composition of the National Assembly is addressed under Article 51 of the Constitution. Just prior to the general election, in May 2018, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) were combined by a constitutional amendment. The

¹⁵⁵ Amir, "Constitutional Development and Political (in) stability of Pakistan", 16

¹⁵⁶ Bogdan Szajkowski, *Political parties of the world*. (2005), London

¹⁵⁷ Reported by, National Assembly, Composition of seats 2018, <https://na.gov.pk/content> (Accessed on Feb, 2023)

2017 census has altered the number of province seats in the National Assembly, but the KP share has also changed as a result of the FATA merger.¹⁵⁸

The new composition of the National Assembly in the Constitution after the 25th constitutional amendment in May 2018 is:

Composition of seats NA Table 2

Province/Area	General Seats	Women seats	Non-Muslim seats	Total
Balochistan	16	4		20
KP	45	10		55
Punjab	141	32		173
Sindh	61	14		75
Federal Capital	3	-		03
			10	10
Total	266	60	10	336

Source: National Assembly of Pakistan. (<https://na.gov.pk>content>)

3.4 Senate of Pakistan

The Senate is the upper house of the Majlis-i-Shoora. The 104 senators are chosen for six-year terms and are arranged in the senate to counterbalance the dominance of the larger provinces. However, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA united under the 25th Amendment. The amendment lowers the number of senators in the Senate in 2021 from 104 to 100.¹⁵⁹

3.4.1 Composition of Seats in Senate Table 3

Provinces	General seats	Technocrats/Ulema	Women's	Non-Muslims	Total
Balochistan	14	4	4	1	23
KP	14	4	4	1	23
Punjab	14	4	4	1	23
Sindh	14	4	4	1	23

¹⁵⁸Reported by National Assembly, Composition of seats 2018, <https://na.gov.pk>content> (Accessed on Feb, 2023)

¹⁵⁹Report by Senate of Pakistan, Composition of senate seats 2018, <https://senate.gov.pk>essence> (Accessed on Feb, 2023).

Federal Capital	2	1	1	-	4
FATA	4	-	-	-	
Total	62	17	17	4	100

Source: Senate of Pakistan (<https://senate.gov.pk>essence>)

3.5 Intra-Party Democracy in the Major Political Parties of Pakistan

Based on PILDAT's findings, this section attempts to investigate the differences in IPD amongst Pakistan's major political parties. The study highlights how crucial it is to quickly go over the survey's methodology because there have been several suggestions for operationalizing IPD, and the procedure is not uniform. The study is based on the work of Pakistani IPD Task Force (PILDAT).

3.5.1 Case Selection and IPD Measurement

The study analyzed the internal functioning of twelve political parties. Four of the political parties (PTI, PML N, PPP and MMA) were selected the four major stream political parties in the current National Assembly (NA) for the duration 2018 to 2023.

The eight additional parties were selected to represent the smaller provinces and the religious parties, the four provinces regional political parties, Sindh; Grand Democratic Alliances (GDA), Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), Baluchistan; Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), Balochistan National Party (BNA), Jamhoori Wattan Party (JWA), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa; Awami National Party (ANP) and Punjab; Pakistan Muslim League-Qaid (PML-Q), Awami Muslim League Pakistan (AMLPP). The following table shows the composition of every political party currently being studied in the nation's National Assembly.

3.5.2 Composition of Political Parties in the National Assembly

3.5.2.1 Main Stream Parties 2018 Elections Table 4

Party	PTI	PML-N	PPPP	MMA
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No. of seats in NA	149	83	54	16
% of seats	31.82%	24.35%	13.03%	4.85%

Source: <https://na.gov.pk/content>

3.5.2.2 Regional Political Parties in 2018 Elections

Sindh and Punjab Table 5

Party	GDA	MQM	PMLQ	AMLP
Seats in NA	03	07	05	01
% of seats	2.37%	1.38%	0.97%	0.22%

Source <https://www.ifes.org>

Khyber Pakhtun Khwa and Balochistan Table 6

Party	ANP	BAP	BNP	JWP
Seats in NA	01	05	04	01
% of seats	1.54%	0.60%	0.45%	0.04%

Source: International Foundation of Electoral System (<https://www.ifes.org>)

3.6 Intra – Party Elections in Constitutions of political parties

In my research, all of the political parties that won seats in the national assembly during the 2018 elections were founded on the basis of their own party constitutions, manifestations, goals, and organizations; however, in this study, I'll concentrate on the importance of intraparty collaboration in these political parties.

3.6.1 Constitutions of Political Parties

A political party shall formulate its constitution, by whatever name called, which shall include:

- Aims and objectives of the political party.
- Organizational structure of the political party at the Federal, Provincial and local levels, whichever is applicable.
- Membership fee to be paid by the members, where applicable.
- Designation and tenure of the office-bearers of the political party.

- Criteria for receipt and collection of funds for the political party.
- Procedure for the election of office bearers, powers and functions of office-bearers including financial decision-making, selection or nomination of party candidates for election to public offices and legislative bodies, resolution of disputes between members and political party, including issues relating to suspension and expulsion of members and method and manner of amendments in the constitution of the political party¹⁶⁰.

3.6.2 Elections within Parties

- The political party's office-bearers at federal, provincial, and local levels must be elected periodically, with a maximum five-year interval between any two elections, as per the party's constitution.
- A political party member has the right to contest any election for any party office, subject to the provisions of the party's constitution.
- The electoral college for the election of the party general council at the Federal, Provincial, and local levels will consist of all party members.
- The political party must update its central office-bearers and Executive Committee members' names on its website and send the updated list, along with any changes, to the Commission¹⁶¹.

The 2017 Political Parties Act has influenced the constitutions of mainstream and regional political parties.

3.6.3 Pakistan Muslim League –N

¹⁶⁰ Reported by National Assembly of Pakistan, “Political parties act as passed by Majlis-e-Shoora 2017” <https://na.gov.pk/content>, (Accessed on March, 2023).

¹⁶¹ Reported by National Assembly of Pakistan, “Political parties act as passed by Majlis-e-Shoora 2017” <https://na.gov.pk/content>, (Accessed on March,2023).

3.6.3.1 Elections of PML-N (Election Procedure)

On the basis of democratic and open practises, the Pakistan Muslim League-N would hold party elections at all levels in a free and fair manner, whether by show of hands or secret ballot. The elections will held after four years from previous central, provincial, or local election. Members of the Electoral College may run for the offices for which they were elected. All elected officials are up for re-election¹⁶².

3.6.3.2 Central Election Commission

The Pakistan Muslim League-N's national elections are organized by the Central Election Commission, consisting of no more than five members appointed by the CWC (central working committee) president. Current office bearers and candidates are not eligible to become members¹⁶³.

3.6.3.3 Provincial Working Authority

The Provincial Election Authority organises and oversees the Provincial Muslim League-N office-bearer elections. Nominees are Working Committees. There are at least two members from outside the province among its five members. Candidates and those holding office are not eligible to join.¹⁶⁴

3.6.3.4 District Election Authority

Local and district elections are planned and handled by the District Election Authority. The working committee of the relevant Provincial Muslim League-N appoints five-member commissions, at least two of which must come from outside the district. Candidates for any

¹⁶²Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 43, (Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁶³ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 44, (Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁶⁴Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 45, (Accessed on March,2023))

district or local election as well as current officeholders are ineligible to join the Commissions¹⁶⁵.

3.6.3.5 Electoral College

Pakistan Muslim League-N President elected by Council, provincial President elected by concerned Council.

3.6.3.6 Bye Elections

Casual office-bearer vacancies filled by Working Committee, subject to confirmation by Muslim League-N Council¹⁶⁶.

3.6.3.7 Settlement of Elections Disputes

Committee to appoint Election Tribunal for hearing appeals and petitions against Muslim League-N organizations. Election Tribunals consist of a Chairman and two members, regulating their procedures for hearing and disposing of appeals and petitions related to election¹⁶⁷.

3.6.4 Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians

3.6.4.1 Intra –party elections

The Rules under which the Party Elections are to be held will be prescribed from time to time by the Party.

3.6.4.2 Procedure of Party Election

¹⁶⁵Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 45, (Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁶⁶Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 46, (Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁶⁷ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-N" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 48, (Accessed on March,2023)

Elections for the PPPP offices shall take place every four years or as otherwise decided by the Federal Organisation. All members who support the PPPP's objectives and are in good standing and good behaviour are eligible to run for office. All members who support the PPPP's goals and are in good standing with the organisation will be eligible to vote for its officers. Members of the Federal, Provincial, or District geographic area being voted in will be included on the voter list.¹⁶⁸

3.6.5 Muttahida Quami Movement Pakistan (MQM-P)

3.6.5.1 Party Elections

Every four years, the members of Parry will elect new officials to occupy all of the positions.

Until the next general election. The committee must decide to fill any open positions with a vote of at least 2/3 of the members.¹⁶⁹

3.6.5.2 Election Procedure

Every four years, secret ballot elections for the Provincial, Divisional, and District Committees must be held. According to the party constitution the candidates who received the largest number of votes in descending order are declared to have won the election. The Central Coordination Committee's elected members are eligible to run for Convener, Senior Deputy Convener(s), and Deputy Convener positions. The Central Coordination Committee's members will vote by simple majority to elect the convener, senior deputy convener(s), and deputy conveners¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁸ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PPPP" ([http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution](http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties%20constitution)) 297, (Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁶⁹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of MQM-P" ([http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution](http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties%20constitution)) 153,(Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁷⁰Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan," Constitution of MQM-P" ([http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution](http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties%20constitution)) 154,(Accessed on March,2023)

The members elected for the Central Coordination Committee shall next elect the Deputy Conveners with a simple majority vote, determined at the committee's four-yearly election meeting. Voting rights for the different Provincial Committees would be available to all members enrolled in each Province. Members registered in any Division, District, or Zone are entitled to vote for the Committees that represent them. To oversee the election process, the Committee must appoint an Election Commission¹⁷¹.

3.6.6 Muttahida Majlis-e- Amal

Since its independence, numerous causes and factors have either directly or indirectly influenced Pakistani politics. Islam has traditionally been seen as the ideological cornerstone of the state. Religious and Islamist groups have thus always been important in Pakistani politics. However, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) has restored the role of Islamist groups in modern politics.

Apart from instituting the government in the North-West Frontier Province (present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) between 2002 and 2007, the MMA significantly impacted the social, political, and structural transformations in Baluchistan. This was the first significant chance Islamist parties had to carry out their pledges. Federal governments were able to maintain their support and request it in the future because of grassroots activism.¹⁷²The MMA faced increasing public disapproval and was forced to face the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy. While the military's relationship with the MMA is significant, other secular institutions, corruption, and competing Islamism are more plausible explanations for the party's decline. The Alliance's persistence and strength pushed MMA to address rising public unfavor.

¹⁷¹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of MQM-P" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 155,(Accessed on March,2023)

¹⁷² Lubna Kanwal. (2019). "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf era," 2019,17." *Zia-e-Tahqeeq* 9, no. 17

While the military's link played a role, other secular institutions, corruption, and rival Islamism offer more plausible causes¹⁷³.

Restoration of MMA:

On November 9, 2017, five Islamic parties—Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam, Jamaat-e-Islami, Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith, Islami Tehreek, and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan as well as other religious organisations attended a second conference at Mansoorah, Lahore, when the MMA was reinstated. While the official announcement was made on December 14 in Karachi, MMA was once again reactivated. In March 2018, Fazal-ur-Rehman was named leader of the political coalition of the five religious groups mentioned above. The alliance's five parties would each have a single campaign platform, flag, and election symbol¹⁷⁴.

3.6.6.1 Jamaat e Islami Pakistan

3.6.6.1.1 Procedure of Election (working committee)

(i) Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan will have an executive council consisting of sixteen members, half of whom will be elected by the Shoorā Council from among its members, while the remaining half will be nominated by the Amir of the Jamaat from among the members of the Shoorā Council. The Amir of the Jamaat will serve as its president, and the Qaim Jamaat will hold the position of member and trustee of the Jamaat, while the Naib Ameer and provincial Amir's will hold positions as members.

(ii) Any person whose membership in the central Shoorā Council is terminated will no longer be able to remain a member of the executive council. The Amir of the Jamaat can convene the

¹⁷³ Kanwal, "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf era," 17

¹⁷⁴ Ali Arqam, Restoration of MMA, Dawn news (June 17 2018), (<https://www.dawn.com>news>)

meetings of the executive council whenever and as many times as he desires. The quorum for the meetings of the executive council will be ten days, during which at least five non-office-bearing members must be present¹⁷⁵.

(iii) After every new election of the Shoorā Council, the executive council will be reconstituted from scratch. In all such situations when the Shoorā Council is not in session or it is difficult to convene it, the executive council will be able to exercise all the powers of the Shoorā Council. However, the Shoorā Council will have complete authority to validate or reject any action or decision, either partially or entirely¹⁷⁶.

3.6.6.1.2 Secretary General

(i) .Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan will have a Qaim Jamaat (Deputy Amir) (secretary general) who will be appointed by the Amir of the Jamaat in consultation with the dismissed Shoorā Council. The secretary general will remain in his position as long as the Amir of the Jamaat is satisfied with his work, unless he is dismissed by the Shoorā Council or the executive council¹⁷⁷.

(ii) The Shoorā Council will have the power to remove the secretary general through a vote of no confidence, provided that the number of Shoorā Council members voting in favor of the motion is less than half of the total members of the council, in case the Amir of the Jamaat disagrees.

¹⁷⁵Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamaat- e- Islami Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 36,(Accessed on March 2023)

¹⁷⁶Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamaat- e- Islami Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 36,(Accessed on March 2023) 37

¹⁷⁷Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamaat- e- Islami Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 37,(Accessed on March 2023)

(iii) The secretary general will assist the Amir of the Jamaat in all matters and act as his representative. He will fulfill all responsibilities and exercise the authorities entrusted to him by the Amir of the Jamaat, and be accountable to the Amir of the Jamaat for his work¹⁷⁸.

3.6.6.2 Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam

3.6.6.2.1 Essential Rules for Elections

(i) The register of members shall include the list of members in all primary populations, and there shall be a register of all sub-populations and their members in the district. The registration form shall have a section in which brief objectives and purposes are stated, and a registration number shall be provided. The second part of the form shall be sent to the center through the provincial population. The approval of each part of the form shall be recorded.

(ii) When nominating candidates for the Majlis-e-Shoora, ensure that one-fourth of the scholars are from the district and division in the Majlis-e-Shoora, one-third of the scholars are from the province, and half of the scholars are from the center. If there is a shortage of scholars in any district, special permission can be obtained from the center. It is necessary to determine the date of the election meeting at least fifteen days before the elections at the level of major cities, districts, divisions, and provinces, and this information shall be conveyed through lines and newspapers.

(iii) Whether the leader is central or local, the following qualities must be considered for their elections: They should be a prominent figure in their constituency, they should be knowledgeable about the national situation, they should possess academic, practical, and

¹⁷⁸Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamaat- e- Islami Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 38,(Accessed on March 2023)

ethical qualities, as well as trustworthiness, devotion to religion, sacrifice, and integrity, and be capable of fulfilling their duties with excellence and justification¹⁷⁹.

(iv) These qualities should also be taken into account for members of the Majlis-e-Shoora, ensuring that they stand out from their fellow members in these qualities. It is necessary for officeholders and members of the parliament, as well as for ordinary members, that they are not dishonorable and that they abide by the other injunctions of Shariah or commit to doing so in the future¹⁸⁰.

3.6.6.2.2 Quorum

(i) For all meetings of the members (general) and the parliamentary assembly, the presence of at least one-third of the members is necessary. This condition will not apply to an adjourned meeting, but for such a meeting, a fresh invitation must be issued. Once the elections have been completed, elections will be held again every five years. The Amir-ul-Markazi (Head of the Center) may extend the duration of officeholders by six months as needed. For the election meeting, the parliamentary assembly shall request in such a manner that each member of the assembly is informed about the date of the election meeting 21 days in advance¹⁸¹.

(ii) If any organization fails to conduct the selection of officeholders within the specified time frame, the senior leader shall have the authority to nominate the officeholders on their behalf. It is necessary for the general assemblies (members' assemblies) at every level to convene at least once a year. For regular assemblies that are held in accordance with constitutional validity, the General Secretary shall send a written notice to each member fifteen days before the

¹⁷⁹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 21,(Accessed on March, 2023)

¹⁸⁰Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 22,(Accessed on March, 2023)

¹⁸¹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 23,(Accessed on March, 2023)

assembly date. For emergency assemblies, the General Secretary shall send a written notice to each member eight days before the assembly date, which shall include the time, venue, assembly date, and agenda¹⁸².

(iii) If a written request for convening the assembly, with signatures of one-third of the members, is submitted to the General Secretary, the General Secretary, with the permission of the senior leader, shall request a special assembly of the organization. The agenda for this assembly shall be sent to the members at least eight days before the assembly date. However, in the case of an emergency assembly, the request for the assembly can be made in a shorter period of time, but if there is no availability in the schedule, the assembly of the parliamentary assembly can be canceled.

(iv) If any member wishes to propose an emergency recommendation, it is necessary for them to submit their proposal in writing at least 10 days before the assembly. Regardless of the opinion of the senior leader, it is mandatory to present the proposal with importance in the assembly¹⁸³.

3.6.6.3 Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith

3.6.6.3.1 Membership Criteria:

(i) Only the entire population of Pakistan can become members of the central organization of Ahl-e-Hadith based on the membership form provided by the organization. Once an individual becomes a member, they will remain a member for a period of five years, unless they resign voluntarily and their resignation is accepted, or their membership is revoked or suspended for any reason.

¹⁸²Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 24,(Accessed on March, 2023)

¹⁸³Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 25,(Accessed on March, 2023)

(ii) Additional membership drives will continue indefinitely to ensure that every sane adult, male or female, from the Ahl-e-Hadith community can become a member of the central organization. A member who has been exempted from membership under clause 9, subsection 3 cannot be included in regular or additional membership in the absence of written permission from the central leader¹⁸⁴.

3.6.6.3.2 Termination of Membership:

The membership of any member may be terminated in the following circumstances:

(a) Defensive Imbalance.

(b) Deviation from the beliefs, established practices, procedures, discipline, and collective decisions of the central organization.

(i) If any of the above situations arise, the district or city leader will conduct an investigation and consultation with the cabinet. Afterward, they may suspend the membership of the concerned member and present their decision to the central leader for verification within one week. The central leader has the authority to accept or reject this decision after providing the member an opportunity for clarification. If the decision is to retain the member, their membership will be terminated, but they have the right to appeal before the central council, and the final appeal can be made before the Shoorā Council¹⁸⁵.

(ii) In the event that one or more of the aforementioned situations occur, the central leader, if deemed necessary, can directly terminate the membership of a basic/member/executive/sub-committee member. Appeals against such decisions can be made before the central council and the final appeal can be made before the Shoorā Council. The affected member can also directly

¹⁸⁴Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>)19, ,(Accessed on March, 2023)

¹⁸⁵Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>)20 ,(Accessed on March, 2023)

appeal to the leader within fifteen days of expulsion or removal, subject to the leader's discretion.

(iii) The leader can decide to suspend or terminate membership for a specified period (not exceeding two years)¹⁸⁶. Appeals against termination or resignation from membership can be made before the central council within one month after the leader's decision. The duration may be extended by the leader due to compelling reasons, up to a maximum of two months. Appeals rejected by the executive committee can be presented before the upcoming session of the Shoorah Council¹⁸⁷.

3.6.6.4 Islami Tehreek

3.6.6.4.1 Election Procedure for Office Bearers

The election process for different levels of leadership within the Islamic Movement of Pakistan involves the selection of central, provincial/regional, and district/tehsil/union council office bearers. However, if a candidate fails to secure 51% of the votes, a position called "Oul-Khoom" will be created for the candidates who obtained voting. The candidate who secures the majority of votes will be considered elected.

3.6.6.4.2 Provincial and District level Election

(a) For provincial/regional office bearers, an election officer will be appointed by the central leadership.

(b) For district-level positions, the provincial/regional president will appoint the district president, and for tehsil-level positions, the district president will appoint the tehsil president.

¹⁸⁶Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>)22 ,(Accessed on March, 2023)

¹⁸⁷Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>)22 ,(Accessed on March, 2023)

Similarly, for union council level positions, the tehsil president will appoint the union council president¹⁸⁸.

3.6.6.4.3 Term of Office Bearers:

- The Head of the Islamic Movement (Qaid/President) will seek an extension of their term through the General Council every five years.
- The term of other office bearers will be five years¹⁸⁹.

3.6.6.5 Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan

3.6.6.5.1 Rules for Elections

(a) The register of members shall include the names of all members in all primary populations, and a register shall be maintained for all sub-populations, their members, and their names in the district.

(b) The registration form of membership shall contain a section where brief purposes and objectives are mentioned, and a registration number will be assigned. The second section of the form shall be sent to the center through the mediation of the provincial population. Permission for each section of the form shall be documented.

(c) When nominating candidates for the Senate, care should be taken that one-fourth of the scholars in the district and division, one-third of the scholars in the province, and half of the scholars in the center are represented in the Senate. If there is a shortage of scholars in any district, special permission can be obtained from the center¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Islami Tehreek" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 09, ,(Accessed on April, 2023)

¹⁸⁹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Islami Tehreek" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 09, ,(Accessed on April, 2023)

¹⁹⁰Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 11, (Accessed on April, 2023)

(d) It is necessary to determine the date of the electoral assembly at least fifteen days prior to the elections at the level of major cities, districts, divisions, and provinces. This information will be communicated through newspapers and communication lines.

(e) Whether the center of power is at the provincial or district level, the following qualities must be considered for their election: they should possess exceptional personality traits, well-informed about the national situation and they should have knowledge, practical skills, and moral qualities, along with trustworthiness, piety, sacrifice, and integrity, to fulfill their responsibilities diligently and effectively. These qualities should also be taken into account for members of the Council of Advisors, ensuring that they stand out from their colleagues in these attributes.

(f) It is necessary for both officials and members of the Council of Advisors, as well as general members, to ensure that they are not infamous and comply with the other provisions of the law. They should also pledge to adhere to the commands of the Sharia and commit to it in the future¹⁹¹.

3.6.6.5.2 Rules for Members

(i) For all council members (general) and council assemblies, the presence of at least one-third of the members is necessary for the meeting. This condition does not apply to adjourned meetings, but a fresh invitation must be issued for such meetings. After the completion of one round of elections, elections will be held every five years. The term of office for the center's leader can be extended by six months, if necessary.

¹⁹¹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>>political-parties constitution) 12, (Accessed on April, 2023)

(ii) For the election assembly, the council assembly should request that each council member be informed of the date of the electoral assembly at least 21 days in advance. It is necessary for council assemblies (council members) at every level to be held at least once a year.

(iii) For regular council meetings that hold constitutional validity, a written notice shall be sent by the General Secretary to each member at least 15 days in advance, while for emergency meetings, the notice shall be sent 8 days in advance, containing the time, venue, date of the meeting, and the agenda¹⁹².

(iv) If a written request for convening a meeting, bearing the signatures of one-third of the members, is submitted to the General Secretary, the General Secretary, with the permission of the leader, shall call for a special meeting of the assembly. The agenda for this meeting shall be communicated to the members at least 8 days prior to the meeting date. However, for emergency meetings, the meeting can be requested and called for in a shorter period. If there is no room for scheduling the meeting, the Council of Advisors shall decide to cancel the meeting and later include the relevant members in the decisions of the forthcoming social gatherings, based on their decisions.

(v) If any member wishes to propose an urgent recommendation, it is necessary for them to submit their written proposal to the assembly at least 10 days before the meeting. Regardless of the leader's agenda, the leader is bound to present this recommendation in the meeting with due importance¹⁹³.

3.6.7 Grand Democratic Alliances

¹⁹²Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 14, (Accessed on April, 2023)

¹⁹³Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 13, (Accessed on April, 2023)

Sindh province elections are a particular case in Pakistani electoral politics. Because of its constitutional provisions for senate and presidential elections, Sindh assembly rule can be comprehended in relation to its representation in parliament, which includes the National Assembly, Senate, and President. A significant political force that has contributed to the advancement of Pakistani democracy is the Pakistan People's Party. Since 1971, the PPP's electoral politics have seen ups and downs.¹⁹⁴ While the PPP has ruled the province of Sindh for nearly three decades, the people of Sindh have never shunned the party, and as a result, the PPP's electoral politics and performance in the province remain very responsive. Since 1988, the Political Alliance opposing the PPP has been highly appealing and active, but their election performance has not improved significantly. The Pakistan Muslim League-Functional, the National People's Party, the Awami Muslim League, and the Pakistan People's Party Workers are the only four parties that make up the Grand Democratic Alliance.¹⁹⁵ During 2018 elections these alliances got victory and got 2.73% seat in National assembly. Parties' constitutions of these regional parties discussed below:

3.6.7.1 Pakistan Muslim League-Functional

3.6.7.1.1 The working committee

The Pakistan Muslim League's Working Committee, consisting of 12-40 members, is nominated from the Pakistan Muslim League Council members. The President must nominate at least 12 members within 30 days of election and has the power to expand, reshuffle, or replace any member as needed. The President also has the power to replace any member¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹⁴ Syed Karim Haider, and Imran Khan, (2019). "Challenges to the Electoral Politics of PPP in Sindh in 21st Century", Pakistan Social Sciences Review Vol. 3, No.2 [646-655]

¹⁹⁵ Syed, "Challenges to the Electoral Politics of PPP in Sindh in 21st Century," 650

¹⁹⁶Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-F" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties-constitution>) 07,(Accessed on April, 2023)

(i) All office-bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League and the chief organiser shall be ex-officio members of the Working committee. A person who ceases to be the member of Pakistan Muslim League Council shall cease to be the member of working committee.

(ii) The Working Committee shall meet as often as the President desires.

(iii) Five members excluding the office-bearers shall form a quorum for a meeting of Working Committee.

(iv) All resolutions of Working Committee shall be placed before the Pakistan Muslim League Council for information¹⁹⁷.

3.6.7.2 The National People's Party

3.6.7.2.1 Within Party Election

Party elections follow the Parliamentary Representative System, with a leader elected through secret ballot from Party Delegates, Members of District Committee, Provincial Committee, and Federal Council. The leader, acting as District President, Provincial President, and Chairman of the Party, announces other office bearers in the District, Province, and Centre. This system is similar to Provincial and National Assembly elections¹⁹⁸.

3.6.7.2.2 Election In charge

Election Authority/Central Chief Organizer of the Party is in-charge of Party Election, as concentrating by the chairman of the Party. He himself or any committee appointed by him administer the party Elections and announce the results.

3.6.7.2.3 Election of Party Leader

¹⁹⁷Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PML-F" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties-constitution>) 08,(Accessed on April, 2023)

¹⁹⁸Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of National People Party" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 03,(Accessed on 2023)

All the Office Bearers of Provinces, Presidents and General Secretary of Islamabad Federal Capital Area, and Members of Central Committee constitute the Federal Council of the Party. This council elects the Leader of Federal Council and he is the leader of the Party called as "Chairman" of the Party¹⁹⁹.

3.6.7.3 Pakistan People's Party Workers

3.6.7.3.1 Election Procedure

Intra party elections shall be held in accordance with the provisions of political parties order 2002 after every 3 years in a democratic, transparent manner, a certificate where of shall be submitted to the election commission of Pakistan. There shall be a chief election commissioner to be nominated by central executive committee for conduct of Party Elections, who will be aided by a District Election Committee in each district and Provincial Election Committee at provincial level²⁰⁰.

3.6.7.4 Qaumi Awami Tehreek Pakistan

3.6.7.4.1 Intra- Party Elections

(i) At every level, the council will elect its own committee and officials from within itself. After being elected in the elections, all officials will take an oath of loyalty to the party's manifesto, programs, and ideology.

(ii) The term of central officials will be three years from the day of the elections. Similarly, provincial, divisional, district, and lower-level officials will be elected every three years. In case of the death, resignation, expulsion, or severe illness of an official, if there is no candidate

¹⁹⁹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of National People Party" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 04,(Accessed on 2023)

²⁰⁰Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Pakistan People's Party worker" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution,07> (Accessed on April, 2023)

available, the committee at that level will conduct elections for the vacant position. Alternatively, the higher or central committee may appoint an interim official²⁰¹.

(iii) Elections for the party's central general council, central council, central committee, central standing, provincial committees, divisional committees, and all the units under them, as well as all the institutions, will be held every two years according to the rules outlined in the constitution. All officials will continue to fulfill their responsibilities until new elections are held.

(iv) The Election Commission will consist of three to five members appointed by the central committee, and the members of the Election Commission cannot participate in the elections themselves. The central committee will determine the procedures for conducting elections.

(v) Upon the completion of the term, it is mandatory to hold elections within the party at every level to elect officials. However, in specific and exceptional circumstances, the central committee can conduct elections for the council and committee of each level up to six months before or after the expiration of their term.

(vi) The Markazi party's existing bodies should be dissolved before elections, and an Organizational Committee should be formed to manage party affairs. The committee will consist of 5-7 members, including an organizer and secretary. The Central Cabinet will analyze the situation 48 hours before the election²⁰².

3.6.8 Balochistan Awami Party

3.6.8.1 Party Elections

²⁰¹Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Qaumi Awami Tehreek Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>, 24(Accessed on April, 2023).

²⁰²Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of Qaumi Awami Tehreek Pakistan" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>, 25(Accessed on April, 2023).

All party institutions will be elected, and all elections will be conducted according to the prescribed procedure for each institution. Central and district committees will appoint Election Commissions at their respective levels, whose numbers will be determined by the respective committees responsible for the elections of the relevant institutions. Party officials will have a term of three years.²⁰³"

3.6.9 Awami National Party

3.6.9.1 Elections Rule

(i) Elections for the Central Council, Central Executive Committee, Central Cabinet, and all other institutions of the party will be held every four years, but the same officials will continue to serve for the upcoming elections.

(ii) Party elections will primarily take place at the level of units (subdivisions), and each unit will elect members for its Unit Council and Unit Executive Committee, in accordance with their respective constitutions. In addition to the Unit Council and Unit Executive Committee, each unit will also elect representatives for the Central Council, which is the highest autonomous body of the party. The Central Executive Committee and party officials will be elected by the Central Council²⁰⁴.

3.6.10 Awami Muslim League Pakistan

3.6.10.1 Election Rule

²⁰³Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of BAP" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties> constitution), (Accessed on April, 2023).

²⁰⁴Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of ANP" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties> constitution) 04, (Accessed on April, 2023)

The member of that party will be from Federal Capital Islamabad, FATA, and the four provinces of Pakistan. The member will be party President, Naib President, Secretary General, finance secretary, interior secretary and all other member from central committee.

(i), Each position will have a term of four years. However, these officials will continue to work until the new elections take place.

(ii), The selection of all officials, including the President, will be conducted by the Central Council of the Pakistan Muslim League through a transparent and secret ballot process. The same process will be followed for the selection of provincial officials as well²⁰⁵.

3.6.11 Jamhoori Watan party

3.6.11.1 Election Rules

The Central Council is the highest autonomous body of the party. The Central Council will consist of a total of 1,800 members, with two hundred members elected from each of the four federal units, based on equal representation, i.e., fifty members from each unit. The Provincial Councils will elect the members. The fifty members of the Central Council will nominate the President in consultation with the Executive Council. Ten members (women) will be elected from each province to the Central Council. The Central Council will hold a minimum of one meeting per year and the quorum for the Council will be two-thirds²⁰⁶.

The General Assembly of the Central Council will be requested by the Central President in writing, based on a notice of fifteen days for a regular meeting. In the case of an emergency meeting, the notice period can be reduced to one week, and the announcement can also be made through newspapers. One-third of the total members of the Central Council can request a

²⁰⁵Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of AMLP" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) (Accessed on April,2023)

²⁰⁶Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of JWP" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution>) 11,(Accessed on April,2023)

meeting of the Council by submitting written notes with their signatures to the General Secretary fifteen days prior. The General Secretary will be bound to convene the meeting. Party elections at every level will be held after two years²⁰⁷.

3.6.12 Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf

Party elections shall be held in two parts:

3.6.12.1 Election of the Chairman

The party's Chairman is elected through a secret ballot from all members on the party's database, conducted by the Federal Election Commission. The election is held two years before each general election in the country. If the position becomes vacant, the Secretary of State (SG) takes over, and elections are held within 30 days of the vacant position²⁰⁸.

3.6.12.2 Election of other office Bearers

The elections for all following offices shall be held every three years in the first week of the month of April:

a. Centre: Secretary General. Additional Secretary General. Deputy Secretaries General and Joint Secretaries.

b. All other Tiers: President, Senior Vice President, Vice Presidents, General Secretary Additional General Secretary, Deputy General, Secretaries and Joint Secretaries

²⁰⁷Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of JWP" ([http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution](http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties%20constitution)) 11,(Accessed on April,2023)

²⁰⁸ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PTI" ([http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties constitution](http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties%20constitution)) 17-19, (Accessed on April,2023)

Elections are held through a direct secret ballot of eligible party members. If a losing panel secures more than 35 percent of the total polled votes, it will get two seats in the executive committee.²⁰⁹

In case of party elections falling within one year before general elections, executive committees' terms will be extended by one year. In cases of AJK and GB elections, the term of quasi-provincial and lower tier executive committees will also be extended by one year. If the Chairman determines early party elections, he can move a motion in the National Council to bring the election forward by one year, requiring a simple majority vote. In cases of party elections falling within one year before local government elections in a province, the term for Local Organisations will be extended by one year in that province. The tenure of the Overseas Regional Commissioners (ORC) will follow OIC by-laws²¹⁰.

3.7 Dimensions of IPD Measures

Eleven parameters were included in the assessment framework that was used to score each political party in order to gauge the level of IPD. These parameters were designed to elicit information on specific aspects of IPD, such as the internal structure, decision-making process, institutional constellation, and so forth. These eleven parameters were further divided into sub-parameters in order to improve the accuracy and objectivity of the results. For example, the principal parameter "regular and competitive party elections" was further divided into the sub-parameters "competitiveness," "regularity and periodicity," and "elections at various levels," which were all determined using particular indicators.²¹¹ In an extremely recent study, Rahat

²⁰⁹ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PTI" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties-constitution>) 18, (Accessed on April,2023)

²¹⁰ Reported by Election Commission of Pakistan, "Constitution of PTI" (<http://ecp.go.pk>political-parties-constitution>) 19, (Accessed on April,2023)

²¹¹ PILDAT, "Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan 2016," <http://pildate.org>allpildat-publications> (Accessed on May,2023)

and Shappira develop an IPD index that looks at IPD from five angles: responsiveness, competition, participation, and transparency.

An attempt was made to assign dimensions even parameters in order to determine whether the approach taken by PILDAT and political party constitutions also covers the previously described dimensions. Despite the fact that a more comprehensive analysis of the sub-parameters would have yielded more insightful results, this tabulation indicates that the survey's approach to measuring IPD is thorough, taking into account all of the primary dimensions typically associated with democracy and its expression within political parties.²¹²

Dimensions of IPD Measures Table 7

Dimensions	Parameters
Participation	A democratic method of decision-making; periodic changes in party leadership. Dissatisfaction with dynastic rule.
Representations	Women, young people, and minorities actively participating in party activities.
Competitions	Regular and competitive party elections
Responsiveness	The custom of holding yearly conventions or general meetings; the efficiency of party internal institutions; and the frequency of parliamentary party gatherings.
Transparency	Tolerance of dissent inside the party; Democratic nature of the party charter; Widespread financial support and reliable party records

Source: Dimensions for tabulation were adapted from Rahat and Shapira, "An IPD Index

To analysis of PILDAT, political parties constitutions and the sampling survey covered up the parameter of Rahat and Shapira "Intra-party Democracy index", these are the basic tools of any party establishment but the rule of law and code of conduct to these parameters is not properly implemented, so the analysis reached to a conclusion that political parties in written show a democratic nature but not implemented in any a democratic party of Pakistan.

3.8 Conclusion

²¹²Gideon Rahat, and Assaf Shapira, "An intra-party democracy index: Theory, design and a demonstration." *Parliamentary affairs* 70, (2017). no. 1, 84-110.

Pakistan is comprised of multi-party system with the political position of Centre, Centre-Right, Centre-Left, Right-Wing, Far- Right, and Left-Wing. The Election Commission of Pakistan registers 171 political parties, each with their own constitutions detailing their manifestations, finances, equal representations, elections, and participation of youth, women, and minorities. These constitutions also outline competitive elections within parties and specific time periods. The democratic nature of these parties is evident in their constituencies, funding processes, and accounts. The responsiveness of these parties, their internal structure, regular meetings, and general meetings also reflect the democratic nature of Pakistan's constitution.

CHAPTER FOUR

Intra-Party Democracy in Political Parties of Pakistan

4 Introduction

To demonstrate Pakistan's constitutional structure governing IPD, this chapter will provide a thorough explanation and in-depth analysis of the nation's political party laws. The country's 1973 constitution and the most recent political party act of 2017 require political parties to abide by the code of conduct established by each political party. Subsequently, a political party profile will be displayed to place it in relation to the list of party-specific data.

4.1 Legal Regulation of IPD in Pakistan

The legal provisions included in Pakistan's basic and party laws will be discussed and examined in this section. Replicating Biezen and Piccio's study of European party law on the Pakistani situation will be attempted. Following a discussion of the fundamental law, the party law will be examined utilising the qualitative and quantitative approach that the previous two authors employed. According to Biezen and Piccio's findings, Pakistan's basic law only sporadically governs internal political parties; yet, a specific clause unambiguously establishes political parties' constitutional status in the nation.

4.2 Basic law

4.2.1 Constitution of Pakistan

Basic law presented by the constitution of 1973 of Pakistan, article 17 of the constitution titled 'Freedom of Association', in the chapter on fundamental rights constitutionalizes political parties in the country²¹³. According to clause 2 of the article, any citizen (who is not employed by the government) has the right to organise a political party that will be bound by all laws protecting the nation's integrity and sovereignty. With the exception of finance transparency, no official regulation of political parties' internal operations is called for by the constitutional clause. In a similar vein, the parties' internal democracy is not expressly required. Furthermore, certain provisions under the chapter on parliament make a passing reference to political parties with regard to the distribution of reserved seats (for women and non-Muslims) and the disqualification of candidates, respectively. These provisions do not aim to regulate the internal operations of political parties. These fall within the definition of a "electoral party," which is defined by the laws governing the party in its function as an electoral body (distribution of parliamentary seats, candidate recruitment and selection, and legislature composition).²¹⁴

4.3 Party law

Party law of 2017 explain the formation of political, functions and the structure and the constitution of political parties:

4.3.1 Political Parties' law 2017

It shall be legal for any individual or group of citizens to create, organise, and maintain a political party under the terms of this Act. Every political party must have a unique name and a distinctive identity across all levels of government national, provincial, and local, if relevant. A political party is not allowed to spread any ideas or behave in a way that is contrary to the

²¹³Reported by, National Assembly of Pakistan, "The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan", <https://na.gov.pk/essence> 11, (Accessed on September 2023).

²¹⁴Shahid, (2017). "Explaining Intra-Party Democracy (IPD)" 36.

fundamental values upheld by the Constitution. The political parties must uphold Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity, as well as public morals and order, refrain from supporting terrorism, and discourage sectarian, regional, or provincial hostility. Political parties are prohibited from adopting names evoking militant organisations or sections, from appointing leaders or office holders with titles that suggest leadership of armed organisations, from providing military or paramilitary training to their members or other individuals, and from being established, organised, set-up, or convened as foreign-funded political parties²¹⁵.

4.3.1.1 Constitution of Political Parties

Whatever name the party chooses, it must draft a constitution that outlines its goals and objectives, as well as its organisational structure at the federal, provincial, and local levels as needed. It also specifies the membership fee that members must pay, if applicable, the designation and tenure of party office holders, and the process for obtaining and raising funds for the party.²¹⁶ Each political party is required to give the Commission a printed copy of its constitution. Any modification to a political party's constitution must be reported to the Commission within fifteen days of the change taking effect, and the Commission will keep an up-to-date record of all political parties' constitutions.²¹⁷

4.3.1.2 Enlistment of political Parties

Within thirty days after its founding, a political party that was founded after the Act's effective date must apply to join the Commission. The application for enlistment must include the following documents: a copy of the political party's constitution; the certificate and information

²¹⁵Reported by National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk>essence> , (Political parties act 2017 party law, accessed on September 2023), 65.

²¹⁶Reported by National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk>essence> , (Political parties' act 2017 parties constitutions, accessed on September 2023), 65.

²¹⁷ Reported by National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk>essence>, (Political parties' act 2017 parties constitutions, accessed on September 2023), 66.

required to be submitted under Sections 201 and 209; a copy of the consolidated statement of its accounts under Section 210; copies of their National Identity Cards and signatures from at least 2,000 members; and evidence of a deposit of two hundred thousand in the party's favour. When a political party applies for enlisting under subsection, the Commission must determine whether the party satisfies the conditions outlined in subsection (2) before deciding whether to enlist it²¹⁸.

If a political party that was registered with the Commission before the Act's effective date has provided the documentation mentioned in subsection (2) to the Commission, it will be deemed to have registered under this Act; if not, it will need to do so within 60 days of the Act's commencement date. If, within the time limit stipulated by paragraph (4), a political party that has been recruited fails to file the documents required by subsection (2), the Commission will cancel the party's enlistment after providing it with an opportunity for hearing.

A political party whose employment has been refused or whose enlistment has been terminated in accordance with this rule may file an appeal with the Supreme Court within thirty days of the refusal or cancellation of enlistment. When the Government declares that a political party has been formed or is acting in a way that threatens Pakistan's integrity or sovereignty, the Supreme Court has to be consulted within fifteen days.²¹⁹

4.3.1.3 Membership of political Parties

Every person who is not employed by Pakistan should have the freedom to found or join a political party, to be affiliated with one in any way, to engage in political activity, and to be chosen to hold office within a political party. When an individual joins a political party, his

²¹⁸Reported by National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk>essence> (Political parties' act 2017 enlistment of parties, accessed on September 2023), 66.

²¹⁹ National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk>essence> (Political parties' act 2017 enlistment of parties, accessed on September 2023), 67.

name is registered as a member in the party's database, and he is given a membership card or other document proving his affiliation with the party. It is forbidden for someone to belong to more than one political party at once. Women should be encouraged to join political parties, A political party member is entitled to view the party's records, with the exception of records belonging to other members.²²⁰

The Pakistani parliament issued the 2017 Political Parties Order. Every citizen, save those serving in the armed forces of Pakistan, is entitled to the formation, membership, and other affiliation in political parties, as well as the ability to engage in political activities and run for office within those parties. When someone joins a political party, his name is registered as a member in the party's database, and he receives a membership card or other documentation attesting to his affiliation.

4.4 Party Profile

Pakistan now has 171 parties registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan, making it a multiparty system. However, this analysis has concentrated on the 10 political parties and 2 alliances—one from a religious group and the other from a rural Sindh community—because IPD data on them are readily available. Despite Pakistan's current status as a multiparty democracy, a small number of parties have dominated the political landscape.

A burgeoning two-party system emerged in the 1990s and lasted until 2010; PML N and PPP dominated politics; in 2013, the PML-N won a majority, and PTI rose to prominence as the second-most popular party in the 2013 elections. However, in the 2018 elections, PTI emerged as the most dominant party and won majority seats. Religious groups have always been a component of Pakistani politics; in the 2018 election, they formed an alliance known as

²²⁰Reported by National assembly of Pakistan <https://na.gov.pk/essence>, (Political parties' act 2017 membership of parties, accessed on September 2023), 67.

Mutahida Majlis-e Amal, which has roots in the pre-independence period. Regional parties, including as the MQM and GDA coalition from Sindh, the ANP in KP and ANP, the JWP and BNP in Baluchistan, and the PML-Q and AMLP in Punjab, have also emerged in the provinces. This section will go into further detail about each political party in respect to the elements unique to that party that affect IPD.

4.4.1 Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N)

The oldest political party in Pakistan is the Pakistan Muslim League (PML). The All India Muslim League was the name of the PML before to partition. The Indian National Congress was a political party that was founded in 1885 and continued to exist until the creation of the All India Muslim League. It developed into India's most potent political party over time. Muslims were warned not to join the Indian National Congress by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan due to the party's negative views against Indian Muslims. 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 Saleem Ullah Khan of Dacca²²¹.

All Muslim leaders were present at that session. After the meeting of the educational conference, Nawab Saleem Ullah 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 League²²².

The AIML was at the forefront of the independence struggle and subsequently turned out to be the first ruling party of the country. Due to its origin and organizational structure, the party

²²¹ PILDAT, "Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan 2016," (<http://pildate.org>>allpildat-publications) 60. (Accessed on July 2023)

²²² Szajkowski, *Political Parties of the World*, 06

since its inception had been plagued by internal division and factionalism which eventually resulted in its splitting into factions after independence²²³. Till now, in the country's history of almost seventy years the Pakistan Muslim League has had as many as nine factions with each registered as an independent political party with the Election Commission of Pakistan and each claiming to be the real successor.

In 2013 elections PML-N along with All-Pakistan Muslim League which is a coalition of PML -Q [Quaid], PML-J [Junejo] and PML – F [Functional] are the two largest factions Even though both the factions coalesced at one point, regional and ethnic clashes separated them again²²⁴. PML N emerged as the largest and the strongest faction in 1992, led by the ex- Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who had become its undisputed leader as early as 1988²²⁵. It was pivotal in forming the Islami Jamhoori Itehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance, abbreviated as IJI) in 1990 elections which was successful in securing a majority in the assembly and giving Nawaz the office of the Prime Minister.

PML-N was the central opposition party in the PPP led 1993 government and turned the tables in 1997 elections by winning a two thirds majority making Nawaz Sharif the prime minister once again²²⁶. During the 1997 government the party crumbled and began to split into factions. After the removal of Nawaz Sharif in the military coup of 1999, yet another faction PML Q (Quaid) rose to power in the 2002 elections held under General Pervez Musharraf. Consequently, PML-N's strength in the parliament was reduced to a small opposition with its leadership in exile. . The end of military rule in 2007 brought back the civilian leadership of the two main political parties in the country (PPP and PML-N). PML-N featured well in the

²²³PLDAT, "Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan 2016," (<http://pildate.org>>allpildat-publications) 60. (Accessed on July 2023)

²²⁴Haroon K. Ullah, "Vying for Allah's vote: Understanding Islamic parties, political violence, and extremism in Pakistan". *Georgetown University Press*, (2013).

²²⁵ Kazmi, "Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz." DAWN.COM, April 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on March, 2023)

²²⁶ Szajkowski, *Political Parties of the World*, 10

2008 elections and emerged as the second largest party assuming the role of opposition against the PPP government. Finally, in 2013 general elections after a five-year stint in opposition PML-N yet again emerged as the largest party nationwide and formed government at the center²²⁷. Before the 2018 elections, PML-N was projected as the largest party, but several developments hindered its performance.

The Dawn Leaks deteriorated relations between the Establishment and PML-N government, leading to the resignation of Information Minister and Panama Leaks. The Supreme Court's judgment and NAB court's jailing of PML leader Nawaz Sharif further weakened the party's strength. In September 2020 PML-N join Pakistan Democratic Movement with eleven alliances being a prominent one. Established in 2020, the PDM aimed to respect vote sanctity and formed a government under opposition leader Shahbaz Sharif in 2022. In 2022, the PDM formed a government under the leadership of opposition leader Shahbaz Sharif after successfully ousting Khan in a no-confidence resolution on April 10th 2022 to 10th August 2023²²⁸.

4.4.1.1 Origin

Based on Duverger's framework, the origin of AIML can be classified as parliamentary, according to Haroon K. Ullah's book on Islamic political parties in Pakistan. Ullah argues that AIML was formed by social elites, labor union leaders, and wealthy industrialists who united to safeguard their interests²²⁹. The Muslim League was a tool of the elite, reflecting their aspirations and promoting their social and economic status. The party's internal organization was highly centralized, guided by a social and economic power structure, which was considered thin and clientelistic. This structure prevented mass mobilization and made the party an alliance

²²⁷Saiful Islam, Muhammad Zubair, and Imraz Muhammad, "An analysis of 2018 general elections in Pakistan." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* (2019)56, no. 2, 191.

²²⁸Usman Bashir, and Prof Dr Iram Khalid. "Religion and electoral politics in Punjab: A case study of 2018 general elections." *South Asian Studies*(2020) 34, no. 1

²²⁹ Ullah, "Vying for Allah's Vote", 63

of convenience among elites who were economically, religiously, and socially distinct from the larger population²³⁰.

4.4.1.2 Ideology

Both analysts and scholars view PML-N as a right-of-center political party in its current configuration. A central-right ideological group has been proposed to replace the semi-Islamic right-wing party that arose throughout the 1980s and 1990s when it first came to power²³¹. The party has adopted a more moderate and democratic stance in an effort to distance itself from the early Islamist image of the late 1980s and early 1990s, following its two brief periods of power in the 1990s and a decade of resistance against General Pervez Musharraf's autocratic dictatorship²³².

PML-N, a Pakistani political party, has been characterized as a 'Muslim Democratic' party, a distinct type from Islamists. It has a liberal economic policy, opposing the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Sharif, with an industrial background, is considered a friend of Pakistan's businessmen. Muslim Democratic parties, similar to Christian Democratic parties, aim to harness Islam's potential to win votes and offer right-of-center platforms that can appeal to a broad cross-section of voters. Similar parties, such as Turkey's AKP, Bangladesh's BNP, and Malaysia's UNMO, are considered part of the same party family²³³.

4.4.1.3 Government Ambitions

Based on its track record and past performance, it seems fair to claim that PML-N has a 'high' government ambition. It formed government the third time in the elections of 2013 and when

²³⁰ Ullah, "Vying for Allah's Vote", 65

²³¹Nadeem F. Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan, May 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on March, 2023)

²³² Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan, May 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on March, 2023)

²³³ Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan, May 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on March, 2023)

not in government it has been the most central opposition party. Before the 2018 elections, PML-N was projected as the largest party, but several developments hindered its performance. The Dawn Leaks deteriorated relations between the Establishment and PML (N) government, leading to the resignation of Information Minister and Panama Leaks.

The Supreme Court's judgment and NAB court's jailing of PML leader Nawaz Sharif further weakened the party's strength. In September 2020 PML-N join Pakistan Democratic Movement with eleven alliances being a prominent one. Established in 2020, the PDM aimed to respect vote sanctity and formed a government under opposition leader Shahbaz Sharif in 2022. In 2022, the PDM formed a government under the leadership of opposition leader Shahbaz Sharif after successfully ousting Khan in a no-confidence resolution on April 10th 2022 to 10th August 2023.

4.4.2 Pakistan People's Party Parliamentary

The PPP was founded in 1967 by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and has been one of the most powerful political forces in the country since then²³⁴. It came out as the most popular party in West Pakistan in 1970 elections and after the separation of East Pakistan formed a government in the former. It called for Islamic socialism, democracy and encouraged a non-aligned foreign policy. In 1977, General Zia ul Haq, overthrew a PPP government and the military regime that ensued eventually executed Bhutto in 1979. Party leadership was then assumed by his widow begum Nusrat Bhutto which was eventually transferred to their daughter Benazir Bhutto.

Following the death of General Zia in a plane crash, PPP emerged as the single largest party in 1988 and 1993 elections, notwithstanding, both the governments were dismissed before completion by the then Presidents (on charges of corruption). Subsequently, Benazir Bhutto went in exile after 1997, leading the party from abroad and did not return until 2007. Her

²³⁴John Bray, "Pakistan at 50: a state in decline?." *International Affairs* 73, (1997) no. 2, 315-331.

assassination while campaigning for 2008 elections preceded the party's return to power under the leadership of her husband Asif Ali Zardari (co-chairman)²³⁵. The government completed its term of five years, nevertheless, the 2013 and 2018 elections reduced its influence to one province (Sindh). But in 2022 through PDM alliances Bilawal Bhutto came to power as a Pakistan foreign minister from 27th April 2022 to 10th August 2023.

4.4.2.1 Origin

PPP's popularity can be attributed to its extra-parliamentary origin, with strong roots in West Pakistan, particularly Sindh and Punjab. Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Rehman, leader of the Awami League, pioneered mass politics in Pakistan²³⁶. After resigning as foreign minister, Bhutto led a popular movement against Ayub Khan. A band of leftist and progressive intellectuals, unlike the Muslim League, played a crucial role in the formation of PPP. The party formalized the beginning of a movement that propelled protests and rallies until Ayub's retreat in 1969²³⁷.

4.4.2.2 Ideology

Similar to the PML-N, the PPP has seen an ideological shift, however it is more significant. It is currently categorised as a center-left party with a national following and a base of support among both urban and rural populations²³⁸. However, in 1967 PPP kicked off with a socialist ideology (referred to as Islamic socialism to evade opposition from the Islamists) and "seemed strongly anchored to the left²³⁹". The party rejected Bhutto's "left wing radicalism in favour of social democracy" and promoted privatisation in opposition to nationalisation measures after Benazir seized power in 1985, marking a significant shift in the party's political outlook.

²³⁵ Szajkowski, *Political Parties of the World*, 459

²³⁶Stephen P. Cohen, "State building in Pakistan." *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics*. Lahore: Vanguard Books (1986): 299-332.

²³⁷Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan paradox: Instability and resilience*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

²³⁸Frontier Ghaffar, Gandhi-Khan Abdul, "Pakistan's precious parties." *Economic & Political Weekly*, (2008)9

²³⁹Jaffrelot, "The Pakistan paradox: Instability and resilience". 15

Nevertheless, the party has advocated fervently for the use of public sector spending to address income and social inequality²⁴⁰. Insofar as the party's stance on religion is concerned it is predominantly secular but not completely anathema to religion – in fact it is flexible enough to make room for certain aspects of political Islam associated with the Sufi and modernist reformist traditions²⁴¹.

4.4.2.3 Government Ambitions

PPP has arguably been the most successful party in the country forming government at the centre a record four times and therefore can be said to have a 'high' government ambition. Although it has always been a strong contender in elections on occasions when it failed to form a government the party has been at the forefront in the opposition.

4.4.3 Pakistan Tehreek – e – Insaf

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Movement for Justice) was founded in April 1996 by Imran Khan, a cricketing legend has always been a popular figure in the country. Compared to its counterparts PTI is a young force in the political milieu of Pakistan and suffered from a period of stagnation that lasted for over a decade until the party's rise to popularity in 2011²⁴². Imran Khan, at the parties founding declared that the main aim of the party was to foster change in the country by striving for justice and honesty²⁴³.

The party contested its first elections in 1997, a year after its formation which proved to be disappointment, failing to secure any seats in both the National Assembly and any of the Provincial Assemblies. A poor show at the polls continued in the 2002 election when the party won only one seat to the National Assembly and that too won by Imran himself²⁴⁴. The party

²⁴⁰ Bray, "Pakistan at 50: a state in decline?" 412

²⁴¹ Bray, "Pakistan at 50: a state in decline?" 415

²⁴² Soonha Abro "Jamaat-I-Islami. April 5, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on April 2023)

²⁴³ Szajkowski, Political Parties of the World, 443

²⁴⁴ Szajkowski, Political Parties of the World, 455

boycotted the 2008 elections due to participation in the 'Restoration of Judges' movement that demanded the reinstatement of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, who had been deposed by the then military ruler General Pervez Musharraf. Although Imran Khan has been a popular figure in the country due to his cricketing background and always attracted attention, PTI's fortune did not augur well until the year 2011 when a public gathering in Lahore marked its rise to prominence in Pakistani politics. Consequently, considering past performances the party has featured well in the latest elections of 2013 emerging as the second most popular party in the country (third largest in terms of NA seats)²⁴⁵.

Pakistan's July 2018 general elections resulted in a smooth transition of power, but allegations of military manipulation sparked controversy. The PTI managed to win only 116 out of the 272 directly contested seats in the national assembly, short of the 137 needed to form a government. But for the first time the party did emerge as the single largest party in parliament. It received 31% of the votes, up from 16% in the 2013 election, and crucially, it won seats in all four provinces of Pakistan²⁴⁶.

Pakistan's July 2018 general elections resulted in a smooth transition of power, with the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emerging with the highest seats. Imran Khan's political journey has been remarkable, but he inherits a country facing difficult governance and economic challenges. The military may be content with guided democracy, but Khan cannot be taken for granted in the civil-military equation. Despite being a former cricketer, Khan was sworn in as the 22nd prime minister of Pakistan, claiming to be unaware of the country's economic situation²⁴⁷. He faced many challenges including inexperienced team, mismanagement, and artificial and natural disasters.

²⁴⁵Abro, "Jamaat-I-Islami. April 5, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on April 2023)

²⁴⁶Aqil Shah, "Pakistan: Voting under military tutelage." *J. Democracy*, (2019) 30, p. 128.

²⁴⁷Muhammad Muzaffar, Zahid Yaseen, and Shamsa Safdar. "Role of Social Media in Political Campaigns in Pakistan: A Case Study of 2018 Elections." *Journal of Political Studies*(2020) 27, no. 2, 141-151

The opposition alliance moved a confidence motion in the national assembly (NA) against prime minister Imran Khan on March 8, 2022, that passed on April 10, 2022. According to article 95 of the constitution of Pakistan 1973, a prime minister can be removed from his office through a no-confidence motion against him by members of NA. Twenty percent of the MNA's vote is required to move the motion in the assembly. After the motion is tabled, the Speaker of the NA is bound to hold a vote within four to seven days. If the resolution is passed with an absolute majority, the prime minister will be removed from office and an election will be held for the new prime minister²⁴⁸. So on 10th April Imran Khan was ousted through no-confidence motion by Pakistan democratic movement with the 11 alliances.

4.4.3.1 Origin

PTI made it to the political landscape in an era wherein mass politics had been well rooted in the Pakistani society – embodying extra-parliamentary origins. Imran Khan, due to his past as a cricketer and philanthropist had popular appeal prior to entering politics but his movement for justice as the party name connotes took long to gain currency in the country. The party gained traction in 2011 by capitalizing on two themes: threat to national sovereignty from drone strikes and US incursion and corruption. The party successfully mobilized the urban middle class, particularly the youth and draws its main support from it²⁴⁹.

It is pertinent as Marie Lall notes that over 67 percent of Pakistan's population is under 30 it is an important constituency for political parties to focus on. Since then the party has organized several rallies and gatherings across the country which have brought it national and international attraction – such a notable engagement was the peach march towards South

²⁴⁸ Shah, "Pakistan: Voting under military tutelage" 130

²⁴⁹ Jaffrelot, *The Pakistan paradox: Instability and resilience*, 23

Waziristan to express discontent against US drone strikes²⁵⁰. Lastly, PTI unlike other political parties actively engages its members and frequently launches membership campaigns.

4.4.3.2 Ideology

PTI like other parties has also experienced mild changes on the ideological front. It is postulated that the party started off as a right wing conservative party but since the initial years it has consolidated itself as right of center²⁵¹. Haroon K. Ullah amongst other scholars classify PTI as a 'Muslim Democratic' party similar in ideological orientation to PML N²⁵². Akbar Zaidi, a veteran political scientist from Pakistan, affirms that PTI and PML N exude moderation on religion and adhere to right wing technocracy with respect to economy which makes them members of the same party family²⁵³.

4.4.3.3 Government Ambitions

A close perusal of the brief history and demeanor of PTI suggests that the party demonstrates a high government ambition. It has been an active force in politics since 2011 and has frequently subjected the PPP and PML N to criticism in the massive rallies and gatherings that it has been convening since then and subsequently it emerged as the third largest force in the 2013 elections. Despite its brief history it has generated popular appeal and upset the party system which had hitherto been dominated by the former two old parties. Even in opposition it has maintained its distinctness and distance from PPP, however, it also formed a regional government in KP with its conservative ally JI. In 2018 elections PTI seems a dominant party of the country that got majority vote in the National Assembly.

²⁵⁰ Abro, "Jamaat-I-Islami. April 5, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on April, 2023)

²⁵¹ Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan, May 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on April, 2023)

²⁵² Ullah, "Vying for Allah's Vote", 69

²⁵³, S. Akbar. Zaidi, "The old and the new in naya Pakistan." *Economic and political weekly*, (2013) 34-37, Vol 48, no 25

4.4.4 Muttahida Quami Movement Pakistan

MQM was founded as Muhajir Quami Movement in 1984 by Altaf Hussein and Azeem Ahmed Tariq. The central aim of the party was to represent and safeguard the interests of ethnic muhajirs (Muslim emigrants from India in the aftermath of partition in 1947) in Sindh which was a response to the steady decline in their political and economic status that began in the 1960s²⁵⁴. Policies introduced by PPP-led government in 1970s contributed to the grievances of the Muhajirs, in particular the rural/urban quota (for government jobs and admission in educational institutions) and the elevation of Sindhi language as an official language of the province alongside Urdu.

The emergence of MQM was the result of ethnic mobilization which had begun in the late 1970s and the All Pakistan Muhajir Student's Association (APMSO) formed by Altaf Hussein in 1978 was a precursor of the party. Which had begun in the late 1970s and the All Pakistan Muhajir Student's Association (APMSO) formed by Altaf Hussein in 1978 was a precursor of the party²⁵⁵.

However in 1997, in an attempt to expand its political scope, it changed its name to Muttahida Quami Movement and since then has sought to transform itself from a regional party to a national party²⁵⁶. It is believed by many that the party has indeed made the transformation into a national party, however, few deny that its popularity is largely limited to urban areas of Sindh²⁵⁷. The party has maintained its popularity in these areas and continued to perform well (particularly in Karachi) since its first electoral endeavor in 1988. The party has kept its influence over Pakistan's federal government as a key coalition partner since the late 1980s

²⁵⁴ Farhat Haq, (1995). "Rise of the MQM in Pakistan: Politics of ethnic mobilization. *Asian Survey* 35, no. 11 990-1004.

²⁵⁵ Mohammad Waseem, *Ethnic conflict in Pakistan: the case of MQM. The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. 35, No. 4, (1996): pp. 617-629.

²⁵⁶ Szajkowski, *Political Parties of the World*, 458.

²⁵⁷ PILDAT, "Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan 2016," 32.

(1988-1990, 1990-1992, 2002-2007, and 2008-2013). However, MQM parliamentarians resigned from the National Assembly, Senate and Provincial Assembly of Sindh in protest against a crackdown on party supporters.

On August 22, 2016, in a sudden turn of events, Farooq Sattar group disassociated from MQM founder and Leader Altaf Hussain and declared complete autonomy and demanded treason cases against him according to Article 6. MQM London leaders termed it violation against party rules and retaliated by dissolving party and demanded mass resignation from all MQM parliamentarians and also terminated Farooq Sattar basic membership from the party"²⁵⁸. The emergence of MQMP in 2016 when MQM split in to two parts MQM boycotted from elections but MQMP the group of Khalid Maqbool Siddiqui contested election of 2018 and secure seven national assembly seats.

4.4.4.1 Origin

The extra-parliamentary origins of MQM are evident in the APMSO and the ethnic movement it had generated in the late 1970s. According to Muhammad Waseem, “[MQM] has led the most strident and mass based ethnic movement in the country’s history after the 1971 Bangladesh movement in East Pakistan²⁵⁹”. With regards to the extra-parliamentary structure, John Bray, in his analysis of the party postulates that MQM in some respects is one of the most modern political parties. He asserts that it’s high literacy levels, tightly organized structure and a party for and operated by urbanized workers distinguished it from its counterparts²⁶⁰.

4.4.4.2 Ideology

The party in its present shape and form promotes a left of center political ideology. More precisely, it has a liberal and secular orientation but adheres to conservatism on economic

²⁵⁸Haider Sajjad. MQM, April 2, 2013. <http://www.loc.gov>item>lcwaN000607>, (Accessed on April, 2023)

²⁵⁹ Bray, “Pakistan at 50: a state in decline?” 315-331.

²⁶⁰ Bray, "Pakistan at 50: a state in decline?" 315-331.

matters. Its commitment to secularism has been tenacious, maintaining a clear stance against radical Islamic groups and subsequently becoming a frequent target²⁶¹. The party in its initial days championed a progressive agenda which went hand in hand with the non-elite and humble backgrounds of its leaders which greatly legitimized its claim to be a party of the poor²⁶².

4.4.4.3 Government Ambition

MQM has over the years exhibited a high government ambition. It has never lost popularity in urban Sindh – its stronghold. It has formed coalition governments on every occasion except for 1993 (when it boycotted NA elections) and in 2013. MQM and its leader Altaf Hussain decided to boycott elections in 2018 due to military intervention in political affairs, MQM-P which is a separate party now would instead contest for elections using traditional MQM symbol kite.

4.4.5 Awami National Party (ANP)

ANP emerged as an independent party in 1986 following the merger of several left-wing groups including the National Democratic Party (NDP)²⁶³. It is essentially a regional party with support base in Pashtun areas – primarily Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and despite its meagre electoral strength it has frequently contributed as a coalition partner in national governments in 1990s and 2008 since the reinstatement of democratic rule in the country. At the provincial level the party has formed government several times and is in fact a successor to the leftist National Awami Party (NAP) formed in 1957.

NAP was the country's largest leftist party until the advent of PPP in 1967 and it formed coalition governments in KP and Baluchistan after obtaining a majority in each province in the 1970 election. However, the straining of relations with the PPP government at the centre resulted in the dismissal of NAP rule in Baluchistan and prompted a resignation from KP

²⁶¹ Haider, "Muttahida Qaumi Movement." April 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>

²⁶² Waseem, "Ethnic conflict in Pakistan: the case of MQM." (1996): 617-629.

²⁶³ Szajkowski, *Political Parties of the World*, 457.

government in protest – party was banned by the federal government in 1975²⁶⁴. In an attempt to revive the NAP, Baloch, Sindhi and Pashtun leaders formed the ANP, however, with the demise of Zia regime, Baloch and Sindhi leaders left to create their own parties, imparting ANP a Pashtun nationalist orientation.

Khan Abdul Wali Khan became the party's first President in 1986 and his retirement from politics brought Ajmal Khattak (a poet and senior leader) who reigned until leaving the party in 1999. Following his departure, Wali's son, Asfandyar Wali Khan came to the helm of affairs in 1999 and continues to hold the office after being elected for the fifth time in August 2014²⁶⁵. Electorally, the party has witnessed ups and downs, flourishing in the 1990s but failing in the 2002 election. It rose to popularity again in the 2008 election forming a provincial government in KP and a coalition government at the center, however, its support waned in the last election. In 2018 ANP has fielded candidates from 60 NA seats out of these, three seats are from Punjab, 10 from Sindh, 29 from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, eight from Balochistan, nine from FATA and one from Islamabad. It was a great victory of ANP in national assembly elections²⁶⁶.

4.4.5.1 Origin

The origin of ANP is traced back to the Khudai Khidmatgar or Red Shirts Movement of the 1930s, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan also known as the Frontier's (KP was previously named as NWFP) Gandhi because of his views and affiliation with the Indian National Congress (INC)²⁶⁷. This was a leftist, anti-imperialist and secular movement, however, with the creation of Pakistan in 1947 Khan tried to expand the movement beyond KP and

²⁶⁴ Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan." May 2, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news> , (Accessed on April, 2023)

²⁶⁵ (<http://pildate.org>>allpildat-publications) "Internal Democracy of Major Political Parties of Pakistan 2016," 60. (Accessed on October 2023).

²⁶⁶ Awami National Party, July, 18 2018 <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on May, 2023)

²⁶⁷ Amna Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan." *Pakistan Vision* 15,(2014). no. 2, 1

subsequently was arrested along with his son Wali Khan²⁶⁸. As examined by Amna Mahmood, the formation of NAP in 1957 was the second step in the evolution of ANP which becomes more evident in the breakaway of Wali Khan with a Pashtun faction in 1972²⁶⁹. Notwithstanding, the extra-parliamentary origins of the party are apparent.

4.4.5.2 Ideology

Like other political parties of Pakistan and elsewhere, ANP has also undergone ideological transformation overtime. It started off an ardent left-wing party and analysts affirm that the ANP's ancestors were heavily predisposed towards Marxism²⁷⁰. In fact its predecessor as observed by Rashid u zaman noted in 1970, the NAP was the first political party in Pakistan to have an overtly leftist agenda²⁷¹. At present, ANP is considered to be a left of center party with a progressive social and economic policy. Although its commitment to leftist programme has largely become a victim to pragmatism, it has maintained its commitment to secularism and consequently borne the brunt of extremists attacks by radical Islamic groups who have frequently targeted its leadership²⁷².

4.4.5.3 Government Ambitions

A glance at the party's history suggests that ANP has displayed a high government ambition. It is further pronounced when the party despite its leftist leanings formed an alliance with the right- wing Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI) in the 1990s²⁷³.

²⁶⁸ Abbasi. "Awami National Party. "April 1, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on May, 2023)

²⁶⁹ Amna, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan." 1

²⁷⁰ Abbasi. "Awami National Party. "April 1, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on May, 2023)

²⁷¹M, Rashid u zaman, (1970). "The National Awami Party of Pakistan: leftist politics in crisis." 394-409.

²⁷² Abbasi. "Awami National Party. "April 1, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on May, 2023)

²⁷³ Paracha, "Political Parties in Pakistan." 56

4.4.5 Pakistan Muslim League Q (Quaid-e-Azam)

The political party of Pakistan was split by the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), led by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and was once a part of the Pakistan Muslim League. However, political differences after the 1997 elections led to the formation of a faction within the party, led by dissidents like Shujaat Hussain, who supported the 1999 military coup take over. The PML (N) faction, formed by General Pervaiz Musharraf before the 2002 elections, was formed due to Nawaz's trial and fear of military persecution. In 2000-01, Musharraf called for the restoration of the PML as a king's party.

In 2004, five factions of the PML merged into the PML (Q) under Chaudhry Shujat Hussain. The PML Q is an important political party in Pakistan but lost its political standing after Musharraf's restoration of democracy²⁷⁴.

4.4.6.1 Origin

In 2002, Ch. Shujaat Hussain launched the PML (Q) party, focusing on General Musharraf's military regime. The party followed the same pattern as PML (N)'s, with President Pervez Musharraf taking advantage of the party's opportunities and government support to diminish public support for Mian Nawaz Sharif. Tariq Aziz, the national security adviser, played a crucial role in converting the PML (N)'s into PML (Q), which stands for "Quaid-e-Azam." In May 2004, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) merged with the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) to form a united party.

This included various factions and political parties, including Millat Party, National People's Party, National People's Party, Jinnah Party, Junejo, Sindh Democratic Alliance, Functional Party, and Ijaz-ul-Haq's PML²⁷⁵. PML (Q) leaders, including Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain,

²⁷⁴ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 1.

²⁷⁵ Muhammad Nawaz, Shahzad and Rizwan Ullah Kokab, "Political Parties: A Factor of Stability in Pakistan 1999-2008." *Asian journal of social sciences & humanities* 2,(2013). no. 4, 348-358.

Chaudhary Pervaiz Elahi, Humayun Akhtar Khan, and Ijaz ul Haq, were former "big men" of the Zia ul Haq regime and Nawaz Sharif Government.

In 2001, many members of PML (N) broke away under NAB'S pressure to establish PML (Q), who were important supporters of General Pervez Musharraf and considered his mentor. Although Musharraf was not part of the party, he supported him as a party leader. General Pervaiz Musharraf formed a faction of PML (Q) before the 2002 elections, as Mian Nawaz Sharif was facing trial for terrorist acts. Rivals and fear of military persecution left the PML (N)²⁷⁶.

In 2000-01, Musharraf called for the PML (Q) to be restored as a king's party. In 2004, five factions of PML merged under Chaudhry Shujat Hussain's leadership. During Musharraf's rule, the PML (Q) remained a significant political party in parliament, participating in all provincial assemblies. However, it lost its political standards after losing the 2008 elections. The PML supported the Musharraf regime, promoting stability and consolidating the system. Although not democratically ideal, the party played a crucial role as the ruling party, establishing a democratic government within the regime²⁷⁷.

4.4.6.2 Government Ambitions

In 2002 general elections PMLQ held a strong victory of 76 seats out of 269 for which the results were declared (out of 272 general seats contested). The government-forming process in Pakistan experienced an unprecedented delay due to mixed mandates. PML-Q's Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali became prime minister with a single vote majority on 21 November, supported by 10 PPPP forward block members²⁷⁸. The PML-Q and MMA formed provincial governments

²⁷⁶ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 1.

²⁷⁷ Shahzad, "Political Parties: A Factor of Stability in Pakistan 1999-2008." (2013) 348-358.

²⁷⁸ "PML-Q to distribute face masks", The News International, 27 July 2020, www.internationalnews.com, (Accessed on October, 2023)

in Punjab and NWFP, while a coalition government was formed in Balochistan. In Sindh, the process was delayed and power maneuvered, with PML-Q forming the government on 18 December.

On 19 November 2002, PML-Q candidate Chaudhry Amir Hussain was elected Speaker of the National Assembly with 167 votes, while Sardar Mohammed Yaqoob was elected Deputy Speaker with 163 votes. On 1 January 2004, General Pervez Musharraf was elected President of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) following a resolution jointly presented by Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Pakistan Muslim League (Q) president, and other ruling coalition leaders²⁷⁹.

The Pakistan Muslim League (Q) participated in the 2008 legislative election, allied with other parties, with the goal of appointing former Punjab Chief Minister Chaudhry Pervaiz Elahi as Prime Minister. However, the Q lost major parliamentarians and only gained 49 elected seats. In the 2013 election, PML (Q) partnered with PPP but only won 2 national assembly seats, 8 Punjab assembly seats, and 4 Balochistan assembly seats. They were shut out in Sindh and KPK assemblies, relegating them to sixth place. PML (Q) contested the 2018 election. The party won 5 seats in national assembly, along with 10 seats in Punjab assembly and 1 seat in KP assembly²⁸⁰.

4.4.6.3 Ideology

Ideological foundation of PML (Q) is a Pakistani conservatism and nationalism group, aiming to transform Pakistan into a welfare state, promote Islamization, establish a conservative democracy, and maintain strong civilian-military relations²⁸¹.

²⁷⁹ MQM, PML-Q, PML-F, NPP finalise 'friendly election adjustments'. Dec,26 2006, www.nationalnews.com (Accessed on October, 2023)

²⁸⁰ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 06

²⁸¹ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 10

4.4.7 Awami Muslim League Pakistan (AMLP)

AMLP the chief organizer of party is Sheikh Rasheed Ahmed, he's known for his political wit and witticism, was elected six times in a row to the National Assembly from 1985 to 2002, and occasionally switched parties. Ahmad Rasheed, a Pakistani politician, began his political career during his student years and was involved in the opposition to Ayub Khan's military regime. He was elected to the National Assembly eight times, first in 1985 and later in 1988 and 1990. He became the Minister of Sports and won the Cricket World Cup in 1992. In 1993, he was re-elected on the Pakistan Muslim League ticket²⁸².

In 1997, he was re-elected, but in 2002, he ran as an independent and secured a sixth re-election. Rasheed joined PML-Q and was appointed as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting in the Zafarullah Khan Jamali cabinet in November 2002. As minister, Ahmed assumed the role of Musharraf's spokesperson and advocate for Jamali's government. In 2006, Ahmad was appointed Federal Minister for Railways. In the 2008 Pakistani general election, he ran for National Assembly on a Pakistan Muslim League-Q ticket, losing to PML-N in Rawalpindi. Rumors of him fleeing to Spain were false. Ahmad claimed his defeat was due to a raid on Lal Masjid and that his promise to quit politics changed. Till 2006 sheikh Rasheed influence with political parties as a minister at different sectors²⁸³.

4.4.7.1 Origin

When he acknowledged fame as minister so in 2006 He left PML-Q as a senior vice-president and founded his own political party, Awami Muslim League (AML), where he became its president. In 2010, AMLP lost a by-election in Rawalpindi to Malik Shakeel Awan, despite supporting Musharraf's military operation against militants and the Siege of Lal Masjid. AMLP

²⁸² AMLP background, April 28 2013, <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on October, 2023)

²⁸³ AMLP history and emergence, August, 14 2014, <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on October, 2023)

made alliance with PTI in the 2013 general election. Sheikh Rasheed requested a merger between his party and Imran Khan's PTI, but the PTI chose not to. He was re-elected as a member of the National Assembly from Rawalpindi for the seventh time. He is known for making witty remarks and switching political allegiances²⁸⁴. In 2017, he was chosen by the PTI as a candidate for prime minister but was unsuccessful. He was re-elected in the 2018 general election.

4.4.7.2 Government Ambitions

Sheikh Rasheed served as the National Assembly minister six times from 1985 to 2002, initially as part of PMLQ. In 2006, he left the party and established AMLP, gaining influence during the Musharraf regime. In 2010, Rasheed was no longer an elected representative when Musharraf stepped down. In 2013, the party won one NA seat in Rawalpindi's NA55 and NA56 elections. In 2018, the party announced a merger with PTI, gaining one NA seat from Rawalpindi's NA55 and NA56²⁸⁵.

4.4.7.3 Ideology

AMLP established as a Centre party with ideological foundation of Islamism and conservatism. Support of mass politics and secular ideologies that emphasizing value of masses as compare to elites²⁸⁶.

4.4.8 Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)

4.4.8.1 Political Alliance

Political alliances are formed by organizing political parties to pursue a common political goal. They require deep political insight, involvement, and agreement to pool resources and

²⁸⁴ AMLP origin and PTI ticket to contest NA-60 by-election". August 20 2018, <http://www.dawn.com/news>, (Accessed on October, 2023)

²⁸⁵ AMLP elections, April, 13 2018, <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on October, 2023)

²⁸⁶ AMLP constitutional ideology 2008, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk.com> (Accessed on November, 2023)

distribute ideas. Alliance politics is a temporary combination of groups or individuals for specific objectives, either short or long term. The 9/11 event led to the US invasion of Afghanistan, causing Pakistani society to become anti-American. This led to the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood (MMA) as a voice against America, expressing hatred and anti-US sentiments. Experts believe this invasion exacerbated concerns towards Israel and the world's suffering due to the American war against terrorism²⁸⁷.

Pervez Musharraf's crackdown on Madrasa education and Jihadi after 9/11 fueled anti-US stance in Pakistan. Musharraf proposed changes to the madrasa curriculum, but failed to receive satisfactory results. His crackdown was seen as a way to please the US and convince Americans of his devotion to US interests. This led to the formation of MMA as a strong alliance. Pakistani religious-political organizations have been working since 1947 to achieve their agendas, focusing on Islamization and religio-socialization. They achieved early gains in Islamization through the Objectives Resolution of 1949 and gaining Shariah laws during military dictator Gen Zia ul Haq's rule. However, they still struggle for absolute Islamization²⁸⁸.

4.4.8.2 MMA Network and Approach

The MMA's rise is notable for its cohesiveness, with prominent figures like Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani-led JUP, (Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan) Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman's JUI-F, (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam) Sami-ul Haq's JUI-S, (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam) Sajjid Mir's Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith, Allama Sajid Naqvi's Pakistan Islami Tehrik, and Qazi Hussain Ahmed's JI (Jamaat-e-Islami)²⁸⁹.

²⁸⁷ Muhammad Naeem Zafar, and Azra Asghar Ali. (2018) "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan." *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 38, no. 2, 651-663.

²⁸⁸ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 13

²⁸⁹ Zafar, "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan" 653

Noorani led the JUP, while Qazi Hussain headed the JI. The joint venture between Islamic religious schools, including Shias, Sunnis, Barlevis, and Deobandis, surprised everyone and has led to a renewed interest in strengthening the platform. Mr. Qazi Hussain Ahmed stated that the alliance benefits all religious parties and that leaving it would be foolish. The positive feature is the unity of religious parties on common interests.

The MMA formed a strong alliance and unity before the election process, with madrasas playing a crucial role in supporting the organization. With over 6,000 madrassas in Pakistan, 2,333 belong to Deoband, 1625 from Brailvi, 224 from Ahle hadith, and 163 from Shia. 815 madrassas are affiliated with JUI (F), Jamiat-ul-Pakistan, Sipah-e-Sahaba, and Tehrik e Jafria²⁹⁰. Due to the lack of a proper education system, there is an increase in unemployment cases in the country. Madrassas are serving the needs of the people by providing education, free entry exams, boarding fees, and food. They also provide dignity, respect, and job opportunities in mosques. Non-religious party members are not as diligent in their activities.

4.4.8.3 MMA Formation

The MMA was an electoral alliance of six religious parties, including Jammat-i-Islami, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam, Sami-ul-Haq, Jamiat-yl-Ulema-i-Pakistan (Noorani), Jamit-i-Ahle-i-Hadith, and Tehrik-i-Islam. After the Jamiat-i-Ahle-i-Hadith left, Shah Ahmed Noorani became the President²⁹¹.

4.4.8.4 Manifestation of MMA

The MMA issued a 15-point political manifesto aimed at promoting Islam and creating fear of Allah and affection for the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to serve humanity. They emphasized the need for a true Islamic Republic in Pakistan, promoting peace, harmony, cooperation, and

²⁹⁰ Zafar, "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan" 655

²⁹¹ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 15

responsibility among people. Other key points included citizens' rights, the development of the human economic system, halal job opportunities, uniform justice, and improvements in policing, education, and literacy. The manifesto also emphasized the development of a God-fearing, helping, brave, and protecting police system. The MMA also emphasized the rights of women, restoring their honor and prestige as provided by Islam²⁹².

4.4.8.4 Government Ambitions

4.4.8.4.1 LFO (Legal Framework Order) and MMA

In 2002, Musharraf announced a Referendum for his election as President of Pakistan, following the tradition of former military dictators Ayub Khan and Zia ul Haq. The government used all resources to win the referendum, and Musharraf was declared President for five years. The MMA challenged the Referendum's conduct and criticized the electoral process. Musharraf introduced changes to the constitutional structure, electoral system, and time span of the election campaign, aiming to legitimize the dictatorship and grant Musharraf the privilege of serving as both Chief of Army Staff and President. Jamaat-e-Islami opposed the LFO, arguing it was destructive to democracy and did not follow constitutional procedures.

They viewed it as an attempt to subordinate civil society and institutions to the military dictator. Despite strong reactions, MMA never challenged the LFO in any court. Islamist parties criticized the Musharraf Government's policies but supported their power structure²⁹³. In 2002 elections Musharraf supported MMA and PML to counter Pakistan Muslim League and PPP's political strength. He incorporated Islamists into his power scheme and announced a financial package for Madaris. The military government granted MMA concessions for rallies

²⁹² Zafar, "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan" 661

²⁹³ Lubna Kanwal, "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf Era" *Zia-e-Tahqeeq* 9, (2019). no. 17

and processions, allowing candidates from Madaris to contest elections with Madaris certificates equivalent to university bachelor's degrees.

MMA used the Holy Quran as an electoral symbol, attracting religious masses. MMA, a weak Islamist party, won 67 constituencies and became the third major party. MMA won 46 out of 97 seats in NWFP Assembly and 14 out of 48 in Balochistan, but only captured 7 and 10 seats in Punjab and Sindh²⁹⁴. Newspapers linked MMA's success to America's interference in Pakistani affairs and its high-handed tactics in Afghanistan. MMA promoted elections as a contest between foreign-secular elements and Islamists, while some circles accused MMA of being American agents facilitating American and Jewish presence at Pakistan airfields.

MMA struggled to appoint Maulana Fazlur Rehman as Pakistan's Prime Minister, but negotiations with Musharraf government failed. Mir Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali emerged as PML-Q Prime Minister, and Rehman became opposition leader. The MMA gained political strength after the 2002 election, leading to a rise in Pathan nationalism in NWFP²⁹⁵. In 2003, MMA organized a Million March protest against the US attack on Iraq, calling for a countrywide strike. They also issued a fatwa declaring military troop deployment to Iraq as religiously illegal and restricted Ulama from holding funeral prayers for soldiers killed in the Iraq War. Qazi Hussain Ahmad accused the government of exploiting foreign agencies and humiliating national heroes. He criticized the MMA's Black Day on January 1, 2005, and the Federal Board of Investigation's efforts to resolve Kashmir issues. Ahmad also accused Musharraf of bypassing Parliament on important issues²⁹⁶.

During the Musharraf Era, Islamist parties emerged as a force in 2002, countering popular political forces like PPP and PML-N. MMA criticized Musharraf's policies on Kashmir,

²⁹⁴ Zafar, "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan" 660

²⁹⁵ Kanwal, "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf Era" 14

²⁹⁶ Zafar, "MMA and Alliance Politics in Pakistan" 663

Afghanistan, and Iraq, but struggled to gain public support for the Women Protection Bill. Despite organizing rallies, MMA supported the LFO, NSC, and 17th Amendment, institutionalizing President Musharraf's position. Internal conflict and division led to MMA's failure to influence state policies, with JI being more hard-liner against Musharraf's policies²⁹⁷.

The Sharia Act 2003 and Hasba Bill 2005 in NWFP led to sentiments against the Muslim Brotherhood (MMA) in the NWFP. MMA's education and health policies failed to meet expectations, and its response to poverty, equality, security, and justice was insufficient. Politics revolved around personalities and patronage, and MMA struggled to shake off its fundamentalist image. The Awami National Party replaced MMA in the 2008 Provincial election, causing them to lose their place in the General Elections²⁹⁸.

JI and JUI-F participated in the 2013 General Election, in their individual receiving a 20.38% vote against the PTI. JI joined the PTI coalition government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In 2018, MMA revived but only secured 5 National Assembly seats. To maintain power, MMA violated its aims, objectives, and ideology, playing a dual role as opposition and government party. This compromised its agenda, leading to public support for MMA²⁹⁹.

4.4.8.5 Ideology

The formation of MMA is right-wing to far-right with the ideological foundation of Islamism that interpreting Islam within the context of society, Islamic conservatism and social conservatism that preserving traditional institutions, customs, and values. The MMA support concept of conservatism against to modernity favors to nuclear family, organized religion, military, property rights, and monarchy³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁷ Kanwal, "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf Era" 14

²⁹⁸ Kanwal, "Islamist politics in Pakistan, MMA during Musharraf Era" 14

²⁹⁹ Mahmood, "Regional political parties: challenge to political stability of Pakistan" 20

³⁰⁰ Report by Election Commission of Pakistan, MMA alliances constitutional ideology, 2002, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/com> (Accessed on May 2023)

4.4.9 Grand Democratic Alliances

4.4.9.1 Origin

The Grand Democratic Alliance, a regionalist political group in Sindh, Pakistan, was established on October 23, 2017, to challenge the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government in Sindh, accusing it of poor governance, fascism, and corruption, citing the people's dissatisfaction. The Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA) was formed in Pakistan on October 23, 2017, with leaders participating in its first official meeting in November 2017³⁰¹. The alliance aims to defeat the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the Sindh province, a stronghold of the PPP.

The GDA opposes the feudal system in Sindh, which is supported by the PPP, and supports anti-feudal elements against the PPP in Sindh, along with Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. GDA is the alliance of six regional political parties of Sindh with the political position of Centre right, Centre-left, Left-wing, Far-left³⁰². Parties of GDA Qaumi Awami Tehreek headed by (Ayaz Latif Paliyo), Pakistan Muslim League (F) headed by (Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi), Sindh National Front headed by (Mumtaz Bhutto), Pakistan People's Party Workers headed by (Safdar Abbasi), Pakistan People's Party (Shaheed Bhutto) headed by (Ghinwa Bhutto) and National People's Party (Murtaza Jatoi).

4.4.9.2 Government Ambitions

In 2013, the PPP ruled Sindh province, with incompetent Chief Minister Syed Qaim Ali Shah. The Supreme Court declared Qaim Ali Shah's PPP government ineligible, leading to a worse law and order situation. Karachi was the worst affected, with over 8,000 people killed in terrorism and targeted killings during his six-and-a-half-year rule. The political situation in

³⁰¹ GDA an anti-alliance of PPP, Dec, 11 2017, <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on November, 2023)

³⁰² "Pakistan General Election: GDA may pose formidable challenge to ruling PPP in Sindh", July, 14 2018. <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on November, 2023)

Sindh was unclear before the 2018 elections. The internal disintegration of the MQM in Karachi, Sindh, led to candidates from PPP, PTI, Jamaat-e-Islami, NNP Karachi, and suburbs³⁰³.

The Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA), formed before the 2018 elections, was the largest and strongest alliance against the PPP in Sindh. The alliance included nationalist politicians, former ruling leaders, and big names in parliamentary politics. The GDA formed alliances with Dr. Zulfiqar Mirza, Fehmida Mirza, Hasnain Mirza, Syed Jalal Mahmood Shah, Syed Zain Shah, and Ayaz Latif Palejo.

The alliance formed electoral alliances and seat adjustments with the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, and other nationalist parties in Sindh. The GDA did not field any candidate against the strong PTI candidates across Sindh. The alliance was the strongest and united against the PPP in Sindh, with the PTI claiming victory with the help of the GDA³⁰⁴. In the 2018 Pakistani general election, the GDA formed a coalition with Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf to defeat the PPP. The GDA won 14 seats in the Provincial Assembly of Sindh and 3 seats in the National Assembly, gaining nearly 15% of the vote in Sindh³⁰⁵.

4.4.9.3 Ideology

The political position of GDA is Centre with the ideological foundation of anti-PPPP, anti-feudalism. This alliance will be work for the development of rural areas of Sindh, national, normative, or economic interests of this region, group, or subnational entity are strengthened or aimed at strengthening the consciousness and loyalty of a homogeneous population. The

³⁰³ Mukhtar, "Pakistan General Election: GDA may pose formidable challenge to ruling PPP in Sindh", July, 18 2018. <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on November, 2023)

³⁰⁴ GDA 2018 election and PTI coalition, <https://tribune.com.pk/grand-democratic-alliance>, (Accessed on June 2023)

³⁰⁵ GDA 2018 election and PTI coalition, <https://tribune.com.pk/grand-democratic-alliance>, (Accessed on June 2023)

ideology of this alliance will be work on catch all party system with big tent (Catch all party is a political party with members from a wide range of beliefs, unlike other parties that defend a specific ideology, seek voters who align with it, and try to persuade people towards it)³⁰⁶.

4.5 Evolution of Balochistan Regional Parties

4.5.1 History

Baluchistan and Pakistan have a history of insurgencies, starting with the first Baloch Insurgency in 1948, which was based on the State of Kalat joining Pakistan. The second insurgency developed from the One-Unit formula in 1955, and the third Baloch uprising began in 1973 when Prime Minister Bhutto disbanded the Baluchistan Provincial Assembly. The Baloch uprisings were short-lived, but the most destructive was the prolonged one during Zia's reign.

Despite peaceful democratic administrations, inter-tribal clashes occurred, culminating in Musharraf's assassination of Nawaz Sharif's second administration in 1999. Baluchistan's province had minimal influence on mainstream political decisions, with federal-level decisions on provincial matters. Important decisions were made by military brass and civil bureaucracy in Islamabad, reflecting a tribal culture³⁰⁷. The central government in Pakistan contacts tribal heads before drafting policies for tribal territories, as tribal leaders play a significant role in internal affairs. Pakistani politicians use tribal chiefs for their ends, resulting in a system that endures due to lack of understanding and change among indigenous people.

4.5.2 1970, General Election and the Begging of Electables Politics in Baluchistan

Baluchistan's Provincial Assembly was established on March 30, 1970, following the

³⁰⁶ GDA alliances constitutional ideology, 2017, <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/com>(Accessed on June 2023)

³⁰⁷Sajjad Akhter, Abdul Waheed, and Qamar Abid. "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan: Concerning the Emergence of the Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP)." *Perennial Journal of History* 3, (2022). no. 2, 261-279.

province's declaration as a separate entity. The assembly held its first election on December 17, 1970, with NAP and JUI forming a coalition government. On May 2, 1972, the Baluchistan Assembly convened with 21 members in Quetta, led by Sardar Attaullah Mengal as chief minister and Ghous Bakhsh Raisani as opposition leader. The assembly, led by prominent tribal figures, established a non-tribal political base in Baluchistan.

Following the 1970 military overthrow, the NAP was dominated by Baloch ballots, leading to tribal chiefs and feudalists taking power³⁰⁸. This led to tribal leaders' lack of public support and poor development, while the sardari system was responsible for poverty, illiteracy, and inaccessibility to clean water. The federal government's support for the Sardari system influenced Baluchistan's administration, with nationalist parties motivated by anti-secularism, anti-feudalism, and anti-lords, while pro-central parties prioritized feudalism and landlords, leading to tribal-based parties and administration lacking a commitment to decent governance.

4.5.3 History of Switching Party Politics in Baluchistan

In 1970, NAP and JUI formed a coalition government in Baluchistan, but federal government led by Zulfikar Bhutto disrupted the coalition and dismissed Attaullah Mengal as chief minister. Following the ban of NAP, several regional parties emerged in Baluchistan, particularly ethno-nationalist parties, which differentiate Baluchistan's politics based on language, culture, and area³⁰⁹.

4.5.4 General Election 2008 and Political Environment in Baluchistan

In 2002, army dictator General Musharraf introduced Pakistan Muslim League (PMLQ), forcing regional politicians in Baluchistan to join military-supported parties. Many elected leaders joined PMLQ, bypassing political roles and Baluchistan's people's wishes. In 2008,

³⁰⁸Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan (BAP)." 270

³⁰⁹Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan (BAP)." 270

after General Musharraf resigned as president, the political environment in Baluchistan changed, leading to a new political form suitable for elected provincial assembly members.

In 2008, she gained a majority in the coalition government formed with JUI, ANP, and other nationalist parties due to the shift of electables from PMLQ to PPP³¹⁰. In 2013, Pakistan's PPP administration was ousted and Governor's Rule was implemented following twin suicide bombings targeting Hazara Shias. Sit-ins in Quetta sought the ouster of the PPP and JUI-F coalition government, leading to Governor Magsi as Baluchistan's main executive.

4.5.5 2013, General Election and Era of Political Engineering and Switching Party Politics in Baluchistan's Political System

In 2013, the PML (N) formed a coalition government with Abdul Malik Baloch as chief minister. The top three parties, PML-N, PKMAP, and NP, signed the Murree Agreement, alternating chief minister roles for two and a half years. The province was disrupted by a no-confidence resolution against the chief minister, supported by former cabinet members, leading to resignations and dismissals, attributed to 'hidden hands'. Sanaullah Khan Zehri resigned as Chief Minister of Baluchistan in January 2018, after discussions with insurgents failed³¹¹. The party's top command was embroiled in a no-confidence vote, leading to Abdul Quddus Bizenjo being chosen as Chief Minister and Leader of the House. Baluchistan's politics depend on the majority of any party in the federal government, with a new political party emerging just before the 2018 general election.

4.5.6 2018 General Election and Power

Balochistan's provincial elections saw the MMA win four out of five seats, particularly in the Pashtun belt. The National Party, representing pro-federation Baloch nationalists, lost a seat.

³¹⁰Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan (BAP)." 272

³¹¹ Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan: (BAP)." 261-279.

Both were allies of Nawaz Sharif and part of the ruling coalition before the coup. Other big winners included the Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), formed with dissidents from PMLN and PMLQ, and the Balochistan National Party of Akhtar Mengal. The PTI opened its account in Balochistan for the first time.

4.5.7 Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP)

Despite Baluchistan's politics being severely fractious, national parties have not been very active there. Tribal leaders make up the majority, and individuals or electables dominate politics more so than parties. Even regional organisations that focus on individuals include the Pakhtun's Party, the PKMAP, the Baloch Nationalist Party, the BNP (Mengal), and even the National Party (predominantly middle class). Elections have been difficult to hold because of the province's oppressive security presence, the conflict's length of more than ten years, and the alienation of the Baloch. Both Baloch and Pashtun "electables" make up the Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP), a political party founded by the military. In the province, BAP is projected to perform well³¹².

The formation of a new political party in Pakistan's biggest geographically situated province, Baluchistan, garnered national broadcasting interest. The chief minister of the province and rebellious members of the PML-N and PML-Q founded the Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP), also known as the "Party of Baluchistan's People," on March 29. Politicians with surnames associated with influence in Baluchistan make up the BAP. They are powerful tribal leaders that govern their regions like monarchs with little regard for the law. Because they crush any political opposition, they consistently win elections³¹³.

³¹²Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan: (BAP)." 261-279.

³¹³Subhan, "Regional political Parties& democracy: a case study of Balochistan." 219-231.

4.5.7.1 Origin

The BAP is a groundbreaking initiative, allowing politicians to stand for Baluchistan's rights without ethnic nationalism. The sudden birth of the Baluchistan People's Party (BAP) has two opposing views: one posits it was created by Baluch politicians with federalist and ethnic nationalist impulses, and the other suggests it was created by the powerful Pakistani establishment. The BAP's founding group's ability to accomplish so much in such a short time is questionable, as there is no hard evidence to support these claims.

The BAP's potential coalition government in Pakistan's economically underdeveloped state could lead to the tribal aristocracy maintaining power, violating democratic ideals of preventing power concentration, as they would continue to hold power after winning at least 20 seats in the provincial parliament. The Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP), founded by 69-year-old Saeed Ahmed Hashmi, is rumored to be the army's political engineering tool in Baluchistan. Hashmi, who has overthrown three provincial administrations, has been involved in such actions³¹⁴. Baluchistan's parliamentary history has never seen a single party win a two-thirds majority in the provincial legislature, with traditionally coalition administrations deferring to their political partners' interests³¹⁵.

4.5.7.2 Government Ambitions

Balochistan National Party (Awami), formed in 1997, is a regional political party in Balochistan. It was formed after a dispute over election rigging. Currently, its president is Mir Israr Ullah Zehri, who is a senator. The party secured two National Assembly and Balochistan assembly seats in 2008, but boycotted the presidential election. It has a single member in Balochistan.

³¹⁴ Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan: (BAP)." 261-279.

³¹⁵ Saleem Shahid, BAP coalition government with BNP, July 31 2018 <http://www.dawn.com/news/> (Accessed on march, 2023)

The 2013 elections led to a hung parliament, leading to a coalition government formed by the Pakistan Muslim League (N), National Party, and Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. A power-sharing agreement was broken, dividing the province's Chief Ministership tenure. NP's Abdul Malik Baloch served as chief minister from 2013 to 2015, but was replaced by PML-N's Sanaullah Khan Zehri in 2018³¹⁶. In 2018 elections Balochistan Awami Party (BAP) which was believed to be a creation of the 'establishment' which brought together all the 'electables' under the BAP umbrella, won four seats. BAP secure five seats of National Assembly in 2018 election. In provincial assembly BAP newly form a biggest party.

4.5.7.3 Ideology

Balochistan Awami party formed as a Centre-left party with the ideological foundation of Pakistan nationalism, balochistan nationalism, federalism, social democracy, and progressivism. Party focused on development of Balochistan, protect the values and ethnicity of the rural population. The slogan of party is good, transparent and effective governance.

4.5.8 Balochistan National Party

The Baluchistan National Party, founded in 1996 by Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal, served as Chief Minister of Baluchistan during the 1972-73 coalition government of NAP and JUI. However, his government was dismissed by ZA Bhutto, and he, along with other prominent Baloch leaders, were jailed on charges of destabilizing Pakistan on hearsay. In 1997, BNP secured three national assembly seats and ten provincial assembly seats in Balochistan, forming a coalition government with Akhtar Mengal as Chief Minister. However, his government was unable to persist due to differences with the central government. The BNP protested in 2002 due to Pervez Musharraf's coup, and some party members contested the election as independent

³¹⁶ Akhter, "The Politics of Electables in Baluchistan: (BAP)." 261-279.

candidates. When military operations began in Balochistan, Akbar Bugti was killed, and all members resigned³¹⁷.

Akhtar Mengal was arrested by Musharraf's government in 2006 and remained in prison for 1.5 years, where he was ill-treated. A Council Session was held in 2009, with Mengal as president, Jahanzeb Jamaleni as senior vice president, and Sajid Tareen as vice president.

Today, BNP's central cabinet includes Sardar Mengal as president, Dr. Jehanzeb Jamaldini as Secretary General, Malak Abdul Wali Kakar as senior vice president, Agha Musa Jan Bach as vice president, Laal Jan Baloch as Deputy Secretary-General, Nazir Ahmed Baloch as Joint Secretary, Agha Hassan Baloch as Central Secretary Information, and Malak Nasir Ahmed Shahwani as Central Finance Secretary³¹⁸

4.5.8.1 Government Ambitions

In 1997, BNP formed a coalition government in Balochistan, with Akhtar Mengal as Chief Minister, but the government was short-lived due to divisions between the Provincial and Federal Governments. BNP has not participated in any elections since the dismissal of their first government in 2002. This was due to General Pervez Musharraf's October 1999 military coup, which allowed the pro-military religious alliance to win most moderate and nationalist constituencies. However, some party members participated independently, including Mir Akbar Mengal and Mir Akhtar Hussain Langove³¹⁹.

In 2006, Pakistani Army killed BNP leader Bugti, leading to four of its representatives resigning from their National and provincial Assemblies positions. In 2006, Akhtar Mengal was arrested for ordering security guards to beat up secret service personnel, claiming they tried to kidnap his children. He was placed in an iron cage during his trial. Mengal was released

³¹⁷ Subhan, "Regional political Parties& democracy: a case study of Balochistan." 219-231.

³¹⁸ Haris Gazdar, "Bugti and the Baloch cause." Economic and Political Weekly 41, no. 39, 4100.

³¹⁹ Syed Ali Shah, Balochistan National Party – Profile". April 16, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news>,

in 2008 after the Pakistan Peoples Party government took power. BNP-M chief Sardar Akhtar Mengal boycotted the 2008 elections and has been living in self-exile in Dubai³²⁰.

BNP chief Akhtar Mengal returned from exile to contest the 2013 elections, but won only two seats in the Balochistan Assembly and National Assembly. Initially rejecting election results, three lawmakers later sat on opposition benches, claiming widespread rigging. In 2018 election BNP Mengal secure 14 National Assembly seats all 14 from Balochistan³²¹.

4.5.8.2 Ideology

BNP Mengal formed as a left-wing political party in Balochistan that believes in more provincial rights and greater autonomy for Baluchistan province through peaceful and democratic struggle. The party ideological foundation on ethnicity and cultural value of Baloch nationalism. Left wing party work for the protection and sovereignty of self-determination, anti-imperialism, national liberation and social equality. As leftist wing political party support social democracy and secularism³²².

4.5.8.3 Origin

The Balochistan National Party (BNP), led by Ataullah Mengal, was established in 1996 to advocate for the Baloch people's interests. The party has been vocal about military presence in the province, political worker killings, and enforced disappearances³²³.

4.5.9 Jamhoori Watan Party

JWP, founded in 1990 by former Balochistan governor Shaheed Nawab Akbar Bugti, secured two National Assembly and provincial assembly seats in the 2002 election under Pervez

³²⁰ BNP acting chief arrested". Daily Times. December 2, 2006 <http://www.dailytime.com/news> , (Accessed on May, 2023)

³²¹ BNP 2018 elections, July 17 2018. <http://www.dawn.com/news> , (Accessed on May, 2023)

³²²Report by Election Commission of Pakistan, "BNP constitutional ideology, 1996" <https://www.ecp.gov.pk>. (Accessed on October 2023).

³²³Syed Ali shah, BNP origin, April, 16 2013, <http://www.dawn.com/news> , (Accessed on May, 2023)

Musharraf. After his assassination, his son Talal became chairman. The party has been split into two after the assassination of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti in a military action in August 2006. One faction of the party is headed by Nawabzada Brahm dagh Khan Bugti, the grandson of late Nawab Bugti, who is now leading the armed conflict. This group has announced that it will not take part in elections³²⁴.

The other group led by Nawabzada Talal Akbar Bugti, the son of Nawab Bugti, is not only persuaded to participate in general elections but has also declared that the party would continue its struggle within the constitutional framework. Currently, Shahzain Bugti leads JWP, with Gohram Bugti as provincial president, Syed Salih Agha as Vice-Senior President, and Mir Naseeb Ullah Shahwani as General Secretary. Intra-party democracy is lacking, with dynastic leadership prevalent and encouraged. JWP has boycotted numerous elections, which has narrowed its party further. The party has broken away into factions, which discourages supporters and hinders its progress towards a successful party³²⁵.

4.5.9.1 Government Ambitions

The Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), major nationalist parties which had participated in the 2002 general elections. The JWP, founded by Nawab Bugti, gained more seats in the 1990 general elections than any other political party. However, it couldn't form a government in the province due to Bugti's strong stand during Benazir Bhutto's first term as prime minister, advocating for the rights of the Baloch. The party's number of seats declined in the 1993, 1997, and 2002 general elections.

The JWP, after Nawab Bugti's death, faced significant pressure and lost four general seats in the provincial assembly and one reserved seat for women. The party's performance in the

³²⁴Subhan, "Regional political Parties& democracy: a case study of Balochistan." 226

³²⁵ Subhan, "Regional political Parties& democracy: a case study of Balochistan." 226

National Assembly was worse, with members voting for General Pervez Musharraf in 2002 presidential elections. Talal Bugti's faction faces bleak chances in upcoming elections due to large-scale migration due to military operation, while opponents enjoy government support and powerful agencies³²⁶. Party lose the fame after assassination of Akbar Bugti but in 2018 JWP secure 1 national assembly seat from Balochistan.

4.5.9.2 Ideology

Ideological foundation of this party is republication, social equality, emphasizing the idea of self-rule, ranges from the rule of a representative minority or oligarchy to popular sovereignty. The ideology will be work for the Baloch people, native to Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, form a distinct nation with modern Baloch nationalism originating from the partition of British India and Pakistan's independence³²⁷.

4.5.9.3 Origin

In 1988, Akbar Khan Bugti joined the Balochistan National Alliance and became Chief Minister. He resigned after the provincial assembly was dissolved in 1990. He formed the Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP), which gained popularity in Balochistan. He was elected to the new provincial assembly and later to the National Assembly of Pakistan, representing JWP in Parliament. In 1997, he was re-elected to the National Assembly³²⁸.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter covered, Pakistan's constitutional structure governing IPD, provide a thorough explanation and in-depth analysis of the nation's political party laws 2017 and the criteria for member ship of party, establishment of parties and the code of conduct for political parties.

³²⁶ JWP elections, October 29, 2007, <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on November, 2023)

³²⁷Report by Election Commission of Pakistan, JWP constitutional ideology, 1989, , <https://www.ecp.gov.pk/com> (Accessed on November 2023)

³²⁸ Subhan, "Regional political Parties& democracy: a case study of Balochistan." 226

The country's 1973 constitution explain political parties that require to abide by the code of conduct established by each political party. Secondly, a profile of each political party have covered the list of party-specific variables (origin, ideology, government ambitions) of twelve political parties of 2018 elections who securing votes and became parliamentary parties.

CHAPTER FIVE

Mainstream and Regional Political Parties: An Analysis

This chapter endeavours to present and interpret the results achieved from the party profiles in the previous chapters based on the catalogue of four variables, i.e., age, origin, ideology, and government ambition, and besides that, the parameters of intra-party democracy in any party, i.e., representation, responsiveness, participation, competition, and transparency explain that are the main parameters of any democratic country in their political party constitution. On the basis of these parameters and variables, I conducted a questionnaire sampling method to get more significant results. More significantly, the purpose is to assess the effectiveness of existing concepts in explaining the value and likelihood of IPD in the political parties of Pakistan, a developing democracy.

To explain my variable questionnaire sample had been divided into 50 bachelor's students of NUML (National University of Modern Languages), the sample size of this questionnaire was 50 that covered the title of intra-party democracy in regional and political parties only focused in those parties who securing seats in national assembly at 2018 elections.

On the basis of the respondents' responses to my variables, I made results to explain and show that either these are part of the democratic way of constitution of Pakistan or somewhere these parties make some lack.

Variables of main stream parties are distributed into 14 and the same as regional political party variables. Below, I explain the results that I got from my respondents during the survey.

5.1 Questionnaire Sample and the Respondents

5.1.1 Mainstream Political Parties

i) Are you satisfied that the top leaders of the parties elected or appointed through intra-party elections? Table 8

S. No	Categories	Total number	Respondent	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	07	14%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	14	28%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	11	22%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	08	16%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	10	20%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about the selection of top political leaders in mainstream parties either these leader selected or appointed through intra-party elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied the prevailing process of selection of leadership i.e. 28% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 22% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 16% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 20% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, 14% respondent said “very satisfied” the prevailing procedure of leadership selection in mainstream political parties.

(ii), Are intra- party elections conducted regularly, as per the party's constitution and rules? Table 9

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	05	10%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	09	18%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	20	40%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	06	12%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	10	20%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about within party election, either these parties follow their constitution and rules for regular base within parties’ elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied

on regular basis and fair elections i.e. 18% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 40% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 12% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 20% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 10% respondent said “very satisfied” to the regular base election within parties according to their constitution.

(iii) Are the mainstream parties encouraging the participation of grassroots members in decision making processes? Table 10

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	06	12%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	16	32%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	12	24%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	07	14%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	09	18%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding decision maker policy either these parties encouraging participation of grassroots individuals. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied of decision making policies i.e. 32% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 24% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 14% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 18% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 12% respondent said “very satisfied” on decision maker policy and the encouragement of grassroots individuals.

(iv) Are there any instances of interference or influence from external actors in the party's internal election processes? Table 11

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	04	08%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	09	18%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	18	36%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	14	28%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	05	10%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the influence of internal factors in party elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied and satisfied the external factor in party elections i.e. 18% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 36% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 28% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 10% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 08% respondent said “very satisfied” on the influence of external factors within parties elections.

(v) Are the mainstream political parties following their constitution to change the leadership positions in their parties? Table 12

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	10	20%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	15	30%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	12	24%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	03	03%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	10	20%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding either mainstream political parties following their constitutions to change the leadership position or static leadership. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied to follow the constitution of parties for changing of leadership position i.e. 30% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 24% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 03% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 20% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, 20% respondent said “very satisfied” on the leadership position of the party.

(vi) Are there any mechanism for the parties to deal with their members' grievances and concerns about the internal affairs of the party? Table 13

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	09	18%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	16	32%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	12	24%

4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	07	14%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	06	12%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding specific mechanism of the parties to deal with their members about the party internal affairs. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied with specific tools to dealt with individual during internal affairs i.e. 32% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 24% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 14% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 12% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 18% respondent said “very satisfied” on parties mechanism that help to deal with party members during party decision making affairs.

(vi) Are there any checks and balances in place to ensure transparency and fairness in candidate selection for elections? Table 14

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	05	10%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	11	22%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	16	32%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	10`	20%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	08	16%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding check and balance to ensure the transparency and fairness of candidate selection for elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied on the check and balance i.e. 22% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 32% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 20% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 16% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 10% respondent said “very satisfied” on the check and balance of fairness and selection of leaders in elections.

(vii) Are the parties emphasizing inclusion and diversity in their top leadership roles and ranks? Table 15

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	05	10%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	10	20%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	15	30%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	08	16%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	07	14%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the emphasizing the diversity of top leaders roles and ranks. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied the prevailing process of role and rank of top rank leadership i.e. 20% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 30% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 16% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 14% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 10% respondent said “very satisfied” on diversity of top leaders roles and ranks.

(viii) Are there any independent bodies or committees responsible for overseeing the party's internal democracy? Table 16

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	13	26%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	15	30%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	07	14%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	06	12%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	09	18%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about either an independent bodies or committees responsible to overseeing the party internal democracy. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied is the responsibility of intra-party democracy of any an independent body or committee i.e. 30% of

respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 14% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 12% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 18% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 26% respondent said “very satisfied” on the overseeing of the internal party democracy.

(ix), Are parties obligated to promote open debates and discussions on policy matters and party ideology? Table 17

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	03	06%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	14	28%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	15	30%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	09	18%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	09	18%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the obligated either they promote open debates and discussion on policy matter and party ideology. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied on open debates and on policy matter and ideology i.e. 28% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 30% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 18% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 18% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 06% respondent said “very satisfied” on the open debates of party matter and party ideology.

(x) Are mainstream parties incorporating youth and women into their decision-making processes? Table 18

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	07	14%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	16	32%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	12	24%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	09	18%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	06	12%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding participation of women and youth in party decision making policy. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied the prevailing process of encouraging of women and youth participation i.e. 32% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 24% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 18% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 12% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, 14% respondent said “very satisfied” on the incorporation of women and youth in party policy making processes.

(xi) Are you thinking that technology can help Pakistani politics become more transparent? Table 19

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	19	38%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	15	30%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	08	16%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	04	08%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	04	08%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the influence of technology to make the parties transparent. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are mostly satisfied the influence of technology results more transparent in democracy i.e. 30% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 16% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 08% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 08% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, 38% respondent said “very satisfied” on the transparency of democracy through the modern technology.

(xii) Are a large financial base and a credit party account reflect the democratic way of Pakistan political parties? Table 20

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	08	16%

2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	17	34%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	15	30%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	07	14%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	03	06%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding either financial base or credit party account reflect the democratic way of political parties. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent limited satisfied or dissatisfied the prevailing process financial base and credit account reflect the political parties of Pakistan i.e. 34% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 30% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 14% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 06% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, 16% respondent said “very satisfied” on the party financial credit and accounts reflect the way of democracy in these parties.

(xiii) Are you satisfied with the level of democracy in mainstream parties? Table 21

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Very satisfied	50	02	04%
2.	Somewhat satisfied	50	04	08%
3.	Dissatisfied	50	18	36%
4.	Somewhat dissatisfied	50	10	20%
5.	Very dissatisfied	50	16	32%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the level of democracy in mainstream political parties of Pakistan. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are dissatisfied the democratic nature of political parties i.e. 08% of respondents said “somewhat satisfied”, 36% respondents said “dissatisfied”, 20% respondents said “somewhat dissatisfied”. Furthermore, 10% respondent said “very dissatisfied” whereas, only 08% respondent said “very satisfied” on the level of democracy in the mainstream political parties.

Regional Political Parties

- (i) **Does the leaders of the regional parties elected or appointed at the intra-party election? Table 22**

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	04	08%
2.	Agree	50	07	14%
3.	Neutral	50	08	16%
4.	Disagree	50	31	62%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	10	20%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the selection of party leader in intra-party elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not agree for selection of leadership in regional political parties i.e. 62 % of respondents said “disagree”, 16% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views 20% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 14% respondent said “agree” whereas, only 08% respondent said “strongly agree” on the selection of leadership in regional political parties.

- (ii) **Do the regional parties allow the membership to be involved in the decision-making process? Table 23**

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	05	10%
2.	Agree	50	10	20%
3.	Neutral	50	15	30%
4.	Disagree	50	16	32%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	04	08%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the involvement of members in party decision making policies. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not agree for participation of members decision making policies in regional political parties i.e. 32 % of respondents said “disagree”, 30% respondents said

“neutral”, they even don’t show their views 08% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 20% respondent said “agree” whereas, only 10% respondent said “strongly agree” on membership participation.

(iii) Do you think that intra-party elections conducted regularly as per the party's constitution and rules in regional parties? Table 24

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	04	08%
2.	Agree	50	06	12%
3.	Neutral	50	20	40%
4.	Disagree	50	17	34%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	03	06%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about within party election, either these parties follow their constitution and rules for regular base within parties’ elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are neutral for the fair and regular within party elections i.e. 34% of respondents said “disagree”, 40% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views 06% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 12% respondent said “agree” whereas, 08% respondent said “strongly agree” on the basis of regular elections.

(iv) Do mechanisms exist to ensure fair and transparent elections within the party?

Table 25

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	06	12%
2.	Agree	50	08	16%
3.	Neutral	50	16	32%
4.	Disagree	50	14	28%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	06	12%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding different mechanism that helpful for the fair and transparent elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are neutral and disagree for tools that help full for the transparent elections i.e. 28% of respondents said “disagree”, 32% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 12% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 16% respondent said “agree” whereas, 12% respondent said “strongly agree” on the basic tools for transparent elections in regional political parties.

(v) Do the regional parties have a code of conduct or set of guidelines that regulate how party members should behave? Table 26

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	07	14%
2.	Agree	50	21	42%
3.	Neutral	50	07	14%
4.	Disagree	50	06	12%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	09	18%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding either regional parties set a code of conduct and guideline for the party members that how they behave in party affairs. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are agree that every party set conducted their code or rule of law for their members’ participation i.e. 12% of respondents said “disagree”, 14% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, and 18% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 42% respondent said “agree” whereas, 14% respondent said “strongly agree” for the party guidelines and rule of law for the members behave in party affairs.

(vi) Do the parties promote youth and women's participation in positions of leadership? Table 27

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
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1.	Strongly Agree	50	05	10%
2.	Agree	50	09	18%
3.	Neutral	50	10	20%
4.	Disagree	50	18	36%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	08	16%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about the promotion of youth and women participation in leadership position of party. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not agree i.e. 36% of respondents said “disagree”, 20% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 16% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 18% respondent said “agree” whereas, 10% respondent said “strongly agree” for the promotion concept of women and youth in position of party leadership.

(vii) Do parties have an obligation to promote open discussions and debates about party ideology and policy issues? Table 28

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	07	14%
2.	Agree	50	11	22%
3.	Neutral	50	10	20%
4.	Disagree	50	16	32%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	06	12%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about the obligation of open debates and discussion about party ideology and policy issue. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not fully agree i.e. 32% of respondents said “disagree”, 20% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 12% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 22% respondent said “agree” whereas, 14% respondent said “strongly agree” upon the open discussion and debates of party internal affairs.

(viii) Do the structures and ideologies of regional parties based on the democratic nature of their constitutions? Table 29

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	09	18%
2.	Agree	50	13	26%
3.	Neutral	50	18	36%
4.	Disagree	50	08	16%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	02	04%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding either their basic structure or ideology based on democratic nature of the parties own constitutions. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are neutral and agree on the party constitutions i.e. 16% of respondents said “disagree”, 36% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 04% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 26% respondent said “agree” whereas, 18% respondent said “strongly agree” on the basic tools for transparent elections in regional political parties.

(ix) Do the parties' internal structure and outer behavior reflect the constitution's democratic nature? Table 30

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	03	06%
2.	Agree	50	05	10%
3.	Neutral	50	12	24%
4.	Disagree	50	20	40%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	10	20%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information about party internal structure and outer behavior is that reflect the democratic nature of their constitution. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not agree to the outer behavior of parties according to their constitutions even parties are not follow their constitutions as it is i.e. 40% of respondents said “disagree”, 24% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 20% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 10% respondent said “agree”

whereas, only 06% respondent said “strongly agree” on the outer behavior of party member and leadership.

(x) Are there any check and balance in place to ensure transparency and fairness in candidate selection for elections? Table 31

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	04	08%
2.	Agree	50	05	10%
3.	Neutral	50	07	14%
4.	Disagree	50	21	42%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	12	24%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding check and balance for the selection of candidates in elections. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are not agree on any check and balance for the transparent candidates selection for elections i.e. 42% of respondents said “disagree”, 14% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 24% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 10% respondent said “agree” whereas, only 08% respondent said “strongly agree” on the check and balance and code conduct for fair and transparent selection of candidates in elections.

(xi) Do you believe that nepotism plays a role in the lack of transparency in Pakistani politics? Table 32

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly agree	50	17	34%
2.	Agree	50	12	36%
3.	Neutral	50	10	20%
4.	Disagree	50	06	12%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	05	10%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the nepotism preference instead of consensus either their effect on the lack of transparency in regional

parties. Obtain information shows that most of the respondents said the actual cause of lack of transparency is nepotism of top leaders i.e. 12% of respondents said “disagree”, 20% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 12% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 36% respondent said “agree” whereas, 34% respondent said “strongly agree” on the basic tool of lack of transparency I n Pakistani politics.

(xi) Do a large financial base and a credit party account reflect the democratic way of Pakistan political parties?

Table 33

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	04	08%
2.	Agree	50	08	16%
3.	Neutral	50	09	18%
4.	Disagree	50	17	34%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	12	24%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding the financial base and credit account shows in regional parties and showing their democratic nature of constitution. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are against the concept of parties financial base and credit accounts show their constitution i.e. % 34of respondents said “disagree”, 18% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 24% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 16% respondent said “agree” whereas, only 08% respondent said “strongly agree” for party financial base and credit accounts with their constitutions.

(xii) Do you think technology can play a role in promoting transparency in Pakistani politics?

Table 34

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	14	28%
2.	Agree	50	18	36%
3.	Neutral	50	09	18%

4.	Disagree	50	07	14%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	02	04%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding role of technology for promoting of regional parties politics. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are agree the way to promoting democracy in parties to expressing their ideological structure and politics behavior tool i.e. 14% of respondents said “disagree”, 18% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, only 04% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 36% respondent said “agree” whereas, 28% respondent said “strongly agree” on the tool to promoting transparency in regional parties politics.

(xii) Do you agree with the level of democracy in regional parties? Table 35

S.no	Categories	Total numbers	Respondents	Percentage
1.	Strongly Agree	50	05	10%
2.	Agree	50	07	14%
3.	Neutral	50	04	08%
4.	Disagree	50	20	40%
5.	Strongly Disagree	50	14	28%

The available data shows the respondent findings for the information regarding level of democracy in regional political parties. Obtain information shows that most of the respondent are disagree according to their views i.e. 40% of respondents said “disagree”, 08% respondents said “neutral”, they even don’t show their views, 28% respondents said “strongly disagree”. Furthermore, 14% respondent said “agree” whereas, 10% respondent said “strongly agree” on the behalf of level of democracy in regional political parties even their attitude toward constituencies.

Results for all Parties Table 36

Party	Age (Years)	Ideology	Government ambition	Expected level of IPD
PML-N	117	Centre-right	High	Low
PPPP	56	Centre-left	High	Moderate
PTI	30	Centre	High	Moderate
MMA	21	Centre-wing to far-wing	High	High
GDA	05	Centre	High	Low
MQM-P	39	Centre-left	High	High
PML Q	21	Centre-right	High	Low
AML P	15	Centre	Low	Low
ANP	37	Centre-left to left-wing	High	High
BAP	05	Centre-left	High	Low
BNP	27	Left-wing	High	Low
JWP	34	Right-wing	Moderate	Low

A casual glance at the results indicates that the degree of intraparty democracy in Pakistani political parties is not entirely satisfying the variables outlined in the research. There is obviously a severe degree of democracy in this situation between the Islamist political parties and the mainstream political parties in Pakistan. The Islamist parties, which I explained as an MMA alliance with the mainstream parties, a general glance at the results suggests that the actual level of IPD in the political parties (PML-N, PPP, PTI, MQM, and ANP) is explained by the variables explained for these parties and an alliance of MMA explained collectively. Given its long history, parliamentary roots, center-right ideology, and strong aspirations for governance, the PML-N ought to have a low enough index of political division (IPD) because these characteristics undermine party internal democracy.

Similarly, the older (older than PML N) PPP has extra-parliamentary roots and follows a center-left ideology with a strong aspiration for government, which is marginally more than PML N but moderate as the model indicated. The model is potentially useful as it predicts a moderate degree of IPD for PTI. The model predicts a high level of IPD for ANP and MQM, which are more promising scenarios. It is interesting to observe that the parties' constitutions and the parameters of my variables are nearly comparable.

The alliances of Islamic parties have a high level of IPD that covers almost all parameters and variables, which are explained in their constitutions, and these parties follow party-specific constitutions and codes of conduct strictly.

Now I am going to discuss the regional parties, i.e., PMLQ, BNP, BAP, JWP, AMLP, and GDA. To explain why PMLQ called this party of necessity, this party was actually established during the Musharraf regime, which had no written constitutional documents that explained their rules of law and code of conduct, a not satisfactory or low level of democracy, and mostly PMLQ coalitions of any party that adopted the same shape as the others.

The regional parties of Balochistan, BAP, BNP, and JWP, do not even represent their constitutions as democratic ways of their parties, and the variables of my research are not satisfactory to apply to these parties. GDA and AMLP, the alliance of Sindh, established it for beating the PPPP in rural areas, and the alliances were made from the regional parties of Sindh, so according to my variables and case study, the level of IPD in these alliances is not satisfactory, just as AMLP, the party of Sheikh Rasheed, contested it on behalf of the PTI agenda..

Over all, the discussion and my findings show that mainstream parties, because of Islamic alliances, have a moderate level of IPD as compared to regional parties, which have a lower level of IPD than mainstream party.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

This research attempted to explain the existence of democracy with in the ideologies of political parties of Pakistan by using theoretical concepts, parties constitutional documents, sampling methods and models that were formulated for established intra-party democracy in political parties. This worked I focused on those political parties who participated in 2018 election and secured seat in National Assembly of Pakistan, the parties of my study based on mainstream and regional both. In Pakistan political parties have long been acknowledged as a fundamental component of modern democracy.

However, neither scholars nor practitioners had come to a comparable consensus regarding intra-party democracy. Some argue that is necessary for democracy throughout the state, while others disagree. Firstly I explained the main concept of democracy in politics and then compare the Pakistani politics with the other world that have a successful modern democracies that either there is any concept of IPD (Intra-Party Democracy) in Pakistani politics. According to Robin T. Pettit's research, there is a significant amount of heterogeneity within parties when it comes to five party-specific factors: age, origin, ideology, style of democracy, and government ambition. Parties are essential to the recruitment of candidates, the linkages between civil society and the legislature, and the design of election campaigns.

USAID supports political parties by emphasizing the importance of internal party democracy, and give details reforms in party structure and practices adopted by individual parties to allow more direct member involvement in public office candidate selection, party leader selection, and policy formulation. However, many parties lack internal democracy and actively discourage participation from its regular members and supporters. Political parties have in fact

frequently been charged with enshrining different interests and impeding democratic advancement. Party internal democracy is something that many call for. Party platforms should, especially, reflect the opinions of its core members and supporters, realising the same democratic values of deliberation, public reason, and participation required of the polity itself, according to "isomorphic" methods. In fact, from their "systemic" perspective, democratising parties can damage democracy as a whole by limiting party leaders' capacity to effectively compete with one another. Intra-party democracy restricts top-level party leaders' centralized control by allowing wider input from stakeholders. Eligible-facing IPD empowers mid-level elites like backbenchers, party officials, and local politicians, endorsed by everyone involved.

Political parties' internal organization procedures and structures have become increasingly subject to external regulations, particularly in the European system. Traditionally private and voluntary, political parties' internal structures remain outside state regulations, which are limited to electoral organization and protecting the democratic order from ideological anti-system parties in some countries. Legal constraints on political parties can undermine democratic principles and transform them into semi-state agencies. However, increased party involvement in internal selection and decision-making processes can benefit parties by encouraging new member enrollment, providing grassroots legitimacy, and presenting a more favorable public image.

Democratizing the political system in which parties function depends on party members being empowered to run the parties more democratically. The decline in party membership is largely due to decisions regarding party organizational structure and practices, a by-product of social change that cannot be reversed. The relationship between party leadership and IPD becomes less silent as power increases, requiring party leadership to select the leader. Political parties often incorporate principles of Individual Participation IPD into their policies, promoting member input. However, defining what constitutes a say is challenging.

Because of the varying conceptualizations and assessments of IPD by various organisations and people, this makes adopting and monitoring it in policy formulation more difficult. Through a variety of ways to participate in policy processes, IPD prioritises consultative engagement with party supporters and the larger community, giving party members a voice in internal policy decisions and moving away from more conventional routes. Through encouraging democratic ideas and involving citizens in politics, political parties play a crucial role in political socialization.

If we talk about Pakistan's political system and democracy are characterized by freedom of association, legal rights, and responsibilities of political parties, as outlined in the 1973 constitution and 2017 Political Parties order. Political parties in the nation are made constitutional by Article 17 of the constitution, which is titled "the freedom of association" in the first chapter of the essential rights. Articles 1, 2, and 3 discuss the right to form associations. Members of a party organisation from different social classes and backgrounds engage in discussions and decision-making within the framework of party structures and authority when they practise intra-party democracy.

The democratization of party systems is increasing in established democracies, with parliamentary systems having distinct leadership and candidate selection institutions. Intra-party democracy involves political parties adhering to democratic principles, with leadership elected merit-based, without top-level appointment. Political parties in Pakistan have remained small and unstable as a result of the state's predominance of an anti-democratic ethos. Yet, the lack of legitimate intra-party elections has been a tremendously demotivating element that has given rise to personality politics and family politics, which has ultimately weakened the party internally.

Sartori defined a political party as an official body that presents candidates for public office, but his concept is now considered archaic due to its lack of structure. But if we see the concept of Sartori its clear apply on the Pakistan political parties that based on hierarchy. Scholars has different concepts and theories on democracy with in any political parties, i.e. Definition by Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo will hold ground here for its wide inclusion of aggregation of interests and its articulation. According to the definition, a political party is an organised group of individuals working together to support predetermined policies and run for political office.³⁸ Robert Dahl believes that political parties should classify the political processes based on two dimensions: political competition and participation. Forst believes that representative institutions should provide for “a fair and effective participation and argumentation.”

Founded in order to bolster Pakistani democracy, the independent, non-governmental Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) conducts research and provides training. For researchers studying intraparty democracy in Pakistan, its papers are extremely important. The political parties under examination are the least democratic, according to the reports from 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016 on "assessing internal democracy of major political parties of Pakistan," which examined eight different political parties.

In a 2005 report, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) recognised that democracy is more than only the rule of law and the protection of human rights. Rather, it is about participation and quality of democracy. Everyone needs to be given the proper role to play. Political parties in Pakistan, according to Shaista and Zia, are more of a cause of separation than of unity as they are family-oriented. They claim that this is one of the reasons why the majority of Pakistanis are cautious about the country's political system. Muhammad Azhar in his article of intra-party democracy that, political parties in Pakistan prioritize personalities over elected leaders, leading to factionalism and division within the party. This lack of a democratic culture at the intra-party level results in a lack of internal democratic

structure, with intra-party elections merely strengthening dynastic politics. To fully realize the advantages of participatory democracy, political parties must articulate public needs, train leadership, and promote responsibility.

Syed Ali Shah's article "Public Perceptions about Democratic Culture in the Political Parties of Pakistan: A Case Study of ANP, PML (N), and PPP" examines the public's perceptions of Pakistan's major parties. A sample of 200 respondents revealed that the political parties' leadership is not democratically chosen, with party leaders often nominating members of decision-making bodies. This undemocratic culture has led to weak institutions and political instability, as the nomination process is not a democratic method of candidate selection.

Thoroughly concept of Pakistani democracy according to various studies analysis some factor of being of lack of democracy in Pakistani politics .i.e. the Pakistan's democracy faces challenges due to multi-ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, the "politics of elimination" of the military and civil establishment, and loss of hope. The importance of choosing ballot over bullet, debate over coercion, tolerance over intolerance, and consensus over self-serving attitude are the main character to implement mostly during elections.

Accepting people as supreme makes countries sovereign. Pakistan's political instability stems from conflicts between the civilian wing, military, and Islamists. The military limits constitutional authority, while the Islamic establishment pressures sharia. Internal conflicts threaten Pakistan's legal and institutional framework, necessitating integration of ungoverned regions, strengthening democratic institutions, policing, and federalization. Pakistan's democratic transition has been marred by flawed concepts, failed policies, ethnic politics, and immaturity of political institutions.

Ziring suggests a choice between an Islamic state and a Muslim commonwealth, and the elite should confront the "secular nation-state." Socioeconomic issues, such as non-taxed income,

and military intervention in 1999 highlight Pakistan's democracy's weakness. The rise in religious extremism and terrorism in Pakistan since 9/11 has significantly impacted the country's democratic, legal, and human rights systems. The essay examines the evolution of Pakistan's democratic and constitutional systems, highlighting the influence of extremist and terrorist narratives on laws, and the potential challenges they pose to democratic norms and human rights standards.

The Baloch and Sindhi ethnic minorities in Pakistan have faced discrimination and exclusion from political leadership, with the Sindhi fighting for representation and power-sharing. Geopolitical rivalry, economic inequalities, cultural differences, and historical legacies impact ethnic politics. The political elite's sidelining and uneven economic development have led to armed conflict. Siddiqi's study calls for a more decentralized, inclusive political structure to represent marginalized communities and promote reconciliation.

Some of the basic tools that every politics need to be established or every government to be established is a democratic government. Democracy allows citizens to participate in political processes through voting, joining political parties, or standing as a candidate. They can access information about political issues and express their opinions. Abraham Lincoln's concept of "government of the people, by the people, for the people" emphasizes the importance of freedom, justice, and solidarity in politics. Social organizations collect and communicate interests to political and governmental institutions.

So Parliaments and governments are crucial institutions in modern democracy, and parties compete for influence and dominance. This struggle for ideas and dominance involves internal debates and confrontations, ensuring a society's ability to impose political vision. American political scientist Antony Downs is credited with providing a widely recognised definition of political parties when he wrote: "A political party is a team of men seeking to control the

governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election.” Anthony King's influential catalogue of functions outlines that parties structure the vote, integrate and mobilize individuals, recruit political leaders, organize government, influence public policy, and perform interest aggregation. Parties run for elections, recruit political leaders, organize government, hold public office, and symbolize the ideological predisposition of the party. They also perform interest aggregation to influence public policy.

Pakistan's political history is marked by instability and turmoil. Initially a democratic system, it experienced military coups, limited freedom, and attacks on secular culture. Ten controversial general elections, three accepted constitutions, and unjustified judiciary intervention characterise the nation. The party system has endured and democratic ideals have triumphed in spite of these obstacles. Political parties in Pakistan have privileges granted by the constitution, and they have emerged with their own laws and codes. Political parties have also emerged and operated in different historical times.

To strengthen the impact and participation of the politically active members of a party, intra-party democracy is required. Parties with undemocratic structures are ineligible to rule in democracies. IPD, to explain it simply, is a way to include party members in internal decision-making that prevents a party from working as a whole. Despite this, various methods have been put out to quantify and operationalize IPD, emphasising different values (such as competition, representation, participation, and so on).

Pakistan, an independent state, emerged after the partition of India in 1947. Both India and Pakistan were a result of British colonialism in India. Despite their simultaneous independence, their future trajectories have been different. Pakistan has a strong commitment to democracy, despite moments of uncertainty. However, military authority has stymied its aspirations at democratisation. Pakistan's political structure is arbitrary, alternating between military and

civilian administration. Over its 75-year history, the country has undergone three military rules, accounting for almost half of its existence. However, in 2008, Pakistan experienced a significant shift towards democratization, with a government that served its entire five-year term without being overthrown or dismissed.

This was preceded by the end of General Pervez Musharraf's military rule in 2007. The smooth transfer of power to the new government in 2013 was another significant achievement. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were elected to power in both the 2008 and 2013 elections, marking a significant shift towards democracy in the country. The 2008 and 2013 elections were generally considered free and fair, with a 45% voter turnout in 2008 and a 55% turnout in 2013, respectively.

To analyze the Pakistan political parties and political system their constitution are fully shows democratic nature but not implemented individually or on specific party. Pakistan has a multi-party system with 171 registered political parties, each with their own constitutions detailing their activities, finances, and representation. These parties are democratic, with responsiveness in constituencies, funding processes, and accounts. The Election Commission registers these parties, ensuring equal representation, competitive elections, and participation of youth, women, and minorities.

It is lawful for any individual or group of citizens to create, organise, and maintain a political party, as stated in the Pakistani Political Parties Act of 2017. Every political party must have a unique name and a distinctive identity across all levels of government—national, provincial, and local, if relevant. A political party is not allowed to spread any ideas or behave in a way that is contrary to the fundamental values upheld by the Constitution. The political parties must uphold Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity, as well as public morals and order, refrain from supporting terrorism, and discourage sectarian, regional, or provincial hostility. Political parties

are prohibited from adopting names evoking militant organisations or sections, from appointing leaders or office holders with titles that suggest leadership of armed organisations, from providing military or paramilitary training to their members or other individuals, and from being established, organised, set-up, or convened as foreign-funded political parties.

Pakistan's political landscape is divided into various parties, each with unique challenges. Mainstream parties, such as PTI, PML-N, and PPP, represent diverse interests and policy platforms, but are criticized for prioritizing personal interests, leading to corruption, nepotism, and dynastic politics. Regional parties, like MQM and ANP, represent local interests but can prioritize parochial interests over national unity, exacerbating ethnic tensions and undermining state cohesion. Islamic political parties, like JUI and JI, advocate for social justice, welfare, and moral values but have been criticized for promoting a narrow interpretation of Islam and justifying authoritarianism.

Political parties in Pakistan are crucial for stabilizing the political system and representing diverse voices and interests. However, internal divisions, lack of institutionalization, and fragmentation can weaken the political system and undermine the effectiveness of governance. Some parties have been accused of clientelism, corruption, eroded public trust, and exacerbating divisions.

Civil rule in Pakistan has been used to restore stability, combat corruption, and address national security concerns. The relationship between civilian governments and the military is delicate, with challenges including interference, pressure, and coup d'état threats.

So politics of Pakistan is a transition that have changes in different variables like sometime in the representation competition, responsiveness, participation and transparency. These all parameters are the part of any political party constitution but to implement these is very rare. The mainstream parties like PMLN, PPPP and ANP these parties based on hierarchy, so these

parties run their parties rule as it is in the previous without any changes on rule of law lack of democracy exist in PMLN but PPPP have moderate and ANP have high level of democracy in their existence although these parties also based on hierarchy but the changes in their internal structure is different from PMLN.

PMLQ the party established during Musharraf era in 2002 but there is even no party constitutional documents exist and for rule of law party coalition with different parliamentary government for the specific time period. The politics of Balochistan BNP, BAP and JWP not following their own rule of law during election coalition with any party that is the parliamentary party due to ignoring their own rule of law and code of conduct the party have lack of intra-party democracy.

MMA the alliance of Islamic parties again restore in 2017 these Islamic parties mostly implement their rule of law, participation, leadership changes with specific period of their time interval, so the value of intra party democracy in these party is high.

PTI to study these variables find the moderate level of intra-party democracy, AMLP join this party so follow the same rule of law and code of conduct. GDA the alliance of Sindh rural parties and the anti-alliance of PPPP so the GDA have low level of intra party democracy.

However there is 171 parties registered in Election Commission of Pakistan to covered all parties not possible for me so I narrowing down theses parties and focused on 2018 election political parties and analyze theses through PILDAT, parties original constitutional documents and through questionnaire sampling method.

6.2 Findings

- Parties that internalize democracy and successfully carry it out tend to be more cohesive, have fewer internal disputes, and are more able to withstand outside pressure. Party fragmentation and instability, on the other hand, are greater concerns for parties

with weak intra-party democracy systems, which may limit their capacity to positively influence the political environment as a whole. As a potential factor in Pakistan's overall political stability, this finding highlights the significance of promoting strong intra-party democracy.

- Results indicate that political parties around the world implement intra-party democracy in somewhat different ways. Some parties have more centralized and authoritarian structures, while others actively support internal democracy by letting members take part in candidate selection and decision-making procedures. The intricate interplay between democratic procedures and political party structures is shown by this diversity.
- Research suggests that a number of obstacles prevent intra-party democracy from operating effectively. Common challenges include power disputes inside the organization, a lack of openness, and low participation from grassroots people. Furthermore, the ideals of intra-party democracy can be undermined by the power of money, patronage, and dynastic politics within parties, which presents major obstacles to the growth of an internal political culture that is truly democratic.
- Research demonstrates how important intra-party democracy is in determining a nation's overall democratic environment. In representative democracies, political parties are essential institutions, and the level of democracy within a party can influence the standard of national government. A robust intra-party democracy is frequently linked to improved responsiveness, accountability, and efficacy, all of which support the general well-being of a democratic system. On the other hand, deficiencies in intra-party democracy might end up in problems with governance and a decline in public confidence in the political system.

- Research Examine the national power structure and impact of Pakistan's major political parties. Examine the ways in which these parties demonstrate their sway on important political and constitutional issues, including governance, policymaking, and legislation. Examine these mainstream parties' historical development, party structures, and level of support at the grassroots level. Recognize the ways in which their organizational structures support their longevity and power in politics.
- Limited democratic procedures exist within Pakistani political parties, according to one study on intra-party democracy in these organizations. There is a lack of internal democracy in Pakistan since many political organizations have a tendency to concentrate power in the hands of a small number of important leaders. A select group is frequently involved in decision-making procedures, candidate selection, and policy creation, which restricts the involvement of party members in these important issues. The emergence of a dynamic and representative political culture inside the parties may be hampered by this lack of inclusivity.
- The predominance of dynastic politics, which can threaten intra-party democracy, inside Pakistani political parties is another noteworthy conclusion. Merit-based considerations are frequently subordinated in favor of personal connections and familial ties when choosing party leaders and candidates. As a result, party members who do not come from powerful political families may feel excluded, which would further undermine the foundations of internal democracy. The plurality of opinions and viewpoints inside the parties may be restricted by the dominance of particular political families.
- The inadequate internal accountability systems found in Pakistan's political parties. Transparent and strong procedures are necessary for intra-party democracy in order to hold leaders responsible for their actions. Nevertheless, some parties might not have

the necessary systems in place to deal with problems with nepotism, corruption, and other types of wrongdoing within their ranks. Lack of accountability procedures can create a climate of impunity, making it less likely that leaders will be held accountable for their deeds. This could have a detrimental effect on the political parties' general democratic health.

- The political landscape is characterized by a power struggle between national and local political parties, with mainstream parties focusing on national issues and regional parties emphasizing local interests. This highlights the diverse challenges within a nation, while mainstream parties must balance national agendas. The results may reveal how these parties adapt to changing social and political environments, revealing their ability to handle changing public opinion. The study explores the strategies of mainstream and regional parties during elections, revealing that regional parties may focus on alliances to increase their influence, while mainstream parties aim to broaden their appeal.
- The study reveals a significant difference in intra-party democracy between Pakistan's main political parties. Some have strong democracy, encouraging active member engagement, while others have a centralized structure. The study also highlights the role of party leadership in determining intra-party democracy. Powerful leaders often lead to centralized decision-making, restricting member autonomy. Conversely, parties with equal power distribution and decentralized decision-making show higher levels of intra-party democracy.
- The study demonstrates a relationship between political parties' levels of intra-party democracy and the election systems they employ. Parties that use proportional representation often have more open and inclusive internal procedures that encourage increased involvement and representation of different viewpoints inside the party.

However, parties that use a first-past-the-post system can have a tendency toward a more centralized organization, which could make intra-party democracy more difficult. This underlines how crucial it is to take the larger electoral environment into account when assessing the degree of intra-party democracy within political parties.

- Democratic Party ideas and structures exhibit significant variability, with diverse beliefs held by different groups or individuals. Factors such as geography, social mores, and demographics can influence this diversity. Despite a hierarchical organizational structure, parties also have internal diversity in power structures and decision-making procedures. Some parties value a decentralized approach, while others prefer a centralized leadership model. This internal variance influences party development.
- Research on democratic parties suggests flexibility in response to societal changes and political environments. These parties often implement internal reforms and change policies to reflect public sentiment and new concerns. They constantly recalibrate to remain relevant and resonate with the electorate by addressing current issues and modifying their platforms.
- Parties often have limited participation in decision-making processes, often due to central party leadership or power concentration. This may result in members having little say in candidate choices or policy decisions, potentially excluding democratic norms. The party's internal decision-making processes also lack transparency, suggesting a lack of open discourse on significant issues and lack of knowledge among members. This can lead to a sense of being left out or ignorant of the party's inner workings, resulting in a perceived lack of democracy within the group. Therefore, transparency is crucial in fostering a more democratic environment within a party.

6.3 Recommendations

- To ensure a fair and effective internal conflict resolution process within a party organization, establish an internal mediation committee or party ombudsman. Encourage active participation from young people and women by setting aside incentives or quotas. Conduct recurring evaluations of party officials and representatives to promote accountability and stay informed. Establish public debate spaces for in-depth discussions on policy matters. Form an independent election commission or external supervision body to ensure just, open, and consistent intra-party democratic processes.
- Pakistani political parties should adopt an open, democratic internal election procedure to ensure inclusivity and representation. The constitution should include intra-party democracy clauses, requiring parties to uphold democratic ideals. Training courses on internal democracy principles will help party members engage in decision-making. A separate election commission should monitor elections within parties, ensuring fairness, openness, and impartiality.
- To promote gender equality in political leadership, reward parties that actively advocate for women's representation, such as giving preference to women's seats or recognizing equal representation of men and women. Encourage transparency in financial information to improve accountability and reduce corruption. Provide opportunities for young party members to participate in party activities, such as youth wings and mentorship initiatives. Encourage fair internal conflict resolution procedures to prevent disputes and maintain group unity.
- The text emphasizes the importance of regular updates and examination of political parties' constitutions to reflect changing democratic values and ensure flexibility in party structures. It also highlights the role of civil society organizations in promoting democratic norms and holding political parties accountable.

- Transparent standards, frequent internal elections for key party roles, and term limitations for leadership roles are essential for ensuring transparency in the selection of candidates. Members should actively participate in decision-making processes through online forums, town hall meetings, and surveys. Open communication channels should be created to keep members informed on party decisions, actions, and policies. Investing in training and development of party members, including workshops on democratic values, dispute resolution, and leadership techniques, can make them more knowledgeable and competent.

Appendices

Appendix A Electoral History and Government Ambition of PML-N

Elections	1998	1990	1993	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats Won	54	105	73P	135	15	72	189	83
Government Formed	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix B Electoral History and Government Ambition of PPP-P

Elections	1970	1977	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats Won	81	155	93	44	86	18	64	95	47	54
Government Formed	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix C Electoral History and Government Ambition of PTI

Elections	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats won	0	01	Boycott	33/230	149
Government Formed	No	No	No	No	Yes

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix D Electoral History and Government Ambition of MQM-P

Elections	1988	1990	1993	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats won	12	15	Boycotted	13	19	18	07
Government formed	Yes, but quit in 1990	Yes, but quit in 1992	No	No	Yes	No	Yes

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix E Electoral History and Government Ambition of ANP

Elections	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats Won	2	6	3	9	0	10	2	01
Government Formed	No	Yes	Yes	Yes, Quit in 1998	No	Yes	No	No

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix F Electoral History and Government Ambition of MMA

Elections	2002	2018
Seats Won	45	16
Government Formed	Yes	Yes

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix G Electoral History and Government Ambition of PMLQ

Elections	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seat won	78	42	02	05
Government formed	Yes	No, coalition from 2012	No	Yes, quit in 2022

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix H Electoral History and Government Ambition of AMLP

Elections	2013	2018
Seats Won	01	01
Government formed	Yes	Yes

National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix I Electoral History and Government Ambition of BNP

Elections	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats Won	09	Not-participated	Boycotted	02	14
Government formed	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Source: PILDAT, “The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan.” and National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix J Electoral History and Government Ambition of BAP

Elections	2013	2018
Seats won		05
Government Formed	Yes	Yes

National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix K Electoral History and Government Ambition of JWP

Elections	1990	1993	1997	2002	2008	2013	2018
Seats won	02	02	02	01	0	0	01
Government formed	No	No	No	No	No	No	No

JWP elections, October 29, 2007, 2018 <http://www.dawn.com/news> (Accessed on November, 2023)

Appendix L Electoral History and Government Ambition of GDA

Elections	2018
Seats won	03
Government formed	No

National Assembly of Pakistan website (www.na.gov.pk), (Accessed on November, 2023)

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